Volume 1-2

THE PALGRAVE HANDBOOK OF VOLUNTEERING, CIVIC PARTICIPATION, AND NONPROFIT ASSOCIATIONS

Edited by
David Horton Smith, Robert A. Stebbins
and Jurgen Grotz

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The Palgrave Handbook of Volunteering, Civic Participation, and Nonprofit Associations

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Volume 1

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For my dear friend, Carolyn, with thanks for her practical help and moral support

DHS

Für Kristin
Alles Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichnis

JG

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Preface

David H. Smith (USA)

This Preface describes the editors' aims and how the book was written and edited. The scope of scholarship and authorship is as fully interdisciplinary and multi-national as we could achieve, with contributors born in 73 countries. We wanted to provide a genuinely international perspective on the topics of our 54 review chapters. We also wanted to demonstrate conclusively the global nature of our fast growing, interdisciplinary field and emergent *interdiscipline* of voluntaristics (Smith 2013, 2016). Our other, but not lesser, priority has been to have high-quality and interesting text for each chapter that follows our theoretical chapter format, with large sets of relevant chapter references. We believe we have accomplished these goals, but the reader or reviewer will have to be the judge.

This Handbook has been created mainly to inform interested academics and scholars worldwide about the latest theory and research bearing on volunteering, civic participation, and nonprofit membership associations. Faculty teaching university undergraduate or graduate school courses on nonprofits, associations, volunteering, philanthropy, pro-social behavior, political participation, social movements, cooperatives, self-help groups, religious congregations and participation, trade associations, labor unions, professional associations, social or institutional history, social and recreational groups, arts and culture, and the like will find this Handbook useful as an intellectual background and context. Thus, our Handbook will also appeal to many graduate students who are taking courses on topics in voluntaristics such as the foregoing or those who plan to write master's theses or doctoral dissertations on voluntaristics topics. Sophisticated practitioners and policy-makers in the nonprofit sector will also find useful information in its many pages, especially in the chapter sections "Usable Knowledge."

We recognize that scientific expertise and frontline practice vary considerably in these topical areas across the different regions of the world. Nonetheless, Smith (2013) has estimated that upwards of 20,000 academics and other researchers in more than 130 nations are routinely conducting research, publishing articles or books, presenting conference papers, participating in relevant researcher associations, and or teaching about various aspects of the voluntary nonprofit sector (VNPS), its constituent groups and nonprofit organizations (NPOs, including both voluntary associations and nonprofit agencies: Smith 2015b, 2015c), and its individual participants, such as informal and formal volunteers as well as paid staff.

The 203 contributors to the Handbook represent many academic disciplines and professions. While the majority of contributors are, or formerly were, university faculty members, some are still post-graduate, usually doctoral, students, and a few are full-time nonprofit agency leaders, government officials, researchers in for-profit organizations, policy-makers, or other practitioners. The contributing academic experts participating in the Handbook work in the fields of nonprofit sector studies/civil society, sociology, psychology, economics, political science, anthropology, geography, history, public administration, business management, nonprofit management, social work, volunteer administration/management, philanthropy, leisure studies, time use research, international relations, disaster research, cooperatives, religion, social movements, marketing, information technology, and other fields. Most contributors have doctoral degrees in one or another academic disciple or professional field, including the social-behavioral sciences, social professions, and history. As noted above, some contributors are still doctoral students – usually from non-Western and/or Global South birth-countries, but not always.

The Handbook's scope in scholarship and authorship is as fully multinational as we could achieve, with contributions from experts who were born in 73 different countries, as noted earlier. The nations with the largest numbers of our 203 contributors were the United States (42; 20.6%), United Kingdom (20; 9.9%), China (13; 6.4%), Canada (8; 3,9%), and Russia (7; 3.4%). The geographic distribution of these 73 nations was as follows: Africa: 10; Central Asia (including Russia): 4; Central America, Caribbean, and Mexico: 3; Eastern Asia: 12; Eastern Europe: 11; Middle East: 6; North America: 2; Oceania: 3; South America: 4; and Western Europe: 18.

Smith (2013) has suggested using the term *voluntaristics* (or *altruistics*) to refer to the global, interdisciplinary field of research on such VNPS phenomena, a label that is analogous to the term *linguistics*, referring to the scholarly study of all human languages. *Voluntaristics* is a neologism, a new word, and hence does not have any of the historical connotations of any of the alternative terms/labels (except for *altruistics*, which is also a neologism). For instance, the term *philanthropy* in English has far too elitist and narrow a connotation to be suitable to refer to all VNPS phenomena. Smith (2013) makes a case for the value of the terms *voluntaristics* and *altruistics*, but it is too early to tell if either of these neologisms he invented (in March 2013 and December 2012, respectively) will generate greater consensus. After informally testing these two terms with various colleagues and faculty audiences, he now favors *voluntaristics* as more neutral.

Many other labels/terms for the interdisciplinary field have been used in the past 40+ years, including Nonprofit/Not-for-Profit/Third/Voluntary/Civil Society/Charitable/Tax-Exempt/Social Sector Studies, Philanthropic Studies, Charity Studies, Voluntary Action Research/Studies, Nonprofit Organization

(NPO) Studies, Nongovernmental Organization (NGO) Studies, Civil Society Studies, Civil Sector Studies, Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Studies, Nonprofit and Voluntary Action Studies, Civic Engagement/Participation Studies, Social Movement Studies, Altruism and Morality Studies, Pro-Social Behavior Research, Mutual Aid/Self-Help Studies, Cooperative Studies, Social Solidarity/Solidarity Economy Studies, and Social Economy Studies, among others (Smith 2016; see an alternative but partially overlapping list of 18 names by Van Til 2015). Smith (2016) provides a much longer list of relevant terms as keywords referring to aspects of voluntaristics.

The global interdisciplinary field of voluntaristics as one context of this Handbook

The first named editor, David Horton Smith, is the founder of the global, organized field of voluntaristics, having founded the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action (ARNOVA; www.arnova.org) in 1971, initially with a different name, the Association of Voluntary Action Scholars (see Smith 1999a, 2003, 2016). ARNOVA was the first interdisciplinary and international association of researchers focused on voluntaristics and has served (directly or indirectly) as the model for all subsequent interdisciplinary voluntaristics researcher associations worldwide at various levels of geographic scope (Smith 2016).

Smith (2013:638) has noted, "About 55 similar interdisciplinary altruistics researcher associations have been founded worldwide (48 described here; including 9 defunct), 25 of them national in geographic scope, but seven covering a world region and 11 global" (see ibid., table 1; to be updated periodically on www.icsera.org, under Resources). Smith (2013:640) continues, "Many of them publish their own academic journals, and nearly all have their own websites and newsletters for members. All active ones have meetings, seminars, or conferences at least biennially, usually annually, but sometimes more often."

Sometimes the diffusion of the essence of ARNOVA, as an interdisciplinary voluntaristics researcher association and social invention, has occurred directly. Some founders of similar subsequent associations have learned of ARNOVA's existence and activities as a social invention and initial model through written media, or they have experienced one of its annual conferences that began in 1974 (e.g., Diana Leat, co-founder of the [UK] Association for Research on Voluntary and Community involvement [ARVAC]; Mark Lyons, co-founder of the Australian and New Zealand Third Sector Research [ANZTSR] association; Nauto Yamauchi, co-founder of the Japan Nonprofit Organization Research Organization [JANPORA]; Innocent Chukwuma, co-founder of the Association for Research on Civil Society in Africa [AROCSA]; Smith 2016).

Most times, however, especially in the past 10–15 years or so, the diffusion has been indirect. Other founders of interdisciplinary voluntaristics researcher associations have learned from one or more earlier associations besides ARNOVA as models (Smith 2016). This has often occurred by a founder attending a conference or reading an academic journal of another voluntaristics researcher association and deciding to found an association as a result. The latter, more common, indirect diffusion of this social innovation manifests what DiMaggio and Powell (1983) have termed *institutional isomorphism* and *mimetic processes* (*mimesis*) in existing organizational fields.

Smith also founded and was first Editor-in-Chief of ARNOVA's academic journal, *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* (*NVSQ*), originally named the *Journal of Voluntary Action Research* (Smith 2003). *NVSQ* was the first interdisciplinary and international academic journal centrally dedicated to publishing research on voluntaristics, and it has served as a model for most subsequent voluntaristics journals, especially the general ones. In 2014, *NVSQ* had a Thomson-Reuters Journal Impact Factor of 1.49, highest of any core voluntaristics journal, while *Voluntas* had an Impact Factor of 1.24 for 2014.

Smith (2013:638) further noted that there are "[o]ver 100 academic journals that [primarily] publish research on altruistics or its sub-topics." Some 61 of these are designated as "*core* or *primary* altruistics [voluntaristics] journals [that] have relevant terms like *civil society, third sector, social economy, philanthropy*, *social movements*, *nonprofit organizations, participation, engagement*, etc. in their titles or sub-titles." That number of core journals now nears 70 (see www.icsera.org, under Resources). Casting a still wider net for academic journals that publish articles on topics in voluntaristics, Jackson et al. (2014:803) found that 4,053 academic journals listed in the SCOPUS article database had published 21,327 voluntaristics articles using a short list of such topics as keywords in the 12-year period, 2000–2011 (cf. Smith 2016:28). If a longer list of keywords were used with the same database for the past 20 years, it is likely that at least 100,000 articles would be identified, representing at least 50,000 different individual authors (cf., Smith and CHEN 2017).

Finally, much data gathered in the past few years suggest that the interdisciplinary socio-behavioral science field of voluntaristics has been growing exponentially since about the mid-1990s (Bekkers and Dursun 2013; Jackson, Guerrero, and Appe 2014; Shier and Handy 2014; Smith 2013; Smith and Sundblom 2014). Various measures of growth of the voluntaristics field all show rapid, recent, global growth: interdisciplinary associations, sections (subgroups) of academic discipline associations, core/primary academic journals, academic journals publishing relevant articles, dissertations and masters' theses, and research-information centers (see graphs in Smith 2016).

The prior research literature on voluntaristics as another context of the Handbook

The rapidly growing interdisciplinary, global, socio-behavioral science field of voluntaristics is one larger intellectual context of the present Handbook. But how does our Handbook fit into the extant research literature? Why is it needed? Here are the answers: No previous handbook on voluntaristics topics has ever tried to be truly international in its authorship. Until the present Handbook, this gap has been especially obvious regarding a handbook on associations or volunteering, let alone on both. The North American understanding of a handbook is that it is a large, highly multi-authored compendium of chapters with significant theoretical structure as a book that reviews either the state of research or the state of practice in a field or topical area. Only libraries and institutions usually buy encyclopedias, while many individual academics or practitioners or both buy handbooks and/or recommend them to their institutional libraries for purchase.

We must note that the research literature on volunteering, citizen participation, and membership associations, even in some of the sub-fields, is now so voluminous that even individual Handbook chapter teams could not possibly cover all relevant documents even in English, let alone in all major languages. For example, Part IV on factors affecting individual participation could easily have been a long book in itself. Musick and Wilson (2008) wrote just such a book, but a new, updated one is needed every five years or so, given the pace of growth of research and theory in voluntaristics.

The contributors to the Handbook

We contacted by mail or in person relevant experts born in 92 countries, seeking their participation. As editors, we have invited and gained participation from leading experts born in 73 countries to co-author chapters for this Handbook.[1] The first named editor (Smith) contacted well more than 600 experts in order to find the 203 final, separate, individual contributors who are now involved. He received significant help in identifying lead, second, and subsequent co-authors from his two co-editors, from various lead or second authors, plus help from a few outside colleagues (see the Acknowledgments). Many university faculty and other researchers who were contacted pleaded other pressing tasks when declining, even though intellectually interested. Furthermore, several experts who agreed to participate were unable to complete their work in a timely way or wrote text of insufficient quality to be included.

Our general plan was for each chapter to be written by a team of experts from different world regions, so that our research reviews and conclusions would reflect not just high-income, developed, Western European, North American,

and other Anglo-nations (Australia, New Zealand), but also various other world regions with different characteristics. Most research on the topics of our Handbook has studied people in WEIRD nations – Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, Democratic nations (cf. Henrich, Heine, and Norenzayan 2010). This Handbook is outstanding in its non-WEIRD nation outreach, both for contributors and for references.

We needed to select lead and second authors for each chapter who were both highly competent in writing English and also experts on the specific topics of their chapters. These criteria led to a preponderance (about 76.6%) of contributors from WEIRD nations as lead and second authors. Among the 105 lead and second authors for the 54 literature review chapters, 25 (23.8%) were from non-WEIRD nations. The fact that Smith was a lead or second author of 18 of these 54 review chapters skews the results somewhat toward the WEIRD nations, given that he was born in the United States.

Even when experts from non-WEIRD nations were not among the pair of lead and second authors, subsequent co-authors from the 73 nations were asked to vet the chapters from the viewpoint of their own birth-nation and/or world region. In addition, lead authors sought written text and reference inputs from all of their co-authors from various world regions and nations.

We do not believe that our attempt at including multi-national and multi-world-region perspectives for each review chapter was fully successful, but it was a start in the right direction. We had no direct funds at all from anyone or from any organization for the work of this Handbook (although many contributors may have been supported financially to some extent by their universities or other institutions). That situation made more thorough approaches to multi-national reviews and generalizations impossible. However, the greatest obstacle was not inadequate world region representation on the author team of each chapter, but rather the scarcity of relevant, high-quality research available for various world regions for each chapter. That was an irremediable problem, no matter how much funding we might have had.

In practice, the lead author was the chapter team leader and sought inputs from all of his or her team of co-authors. The lead author usually wrote a first draft of the chapter, with substantial inputs from the second author. Then the lead author was an editor of all materials from co-authors for the given chapter. In some cases, a third author made especially significant contributions. Otherwise, subsequent co-authors after the first two are listed in alphabetical order by surname. In some cases, the term *with* is used for one or more co-authors after the lead author, to indicate very minor written inputs to the final chapter text. Because of the costs involved, only lead and second authors will automatically receive free physical copies of the Handbook from the publisher.

Some initially planned chapters had to be dropped when there was insufficient research literature to merit a chapter for the Handbook. We are grateful

to those volunteer professionals, listed below, for giving those chapters a try, even though the chapters did not come to fruition: Nancy Macduff (Episodic Volunteers); Colin Rochester and Norman Dolch (Volunteers in Small Paid-Staff Nonprofit Agencies); Keith Seel (Board-Policy Volunteers); Stephen Block, Ruth Simsa, and Vladimir Yakimets (Dysfunctions in Associations); and Martii Muukonen (Incentives and Ideology).

In some instances, planned chapters were attempted but were ultimately dropped due to insufficient world region variety in inputs, insufficient adherence to editorial guidelines, word count limitations, or other substantive content problems. We are grateful to their initial draft authors: Patrick Rooney, Michael Kramarek, Lin TAO, and Andri Soteri-Proctor (Special Methodology); Robert A. Stebbins, Steinunn Hrafnsdottir, and Geoff Nichols (Social Leisure and Recreation); Daniela Bosioc, Lars-Skov Henriksen, Amer Afaq, and Zhibin ZHANG (Infrastructure Organizations); David H. Smith, Uzi Sasson, and Jurgen Grotz (Impact of Associations on Human Societies); and Antonin Wagner (Afterword).

Analytical structure and standard chapter format and editing

Unlike most edited books and many handbooks, this volume has a rigorous theoretical structure and plan. Each chapter was written to fulfill that larger analytical plan, which was created in early 2011 and then revised many times. The structure of the Handbook has been mainly the responsibility and work of the first editor, Smith. He also sought and received some inputs from his co-editors, Stebbins and Grotz, as well as from various lead authors and a few outside colleagues (see Acknowledgments). However, Smith accepts full responsibility for the final set of chapters and chapter topics included, the names and content of each part of the book, the names of all chapters, the ordering of parts of the book, the ordering of chapters within parts, and the standard format of most chapters.

When suitable contributors could not be found, when they were invited but declined to help, or when initially selected contributors could not do the necessary work to a high-quality standard, especially lead or second authors, the first editor, Smith, took on the additional reviewing and writing burden specifically in order to maintain and complete the overall theoretical structure of the Handbook that he had planned. This initially unexpected/unplanned, replacement chapter, or additional chapter section, reviewing, writing, and editing that Smith needed to do substantially lengthened the overall writing/editing process by perhaps three years. All this was, however, quite necessary to achieve the topical coverage we now have, and our variety of national and world region coverage, incomplete as it still is.

Originally, Smith was slated to be lead author on four chapters and to contribute to no others. Then, as also later, Smith was expected to recruit about 85% of our contributors from the 73 birth-countries. These inputs from experts born in so many different nations on all continents likely make our Handbook unique among all handbooks ever published on any topic. Smith was a substantive/content contributor to 41 of the 58 chapters (including the Preface, Introduction, and Appendix). Smith's final contribution includes 14 chapters (or other chapter-like documents) as lead author, 4 as second author, 6 as third author, and 17 as a more subsequent co-author, editing them all one or more times. This set of chapter co-authorships results in Smith being substantively involved, sometimes in only minor ways (e.g., 500 words), in the writing of about 71% of all the chapters.

This depth and breadth of involvement by Smith in the substantive writing process deserves a further word of explanation: Since Smith ended up so deeply and pervasively involved, why did he not simply plan to write the whole book himself, given his 50-year+ breadth/depth of knowledge about the topics included? The answers are simple.

Nearly 72 in 2011 (thus 77 now), Smith was uncertain he had the additional 10–15 years of life that would have been needed to write the book alone. More importantly, he wanted the Handbook to demonstrate the global nature of voluntaristics by including contributors from many countries and regions throughout the world. Further, he wanted to involve many known colleagues who were world-class experts on various specialized facets and sub-topics of the Handbook that were not Smith's specialties.

Within the vast majority of chapters, the content follows a standard analytical format: introduction, definitions, historical background, key issues, usable knowledge, future trends and needed research, cross-references, references, and sometimes endnotes. We borrowed and adapted this format from the *International Encyclopedia of Civil Society*, edited by Anheier, Toepler, and List (published by Springer in 2010). However, as noted above, the Usable Knowledge section is an invention by Smith for our Handbook.

As suggested earlier, the research literature on the VNPS topics of the Handbook and of nearly any chapter in it has multiplied beyond the reach of any individual to keep up with. For example, on the Google Scholar database (accessed April 21, 2015) of journal articles and books, the keyword *volunteer* generates 1,520,000 hits or documents, with many old documents and documents not relevant to the Handbook; the keywords *voluntary association* generate similarly 1,880,000 hits; and the keywords *civic participation* generate 779,000 hits.

Because of this information overload, we started our contributor outreach process by trying to recruit a top expert in each topical area – a wise approach that guided our selection of lead and second authors for chapters. Many of

our chapter leads thus are world-class experts on their topics, but we have not always been so fortunate. Such top experts were often too busy with their own projects to be willing to join our Handbook project. As our next choice, we have sought bright younger scholars, who were more eager to be involved.

In terms of the substantive chapter content, each lead author has had to be very selective. Our initial editorial instructions to lead authors were to produce a chapter with 5,000 words of text and 1,000 words of references. These limits were later expanded, in order to include the intellectual richness of the research literature for certain key chapters and their detailed text. Thus, leads and other contributors have been in part affected by personal or professional preferences in their topical areas for concepts, variables, hypotheses/generalizations, theories, and documents/references to read, discuss, and cite. For these reasons, no chapter in the Handbook pretends to be exhaustive or comprehensive with its discussion or citation of documents and references. Thus, expert readers may expect to find that some of their own favorite documents, including one's own publications, have neither been cited nor discussed. However, such topical experts would find various ones of their favorite documents discussed, as well as others at least cited or listed in the chapter references without citations in the chapter text.

A full set of references for each chapter is available free of charge on the website of the sponsoring nonprofit research organization, the International Council of Voluntarism, Civil Society, and Social Economy Researcher Associations under Resources (ICSERA; www.icsera.org). There is no consolidated, master bibliography for the Handbook, because single chapter bibliographies are more coherent substantively and better for interested readers to browse.

In sum, one of our two top priorities and goals in writing and editing this Handbook has been to include a very broad, multi-national range of scholars in order to provide a genuinely international perspective on the topics of each of the 54 review chapters. In addition, we have wanted that broad range of international scholars as contributors to demonstrate conclusively the global nature of our fast-growing, interdisciplinary field and emergent *inter-discipline* of voluntaristics (Smith 2016). We believe we have accomplished both of these goals quite well, but readers and reviewers may judge for themselves.

Our other, but not lesser, top priority and goal has been to have high-quality and interesting text for each chapter that follows our theoretical chapter format, with large sets of relevant references for each chapter. We believe that we have also accomplished that major goal, but the reader will have to be the judge. At the very least, we argue that the substance of this Handbook will be useful to many voluntaristics scholars, educators, and students for many years to come. We also argue that this volume fills a previous gap in the voluntaristics handbook research literature.

Unlike most other handbooks, this Handbook has a kind of latent, intellectual advocacy purpose. As Smith indicates in the Introduction (and at length previously in Smith 2000:chapter 10), many major scholars in the field of voluntaristics and their followers have for decades seriously distorted the overall theoretical perspective of the nature of the VNPS, seeing it mainly or solely as a set of NPOs as paid-staff based nonprofit agencies (Smith 2015c), mainly or totally ignoring voluntary associations (Smith 2015b). The Introduction, and indeed the entire Handbook, is an attempt by Smith once again to broaden their *flat-earth maps* (Smith 1997). We strongly advocate adding much more emphasis on associations, and also on volunteering and civic participation, to expand the *round-earth paradigm* of the VNPS that Smith (2000:chapter 10) has been suggesting since he founded the organized field of voluntaristics in 1971 (Smith 2016). Many other distinguished voluntaristics scholars share this broader, round-earth perspective and paradigm (e.g., Cnaan and Park 2016; Rochester 2013; Van Til 2015).

Finally, for all the work done by the editors of this Handbook, in the end the "soil and earth" (quoting Jurgen Grotz, our Managing Editor) of this book are its 203 contributors – the *sine qua non* of its existence, without whom the Handbook would not exist. *We three Editors are thus immensely grateful for the estimated 30+ person-years of volunteer professional effort/work they have collectively contributed to this massive, interdisciplinary, multi-national, collaborative endeavor over the past five years*, continuing still over the next few months or so of production of the volume (e.g., answering copy editor queries, proofing typeset chapters). We firmly believe that entire global field of voluntaristics will be in their debt for many years to come.

Note

1. We have had to set some rules for ourselves in writing contributors' names in order to standardize the process and make the form of contributors' names be used consistently across individuals:

    (1) We use first and last names (surnames, family names), but omit middle names, using the middle initial when known.
    (2) We usually hyphenate Hispanic surnames (e.g., Batista-Silva), for practical reasons of alphabetization, even though hyphens are not used in Hispanic cultures.
    (3) We consistently hyphenate British double surnames (e.g., Ellis-Paine), even though this practice is not followed in Britain.
    (4) We hyphenate double surnames used to indicate the surnames of both spouses (e.g., More-Hollerweger), as some modern people do.
    (5) We use diacritical markings to the extent that we know them (e.g., René), at least in the lists of chapter authors and the References.
    (6) We place Chinese surnames in all capital letters, because there have been many confusions/errors about surnames in the course of our work regarding which of

two Chinese names is the surname. Naturally, the Chinese do not do this. Furthermore, we place the surname second, contrary to the usual Chinese practice of putting the surname first. When a Chinese surname is preceded by a Western first name, we use upper/lower case for the surname, since confusion is less likely.

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David earned his PhD in Sociology from Harvard University (1965). He founded the global Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action (ARNOVA; www.arnova.org) and *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* (*NVSQ*) journal (both in 1971). In 2010, he became Founding President/CEO of ICSERA (International Council of Voluntarism, Civil Society, and Social Economy Researcher Associations; www.icsera.org), a global, nonprofit sector, infrastructure institute, and association of associations. Recently, he founded the *Voluntaristics Review*, a journal of lengthy survey/review articles (2016). Both the journal and this Handbook are sponsored by ICSERA.

The author of *Grassroots Associations* (2000), first co-author of *A Dictionary of Nonprofit Terms and Concepts* (2006; 2nd edition 2017), and author/editor of 18 other books, David recently invented S-Theory (Synanthrometrics) – an integrative, interdisciplinary, and quantitative theory of individual behavior, especially pro-social behavior like volunteering, drawing on recent research in many socio-behavioral sciences, biology/neuroscience, and interdisciplinary fields. S-Theory may be termed *The Theory of Everyone* because it aspires to explain any behavior of anyone, even though it is applied mainly to volunteering as one type of pro-social behavior. Survey research in Russia has strongly confirmed this theory. His book on S-Theory is going to be published in 2017: *S-Theory (Synanthrometrics) as "The Theory of Everyone": A Proposed New Standard Human Science Model of Behavior, Especially Pro-social Behavior.*

David was co-recipient of the 1975 national Hadley Cantril Memorial Award (for the outstanding US book contribution in the behavioral and social sciences) and later was co-recipient of the ARNOVA (Lifetime Achievement) Award for Distinguished Contribution to Nonprofit and Voluntary Action Research in 1993, the first year it was awarded. He was honored with a bio entry as one

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Stebbins' principal contribution to the fields of leisure studies and voluntaristics is his *serious leisure perspective.* It revolves around a typology of leisure, based on the ways people experience and are motivated to pursue particular free-time activities. From qualitative/exploratory research on 21 different amateur, hobbyist, and volunteer activities, he inductively generated over a period of 42 years the aforementioned perspective. Today, its three forms – serious, casual, and project-based leisure – along with its many types and subtypes, constitute a main orientation for research and analysis in the interdisciplinary field of leisure studies. In recognition of this contribution, Stebbins was elected, in 1997, Fellow of the Academy of Leisure Sciences and, in 1999, Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada.

His 50 books published or in press include *Volunteering as Leisure/Leisure as Volunteering: An International Perspective* (2004), *Between Work and Leisure: The Common Ground of Two Separate Worlds* (2004/2014), *Serious Leisure: A Perspective for Our Time* (2007/2015), *A Dictionary of Nonprofit Terms and Concepts* (2006; with David Horton Smith and Michael Dover), and *Leisure and the Motive to Volunteer* (Palgrave, 2015).

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His 35 years of active engagement in the voluntary and community sector and 25 years of applied policy and practice research in Germany, China, and the United Kingdom have offered him insights into a great variety of subjects, such as volunteering in public services with particular reference to the relationship between the state and the voluntary sector when reviewing the effectiveness of the English Compact, and the negative sides of volunteering, for example, during the Volunteer Rights Enquiry of Volunteering England.

He has worked for the Royal National Institute for the Blind, the Big Lottery Fund, Volunteering England, and is currently Research Manager at the Institute for Volunteering Research, National Council for Voluntary Organisations, UK, where he is responsible for research into all aspects of volunteering from micro-volunteering to employer-supported volunteering and local volunteering infrastructure.

He has written numerous reports on applied research, has contributed a background paper to the project on "The State of the World's Volunteerism Report 2011" by the UN Volunteers (2011), and regularly contributes to the academic debate at conferences or in print. His recent publication is (with Mary Corcoran) "Deconstructing the Panacea of Volunteering in Criminal Justice" in *The Voluntary Sector and Criminal Justice* (edited by A. Hucklesby and M. Corcoran; Palgrave). He is also a regular reviewer for *Voluntary Sector Review*.

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The Palgrave Handbook of Volunteering, Civic Participation, and Nonprofit Associations

Also by David Horton Smith

BECOMING MODERN (1974, *with Alex Inkeles as first author*)

PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ACTIVITIES (1980, *with Jacqueline Macaulay and Associates)*

GRASSROOTS ASSOCIATIONS (2000)

A DICTIONARY OF NONPROFIT TERMS AND CONCEPTS (2006, *with Robert A. Stebbins and Michael Dover*)

Also by Robert A. Stebbins

VOLUNTEERING AS LEISURE/LEISURE AS VOLUNTEERING: An International Perspective (2004)

BETWEEN WORK AND LEISURE: The Common Ground of Two Separate Worlds (2004/2014)

SERIOUS LEISURE: A Perspective for Our Time (2007/2015)

A DICTIONARY OF NONPROFIT TERMS AND CONCEPTS (2006, *with David Horton Smith, first author, and Michael Dover*)

Also by Jurgen Grotz

Background Paper on "The Negative Aspects of Volunteering" for 2011 THE STATE OF THE WORLD'S VOLUNTEERISM REPORT, published by the UN Volunteers (2011)

"Deconstructing the Panacea of Volunteering in Criminal Justice," in A. Hucklesby and M. Corcoran, eds. THE VOLUNTARY SECTOR AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE. Palgrave: Basingstoke (2016, *with M. Corcoran*)

The Palgrave Handbook of Volunteering, Civic Participation, and Nonprofit Associations

Volume 2

Edited by

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*For my dear friend, Carolyn, with thanks for her
practical help and moral support*
DHS

*Für Kristin
Alles Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichnis*
JG

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Part IX   Conclusions and Future Prospects

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Preface

David H. Smith (USA)

This Preface describes the editors' aims and how the book was written and edited. The scope of scholarship and authorship is as fully interdisciplinary and multi-national as we could achieve, with contributors born in 73 countries. We wanted to provide a genuinely international perspective on the topics of our 54 review chapters. We also wanted to demonstrate conclusively the global nature of our fast growing, interdisciplinary field and emergent *interdiscipline* of voluntaristics (Smith 2013, 2016). Our other, but not lesser, priority has been to have high-quality and interesting text for each chapter that follows our theoretical chapter format, with large sets of relevant chapter references. We believe we have accomplished these goals, but the reader or reviewer will have to be the judge.

This Handbook has been created mainly to inform interested academics and scholars worldwide about the latest theory and research bearing on volunteering, civic participation, and nonprofit membership associations. Faculty teaching university undergraduate or graduate school courses on nonprofits, associations, volunteering, philanthropy, pro-social behavior, political participation, social movements, cooperatives, self-help groups, religious congregations and participation, trade associations, labor unions, professional associations, social or institutional history, social and recreational groups, arts and culture, and the like will find this Handbook useful as an intellectual background and context. Thus, our Handbook will also appeal to many graduate students who are taking courses on topics in voluntaristics such as the foregoing or those who plan to write master's theses or doctoral dissertations on voluntaristics topics. Sophisticated practitioners and policy-makers in the nonprofit sector will also find useful information in its many pages, especially in the chapter sections "Usable Knowledge."

We recognize that scientific expertise and frontline practice vary considerably in these topical areas across the different regions of the world. Nonetheless, Smith (2013) has estimated that upwards of 20,000 academics and other researchers in more than 130 nations are routinely conducting research, publishing articles or books, presenting conference papers, participating in relevant researcher associations, and or teaching about various aspects of the voluntary nonprofit sector (VNPS), its constituent groups and nonprofit organizations (NPOs, including both voluntary associations and nonprofit agencies: Smith 2015b, 2015c), and its individual participants, such as informal and formal volunteers as well as paid staff.

The 203 contributors to the Handbook represent many academic disciplines and professions. While the majority of contributors are, or formerly were, university faculty members, some are still post-graduate, usually doctoral, students, and a few are full-time nonprofit agency leaders, government officials, researchers in for-profit organizations, policy-makers, or other practitioners. The contributing academic experts participating in the Handbook work in the fields of nonprofit sector studies/civil society, sociology, psychology, economics, political science, anthropology, geography, history, public administration, business management, nonprofit management, social work, volunteer administration/management, philanthropy, leisure studies, time use research, international relations, disaster research, cooperatives, religion, social movements, marketing, information technology, and other fields. Most contributors have doctoral degrees in one or another academic disciple or professional field, including the social-behavioral sciences, social professions, and history. As noted above, some contributors are still doctoral students – usually from non-Western and/or Global South birth-countries, but not always.

The Handbook's scope in scholarship and authorship is as fully multinational as we could achieve, with contributions from experts who were born in 73 different countries, as noted earlier. The nations with the largest numbers of our 203 contributors were the United States (42; 20.6%), United Kingdom (20; 9.9%), China (13; 6.4%), Canada (8; 3,9%), and Russia (7; 3.4%). The geographic distribution of these 73 nations was as follows: Africa: 10; Central Asia (including Russia): 4; Central America, Caribbean, and Mexico: 3; Eastern Asia: 12; Eastern Europe: 11; Middle East: 6; North America: 2; Oceania: 3; South America: 4; and Western Europe: 18.

Smith (2013) has suggested using the term *voluntaristics* (or *altruistics*) to refer to the global, interdisciplinary field of research on such VNPS phenomena, a label that is analogous to the term *linguistics*, referring to the scholarly study of all human languages. *Voluntaristics* is a neologism, a new word, and hence does not have any of the historical connotations of any of the alternative terms/labels (except for *altruistics*, which is also a neologism). For instance, the term *philanthropy* in English has far too elitist and narrow a connotation to be suitable to refer to all VNPS phenomena. Smith (2013) makes a case for the value of the terms *voluntaristics* and *altruistics*, but it is too early to tell if either of these neologisms he invented (in March 2013 and December 2012, respectively) will generate greater consensus. After informally testing these two terms with various colleagues and faculty audiences, he now favors *voluntaristics* as more neutral.

Many other labels/terms for the interdisciplinary field have been used in the past 40+ years, including Nonprofit/Not-for-Profit/Third/Voluntary/Civil Society/Charitable/Tax-Exempt/Social Sector Studies, Philanthropic Studies, Charity Studies, Voluntary Action Research/Studies, Nonprofit Organization

(NPO) Studies, Nongovernmental Organization (NGO) Studies, Civil Society Studies, Civil Sector Studies, Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Studies, Nonprofit and Voluntary Action Studies, Civic Engagement/Participation Studies, Social Movement Studies, Altruism and Morality Studies, Pro-Social Behavior Research, Mutual Aid/Self-Help Studies, Cooperative Studies, Social Solidarity/Solidarity Economy Studies, and Social Economy Studies, among others (Smith 2016; see an alternative but partially overlapping list of 18 names by Van Til 2015). Smith (2016) provides a much longer list of relevant terms as keywords referring to aspects of voluntaristics.

The global interdisciplinary field of voluntaristics as one context of this Handbook

The first named editor, David Horton Smith, is the founder of the global, organized field of voluntaristics, having founded the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action (ARNOVA; www.arnova.org) in 1971, initially with a different name, the Association of Voluntary Action Scholars (see Smith 1999a, 2003, 2016). ARNOVA was the first interdisciplinary and international association of researchers focused on voluntaristics and has served (directly or indirectly) as the model for all subsequent interdisciplinary voluntaristics researcher associations worldwide at various levels of geographic scope (Smith 2016).

Smith (2013:638) has noted, "About 55 similar interdisciplinary altruistics researcher associations have been founded worldwide (48 described here; including 9 defunct), 25 of them national in geographic scope, but seven covering a world region and 11 global" (see ibid., table 1; to be updated periodically on www.icsera.org, under Resources). Smith (2013:640) continues, "Many of them publish their own academic journals, and nearly all have their own websites and newsletters for members. All active ones have meetings, seminars, or conferences at least biennially, usually annually, but sometimes more often."

Sometimes the diffusion of the essence of ARNOVA, as an interdisciplinary voluntaristics researcher association and social invention, has occurred directly. Some founders of similar subsequent associations have learned of ARNOVA's existence and activities as a social invention and initial model through written media, or they have experienced one of its annual conferences that began in 1974 (e.g., Diana Leat, co-founder of the [UK] Association for Research on Voluntary and Community involvement [ARVAC]; Mark Lyons, co-founder of the Australian and New Zealand Third Sector Research [ANZTSR] association; Nauto Yamauchi, co-founder of the Japan Nonprofit Organization Research Organization [JANPORA]; Innocent Chukwuma, co-founder of the Association for Research on Civil Society in Africa [AROCSA]; Smith 2016).

Most times, however, especially in the past 10–15 years or so, the diffusion has been indirect. Other founders of interdisciplinary voluntaristics researcher associations have learned from one or more earlier associations besides ARNOVA as models (Smith 2016). This has often occurred by a founder attending a conference or reading an academic journal of another voluntaristics researcher association and deciding to found an association as a result. The latter, more common, indirect diffusion of this social innovation manifests what DiMaggio and Powell (1983) have termed *institutional isomorphism* and *mimetic processes* (*mimesis*) in existing organizational fields.

Smith also founded and was first Editor-in-Chief of ARNOVA's academic journal, *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* (*NVSQ*), originally named the *Journal of Voluntary Action Research* (Smith 2003). *NVSQ* was the first interdisciplinary and international academic journal centrally dedicated to publishing research on voluntaristics, and it has served as a model for most subsequent voluntaristics journals, especially the general ones. In 2014, *NVSQ* had a Thomson-Reuters Journal Impact Factor of 1.49, highest of any core voluntaristics journal, while *Voluntas* had an Impact Factor of 1.24 for 2014.

Smith (2013:638) further noted that there are "[o]ver 100 academic journals that [primarily] publish research on altruistics or its sub-topics." Some 61 of these are designated as "*core* or *primary* altruistics [voluntaristics] journals [that] have relevant terms like *civil society, third sector, social economy, philanthropy*, *social movements*, *nonprofit organizations, participation, engagement*, etc. in their titles or sub-titles." That number of core journals now nears 70 (see www.icsera.org, under Resources). Casting a still wider net for academic journals that publish articles on topics in voluntaristics, Jackson et al. (2014:803) found that 4,053 academic journals listed in the SCOPUS article database had published 21,327 voluntaristics articles using a short list of such topics as keywords in the 12-year period, 2000–2011 (cf. Smith 2016:28). If a longer list of keywords were used with the same database for the past 20 years, it is likely that at least 100,000 articles would be identified, representing at least 50,000 different individual authors (cf., Smith and CHEN 2017).

Finally, much data gathered in the past few years suggest that the interdisciplinary socio-behavioral science field of voluntaristics has been growing exponentially since about the mid-1990s (Bekkers and Dursun 2013; Jackson, Guerrero, and Appe 2014; Shier and Handy 2014; Smith 2013; Smith and Sundblom 2014). Various measures of growth of the voluntaristics field all show rapid, recent, global growth: interdisciplinary associations, sections (subgroups) of academic discipline associations, core/primary academic journals, academic journals publishing relevant articles, dissertations and masters' theses, and research-information centers (see graphs in Smith 2016).

The prior research literature on voluntaristics as another context of the Handbook

The rapidly growing interdisciplinary, global, socio-behavioral science field of voluntaristics is one larger intellectual context of the present Handbook. But how does our Handbook fit into the extant research literature? Why is it needed? Here are the answers: No previous handbook on voluntaristics topics has ever tried to be truly international in its authorship. Until the present Handbook, this gap has been especially obvious regarding a handbook on associations or volunteering, let alone on both. The North American understanding of a handbook is that it is a large, highly multi-authored compendium of chapters with significant theoretical structure as a book that reviews either the state of research or the state of practice in a field or topical area. Only libraries and institutions usually buy encyclopedias, while many individual academics or practitioners or both buy handbooks and/or recommend them to their institutional libraries for purchase.

We must note that the research literature on volunteering, citizen participation, and membership associations, even in some of the sub-fields, is now so voluminous that even individual Handbook chapter teams could not possibly cover all relevant documents even in English, let alone in all major languages. For example, Part IV on factors affecting individual participation could easily have been a long book in itself. Musick and Wilson (2008) wrote just such a book, but a new, updated one is needed every five years or so, given the pace of growth of research and theory in voluntaristics.

The contributors to the Handbook

We contacted by mail or in person relevant experts born in 92 countries, seeking their participation. As editors, we have invited and gained participation from leading experts born in 73 countries to co-author chapters for this Handbook.[1] The first named editor (Smith) contacted well more than 600 experts in order to find the 203 final, separate, individual contributors who are now involved. He received significant help in identifying lead, second, and subsequent co-authors from his two co-editors, from various lead or second authors, plus help from a few outside colleagues (see the Acknowledgments). Many university faculty and other researchers who were contacted pleaded other pressing tasks when declining, even though intellectually interested. Furthermore, several experts who agreed to participate were unable to complete their work in a timely way or wrote text of insufficient quality to be included.

Our general plan was for each chapter to be written by a team of experts from different world regions, so that our research reviews and conclusions would reflect not just high-income, developed, Western European, North American,

and other Anglo-nations (Australia, New Zealand), but also various other world regions with different characteristics. Most research on the topics of our Handbook has studied people in WEIRD nations – Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, Democratic nations (cf. Henrich, Heine, and Norenzayan 2010). This Handbook is outstanding in its non-WEIRD nation outreach, both for contributors and for references.

We needed to select lead and second authors for each chapter who were both highly competent in writing English and also experts on the specific topics of their chapters. These criteria led to a preponderance (about 76.6%) of contributors from WEIRD nations as lead and second authors. Among the 105 lead and second authors for the 54 literature review chapters, 25 (23.8%) were from non-WEIRD nations. The fact that Smith was a lead or second author of 18 of these 54 review chapters skews the results somewhat toward the WEIRD nations, given that he was born in the United States.

Even when experts from non-WEIRD nations were not among the pair of lead and second authors, subsequent co-authors from the 73 nations were asked to vet the chapters from the viewpoint of their own birth-nation and/or world region. In addition, lead authors sought written text and reference inputs from all of their co-authors from various world regions and nations.

We do not believe that our attempt at including multi-national and multi-world-region perspectives for each review chapter was fully successful, but it was a start in the right direction. We had no direct funds at all from anyone or from any organization for the work of this Handbook (although many contributors may have been supported financially to some extent by their universities or other institutions). That situation made more thorough approaches to multi-national reviews and generalizations impossible. However, the greatest obstacle was not inadequate world region representation on the author team of each chapter, but rather the scarcity of relevant, high-quality research available for various world regions for each chapter. That was an irremediable problem, no matter how much funding we might have had.

In practice, the lead author was the chapter team leader and sought inputs from all of his or her team of co-authors. The lead author usually wrote a first draft of the chapter, with substantial inputs from the second author. Then the lead author was an editor of all materials from co-authors for the given chapter. In some cases, a third author made especially significant contributions. Otherwise, subsequent co-authors after the first two are listed in alphabetical order by surname. In some cases, the term *with* is used for one or more co-authors after the lead author, to indicate very minor written inputs to the final chapter text. Because of the costs involved, only lead and second authors will automatically receive free physical copies of the Handbook from the publisher.

Some initially planned chapters had to be dropped when there was insufficient research literature to merit a chapter for the Handbook. We are grateful

to those volunteer professionals, listed below, for giving those chapters a try, even though the chapters did not come to fruition: Nancy Macduff (Episodic Volunteers); Colin Rochester and Norman Dolch (Volunteers in Small Paid-Staff Nonprofit Agencies); Keith Seel (Board-Policy Volunteers); Stephen Block, Ruth Simsa, and Vladimir Yakimets (Dysfunctions in Associations); and Martii Muukonen (Incentives and Ideology).

In some instances, planned chapters were attempted but were ultimately dropped due to insufficient world region variety in inputs, insufficient adherence to editorial guidelines, word count limitations, or other substantive content problems. We are grateful to their initial draft authors: Patrick Rooney, Michael Kramarek, Lin TAO, and Andri Soteri-Proctor (Special Methodology); Robert A. Stebbins, Steinunn Hrafnsdottir, and Geoff Nichols (Social Leisure and Recreation); Daniela Bosioc, Lars-Skov Henriksen, Amer Afaq, and Zhibin ZHANG (Infrastructure Organizations); David H. Smith, Uzi Sasson, and Jurgen Grotz (Impact of Associations on Human Societies); and Antonin Wagner (Afterword).

Analytical structure and standard chapter format and editing

Unlike most edited books and many handbooks, this volume has a rigorous theoretical structure and plan. Each chapter was written to fulfill that larger analytical plan, which was created in early 2011 and then revised many times. The structure of the Handbook has been mainly the responsibility and work of the first editor, Smith. He also sought and received some inputs from his co-editors, Stebbins and Grotz, as well as from various lead authors and a few outside colleagues (see Acknowledgments). However, Smith accepts full responsibility for the final set of chapters and chapter topics included, the names and content of each part of the book, the names of all chapters, the ordering of parts of the book, the ordering of chapters within parts, and the standard format of most chapters.

When suitable contributors could not be found, when they were invited but declined to help, or when initially selected contributors could not do the necessary work to a high-quality standard, especially lead or second authors, the first editor, Smith, took on the additional reviewing and writing burden specifically in order to maintain and complete the overall theoretical structure of the Handbook that he had planned. This initially unexpected/unplanned, replacement chapter, or additional chapter section, reviewing, writing, and editing that Smith needed to do substantially lengthened the overall writing/editing process by perhaps three years. All this was, however, quite necessary to achieve the topical coverage we now have, and our variety of national and world region coverage, incomplete as it still is.

Originally, Smith was slated to be lead author on four chapters and to contribute to no others. Then, as also later, Smith was expected to recruit about 85% of our contributors from the 73 birth-countries. These inputs from experts born in so many different nations on all continents likely make our Handbook unique among all handbooks ever published on any topic. Smith was a substantive/content contributor to 41 of the 58 chapters (including the Preface, Introduction, and Appendix). Smith's final contribution includes 14 chapters (or other chapter-like documents) as lead author, 4 as second author, 6 as third author, and 17 as a more subsequent co-author, editing them all one or more times. This set of chapter co-authorships results in Smith being substantively involved, sometimes in only minor ways (e.g., 500 words), in the writing of about 71% of all the chapters.

This depth and breadth of involvement by Smith in the substantive writing process deserves a further word of explanation: Since Smith ended up so deeply and pervasively involved, why did he not simply plan to write the whole book himself, given his 50-year+ breadth/depth of knowledge about the topics included? The answers are simple.

Nearly 72 in 2011 (thus 77 now), Smith was uncertain he had the additional 10–15 years of life that would have been needed to write the book alone. More importantly, he wanted the Handbook to demonstrate the global nature of voluntaristics by including contributors from many countries and regions throughout the world. Further, he wanted to involve many known colleagues who were world-class experts on various specialized facets and sub-topics of the Handbook that were not Smith's specialties.

Within the vast majority of chapters, the content follows a standard analytical format: introduction, definitions, historical background, key issues, usable knowledge, future trends and needed research, cross-references, references, and sometimes endnotes. We borrowed and adapted this format from the *International Encyclopedia of Civil Society*, edited by Anheier, Toepler, and List (published by Springer in 2010). However, as noted above, the Usable Knowledge section is an invention by Smith for our Handbook.

As suggested earlier, the research literature on the VNPS topics of the Handbook and of nearly any chapter in it has multiplied beyond the reach of any individual to keep up with. For example, on the Google Scholar database (accessed April 21, 2015) of journal articles and books, the keyword *volunteer* generates 1,520,000 hits or documents, with many old documents and documents not relevant to the Handbook; the keywords *voluntary association* generate similarly 1,880,000 hits; and the keywords *civic participation* generate 779,000 hits.

Because of this information overload, we started our contributor outreach process by trying to recruit a top expert in each topical area – a wise approach that guided our selection of lead and second authors for chapters. Many of

our chapter leads thus are world-class experts on their topics, but we have not always been so fortunate. Such top experts were often too busy with their own projects to be willing to join our Handbook project. As our next choice, we have sought bright younger scholars, who were more eager to be involved.

In terms of the substantive chapter content, each lead author has had to be very selective. Our initial editorial instructions to lead authors were to produce a chapter with 5,000 words of text and 1,000 words of references. These limits were later expanded, in order to include the intellectual richness of the research literature for certain key chapters and their detailed text. Thus, leads and other contributors have been in part affected by personal or professional preferences in their topical areas for concepts, variables, hypotheses/generalizations, theories, and documents/references to read, discuss, and cite. For these reasons, no chapter in the Handbook pretends to be exhaustive or comprehensive with its discussion or citation of documents and references. Thus, expert readers may expect to find that some of their own favorite documents, including one's own publications, have neither been cited nor discussed. However, such topical experts would find various ones of their favorite documents discussed, as well as others at least cited or listed in the chapter references without citations in the chapter text.

A full set of references for each chapter is available free of charge on the website of the sponsoring nonprofit research organization, the International Council of Voluntarism, Civil Society, and Social Economy Researcher Associations under Resources (ICSERA; www.icsera.org). There is no consolidated, master bibliography for the Handbook, because single chapter bibliographies are more coherent substantively and better for interested readers to browse.

In sum, one of our two top priorities and goals in writing and editing this Handbook has been to include a very broad, multi-national range of scholars in order to provide a genuinely international perspective on the topics of each of the 54 review chapters. In addition, we have wanted that broad range of international scholars as contributors to demonstrate conclusively the global nature of our fast-growing, interdisciplinary field and emergent *inter-discipline* of voluntaristics (Smith 2016). We believe we have accomplished both of these goals quite well, but readers and reviewers may judge for themselves.

Our other, but not lesser, top priority and goal has been to have high-quality and interesting text for each chapter that follows our theoretical chapter format, with large sets of relevant references for each chapter. We believe that we have also accomplished that major goal, but the reader will have to be the judge. At the very least, we argue that the substance of this Handbook will be useful to many voluntaristics scholars, educators, and students for many years to come. We also argue that this volume fills a previous gap in the voluntaristics handbook research literature.

Unlike most other handbooks, this Handbook has a kind of latent, intellectual advocacy purpose. As Smith indicates in the Introduction (and at length previously in Smith 2000:chapter 10), many major scholars in the field of voluntaristics and their followers have for decades seriously distorted the overall theoretical perspective of the nature of the VNPS, seeing it mainly or solely as a set of NPOs as paid-staff based nonprofit agencies (Smith 2015c), mainly or totally ignoring voluntary associations (Smith 2015b). The Introduction, and indeed the entire Handbook, is an attempt by Smith once again to broaden their *flat-earth maps* (Smith 1997). We strongly advocate adding much more emphasis on associations, and also on volunteering and civic participation, to expand the *round-earth paradigm* of the VNPS that Smith (2000:chapter 10) has been suggesting since he founded the organized field of voluntaristics in 1971 (Smith 2016). Many other distinguished voluntaristics scholars share this broader, round-earth perspective and paradigm (e.g., Cnaan and Park 2016; Rochester 2013; Van Til 2015).

Finally, for all the work done by the editors of this Handbook, in the end the "soil and earth" (quoting Jurgen Grotz, our Managing Editor) of this book are its 203 contributors – the *sine qua non* of its existence, without whom the Handbook would not exist. *We three Editors are thus immensely grateful for the estimated 30+ person-years of volunteer professional effort/work they have collectively contributed to this massive, interdisciplinary, multi-national, collaborative endeavor over the past five years*, continuing still over the next few months or so of production of the volume (e.g., answering copy editor queries, proofing typeset chapters). We firmly believe that entire global field of voluntaristics will be in their debt for many years to come.

Note

1. We have had to set some rules for ourselves in writing contributors' names in order to standardize the process and make the form of contributors' names be used consistently across individuals:

    (1) We use first and last names (surnames, family names), but omit middle names, using the middle initial when known.
    (2) We usually hyphenate Hispanic surnames (e.g., Batista-Silva), for practical reasons of alphabetization, even though hyphens are not used in Hispanic cultures.
    (3) We consistently hyphenate British double surnames (e.g., Ellis-Paine), even though this practice is not followed in Britain.
    (4) We hyphenate double surnames used to indicate the surnames of both spouses (e.g., More-Hollerweger), as some modern people do.
    (5) We use diacritical markings to the extent that we know them (e.g., René), at least in the lists of chapter authors and the References.
    (6) We place Chinese surnames in all capital letters, because there have been many confusions/errors about surnames in the course of our work regarding which of

two Chinese names is the surname. Naturally, the Chinese do not do this. Furthermore, we place the surname second, contrary to the usual Chinese practice of putting the surname first. When a Chinese surname is preceded by a Western first name, we use upper/lower case for the surname, since confusion is less likely.

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The author of *Grassroots Associations* (2000), first co-author of *A Dictionary of Nonprofit Terms and Concepts* (2006; 2nd edition 2017), and author/editor of 18 other books, David recently invented S-Theory (Synanthrometrics) – an integrative, interdisciplinary, and quantitative theory of individual behavior, especially pro-social behavior like volunteering, drawing on recent research in many socio-behavioral sciences, biology/neuroscience, and interdisciplinary fields. S-Theory may be termed *The Theory of Everyone* because it aspires to explain any behavior of anyone, even though it is applied mainly to volunteering as one type of pro-social behavior. Survey research in Russia has strongly confirmed this theory. His book on S-Theory is going to be published in 2017: *S-Theory (Synanthrometrics) as "The Theory of Everyone": A Proposed New Standard Human Science Model of Behavior, Especially Pro-social Behavior.*

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Stebbins' principal contribution to the fields of leisure studies and voluntaristics is his *serious leisure perspective.* It revolves around a typology of leisure, based on the ways people experience and are motivated to pursue particular free-time activities. From qualitative/exploratory research on 21 different amateur, hobbyist, and volunteer activities, he inductively generated over a period of 42 years the aforementioned perspective. Today, its three forms – serious, casual, and project-based leisure – along with its many types and subtypes, constitute a main orientation for research and analysis in the interdisciplinary field of leisure studies. In recognition of this contribution, Stebbins was elected, in 1997, Fellow of the Academy of Leisure Sciences and, in 1999, Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada.

His 50 books published or in press include *Volunteering as Leisure/Leisure as Volunteering: An International Perspective* (2004), *Between Work and Leisure: The Common Ground of Two Separate Worlds* (2004/2014), *Serious Leisure: A Perspective for Our Time* (2007/2015), *A Dictionary of Nonprofit Terms and Concepts* (2006; with David Horton Smith and Michael Dover), and *Leisure and the Motive to Volunteer* (Palgrave, 2015).

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His 35 years of active engagement in the voluntary and community sector and 25 years of applied policy and practice research in Germany, China, and the United Kingdom have offered him insights into a great variety of subjects, such as volunteering in public services with particular reference to the relationship between the state and the voluntary sector when reviewing the effectiveness of the English Compact, and the negative sides of volunteering, for example, during the Volunteer Rights Enquiry of Volunteering England.

He has worked for the Royal National Institute for the Blind, the Big Lottery Fund, Volunteering England, and is currently Research Manager at the Institute for Volunteering Research, National Council for Voluntary Organisations, UK, where he is responsible for research into all aspects of volunteering from micro-volunteering to employer-supported volunteering and local volunteering infrastructure.

He has written numerous reports on applied research, has contributed a background paper to the project on "The State of the World's Volunteerism Report 2011" by the UN Volunteers (2011), and regularly contributes to the academic debate at conferences or in print. His recent publication is (with Mary Corcoran) "Deconstructing the Panacea of Volunteering in Criminal Justice" in *The Voluntary Sector and Criminal Justice* (edited by A. Hucklesby and M. Corcoran; Palgrave). He is also a regular reviewer for *Voluntary Sector Review*.

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Introduction

David H. Smith (USA) with Robert A. Stebbins (USA)

Formal volunteering takes place in an overwhelming variety of membership associations (MAs) worldwide, as well as in volunteer service programs (VSPs). MAs focus on every topical area, idea, belief, issue, and problem in contemporary nations having non-totalitarian political regimes. In writing/compiling this Handbook, the editors are acting on their belief that MAs are the central, vital, and driving force of the global Voluntary Nonprofit Sector (VNPS) – its "soul" and the roots of its values, passions, and ethics (Eberly and Streeter 2002; Rothschild and Milofsky 2006; Smith 2017b). While the review chapters written for this volume are intended to be objective, scientific treatises, we Editors are motivated significantly by our values and passions for MAs and their volunteers, acting in their leisure time, and what they do for the world. Not all of MA impacts are beneficial for people and societies in general (see Handbook Chapters 52 and 54), but *most* impacts are beneficial in the longer term in our view (see Handbook Chapters 52 and 53; Smith 2017b).

Four themes are covered in this chapter: (1) The interdisciplinary field of voluntaristics (Smith 2013, 2016a) is one intellectual context of the Handbook. (2) There is a huge global scope and variety of MAs. (3) Most voluntaristics scholars tend to ignore MAs. (4) Volunteering can be viewed as unpaid productive work, but more nuanced, value-driven, and humanistic views better represent volunteering as satisfying leisure in people's lives.

The Palgrave Handbook of Volunteering, Civic Participation, and Nonprofit Associations reviews research on volunteering, civic participation, and voluntary, nonprofit MAs, as its title indicates, and does so in the theoretical context of *voluntaristics* research (Smith 2013, 2016a). Smith (2013) has suggested using the term *voluntaristics* (or *altruistics*) to refer to the global, interdisciplinary field of research on all kinds of phenomena related or referring to the voluntary, nonprofit sector (VNPS). *Voluntaristics* is a label that is analogous to the term *linguistics*, referring to the scholarly study of all human languages. Smith now prefers the term *voluntaristics* over the other new term he has suggested,

altruistics (Smith 2013, 2016a), and over all other terms, including the term *philanthropy*, which is too narrow, conventional, and elitist.

A. Voluntaristics as an interdisciplinary field of research and emergent interdiscipline

[Note: The following Sub-Section #1 quotes from Smith (2016a), with permission.]

> Voluntaristics research includes the study of both collective and individual phenomena of the VNPS and harks back to the early definitions of *voluntary action research* by Smith (1972a; see also Smith, Reddy, and Baldwin 1972a). Rochester (2013) has recently called for a renewal of the concept of voluntary action, in order to have a more ample and balanced view of the VNPS and its phenomena.

> The following is a brief overview of the subject matter or phenomena of interest in voluntaristics research:

> (a) Voluntaristics studies the VNPS itself as a whole in various nations, examining it over time and through various historical transformations, sometimes qualifying as civil society. Voluntaristics research gives attention to VNPS relations with other sectors, such as the household/family sector, the business/for-profit sector, and the government/public sector (Commission on Private Philanthropy and Public Needs 1975; Cornuelle 1965; Ehrenberg 1999; Florini 2000; Frumkin and Imber 2004; Gunn 2004; Levitt 1973; Lewis 1999; O'Neill 2002; Rochester 2013; Salamon 1999, 2003; Smith, Baldwin, and White 1988; Smith, Reddy, and Baldwin 1972a; Van Til 2015 [see also Handbook Chapters 2 and 3]).

> (b) Voluntaristics studies the various main types of nonprofit organizations (NPOs), as highly complex formal groups, in the VNPS. But voluntaristics also studies looser collectivities, such as social networks, informal groups, and semi-formal groups, which may collectively be termed *informal nonprofit groups* (NPGs) in the VNPS. Smith (2015a, 2015b) argues that the two main types of formal groups in the VNPS are voluntary associations or MAs and nonprofit agencies (NPAs) or voluntary agencies (Volags).

> MAs by definition have a membership that ultimately controls the group, and MAs usually serve their members, not non-members or the general welfare and public interest (Smith 2015a). Local, all-volunteer MAs, called grassroots associations (GAs), are the most common type of MAs in every society ever studied carefully, from ten millennia ago to the present (Smith 1997b, 2000, 2014, 2015a). In MAs, the ultimate power is bottom-up, residing with the members who elect top leaders.

By contrast, NPAs usually have no members, but operate mainly with paid staff as employees, and often have a VSP, as a department that supplies volunteers to help achieve the NPA's goals (Smith 2015b [see also Handbook Chapter 15]). NPAs mainly serve non-member recipients and often the general welfare and public interest in their society. However, the power is top-down in NPAs (not bottom-up, as in MAs). The board of directors or trustees makes all major policy decisions and with VSP volunteers having essentially no power (Smith 2015b).

The often-used/cited *structural-operational definition* of the VNPS put forth by Salamon (1992:6), and identically by Salamon and Anheier (1992:125), is far too narrow, focusing only on highly structured and formally registered and/or incorporated NPOs. This definition omits the vast majority of NPGs in the world, which are usually small, informal, all-volunteer, unincorporated, unregistered GAs (Smith 2014). The structural-operational definition also ignores all of individual volunteering and citizen participation as voluntary action (Cnaan and Park 2016; Smith 1975, 1981, 1991, 1993a, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 2000, 2004, 2010a, 2014; Smith, Reddy, and Baldwin 1972a; Van Til 2015 [see also Handbook Chapters 9 and 31]), which is simply unacceptable to anyone who knows and appreciates the VNPS.

Voluntaristics studies the many and various types of volunteering and citizen participation *by individual persons*, whether done as individuals *not* acting as members of any organized group or context (termed *informal volunteering*; see Handbook Chapter 9), or done as members of some group or organization (termed *formal volunteering*; Cnaan and Park 2016; Rochester 2013; Smith 1975, 1981, 1991, 1993a, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 2000, 2004, 2010a, 2014; Smith, Reddy, and Baldwin 1972a; see also Handbook Chapters 3 and 31). Cnaan and Park (2016) make by far the most comprehensive inventory of types of citizen participation ever published, including formal volunteering, association participation, charitable giving, pro-environmental behaviors, various political and social behaviors, and supporting or helping others (informal volunteering).

Their definition of *civic participation* is as follows:

> We define civic participation/engagement as any activity of any individual, alone or with others, that is performed outside the boundaries of the family and household that directly or indirectly attempts to promote the quality of life of others, and that may make the community or society a better place to live in.

Smith's (2016b) currently preferred definition of *volunteering* is similar in many ways to Cnaan and Park's definition of *citizen participation,* but takes a smaller scale view of the intended positive outcomes. Smith defines the relevant term as follows:

> Volunteering is defined as any activity of any individual, alone or with others, as a solitary act or as a member of some informal group or formal organization, that is performed without compulsion/coercion and mainly without direct remuneration/payment that directly or indirectly attempts to improve the satisfactions and quality of life of one or more others outside the boundaries of the immediate family and household.
>
> (p. 1)

B. Definition, scope, and variety of membership associations and associational volunteers

MAs exist in an overwhelming variety of forms, structures, sizes, and geographic scopes.

In the Handbook Appendix, *MAs*, or simply *associations*, are defined as follows:

> *association (voluntary association, membership association, nonprofit association)*
>
> A relatively formally structured *nonprofit group that depends mainly on *volunteer *members for *participation and activity and that usually seeks *member benefits, even if it may also seek some *public benefits (cf. Smith 2015a). Associations nearly always have some degree of formal structure, but most of them are informal groups, not organizations (see *formal group; Smith 1967). An association is frequently referred to as a "voluntary association," but some scholars recently have termed them "membership associations" or "nonprofit associations," as in this Handbook's title. Associations are the most common type of nonprofit organization in the United States (Smith 2000:41–42) and in all other nations or earlier types of societies ever studied. Their total numbers are never reflected accurately in government statistics and registries of nonprofit organizations. Hence, many scholars unknowingly make false statements about "all nonprofit organizations" or "the nonprofit sector" based on samples from such incomplete government NPO registries. Many other scholars simply ignore associations because of their myopic focus only on nonprofit agencies with paid staff.

By definition, MAs use the "associational form of organization," essentially being groups defined by having a membership that controls the group leadership, with *bottom-up* power, rather than the *top-down* power present in nonprofit agencies (Smith 2015a, 2015b), as in business corporations and government agencies. In the Handbook Appendix, this special, democratic form of organization is defined as follows:

associational form of organization

Manner of operating a *group (Smith 1967) that usually involves having *official members who are mostly *volunteers, some elected *formal non-profit leaders, often a *board of directors with *policy control, financial support mainly from annual *dues or donations (but may also include *fees and occasionally *grants), often one or more *committees as part of the *leadership, and regular face-to-face meetings attended by active *official members and informal participants. Form used in *associations, *transnational associations, *national associations, *state associations, and *grassroots associations (Smith 2000).

Among the various types of *formal volunteers* that exist, active as part of some sponsoring group or organization, by far the most important and frequent globally are *association volunteers*, *not* volunteers in Volunteer Service Programs (VSPs) as the volunteer departments of many paid-staff-based, nonprofit agencies (Smith 2015b). This Handbook mainly focuses on association volunteers, although some other types of volunteers are also treated briefly: informal volunteers in Handbook Chapter 9; stipended volunteers in Handbook Chapters 10 and 11; tourist volunteers in Handbook Chapter 12; online/virtual volunteers in Handbook Chapter 13; spontaneous/crisis volunteers in Handbook Chapter 14; and volunteers in VSPs in Handbook Chapters 15–17.

In the Handbook Appendix, association volunteers, often labeled as *active members* of associations (vs. inactive/passive/nominal members), are defined as follows:

active member (of an association)

A member of a *nonprofit group who regularly provides *services that help meet the *operative goals of that group (Smith 2000:7), also termed technically an "analytic member." Any active member of an association is an associational volunteer. Contrasts with inactive members (passive members, nominal members, "paper" members) who do nothing except pay dues/fees to the group. Also termed an *association volunteer* or *associational volunteer*. Often overlooked by scholars and lay people who only consider volunteer service programs, ignoring associations as the principal global context of *formal volunteering for the past 10,000 years (Smith 1997).

As suggested in the title of our Handbook, other terms like *civic participation* or *civic engagement* (basically synonyms) also capture the kind of usually (but not always) pro-social behavior and activities that are a prime focus of this volume. In the Handbook Appendix, *civic engagement* is defined as follows:

civic engagement (civic participation, civic involvement, community involvement)

1. Act or result of performing local *voluntary action based on a felt civic duty, responsibility, or obligation (see *civic obligation/responsibility) fulfilled by working toward amelioration of a *community concern. Such terms as *citizen engagement* and *civil engagement* are, at bottom, synonymous with *civic engagement*, as variations of the first term. Other synonyms alter the second term, using *involvement* or *participation*.

2. Recently, the term *civic engagement* (or synonyms as above) has been used more broadly by some to include all forms of volunteering, formal and informal, and other participation (as social involvement or social participation), whether focused on a community concern or not, political or not (e.g., Cnaan and Park 2016).

Based on the current global population and the estimated global prevalence of seven associations per thousand population, Smith (2014) estimated that there are about 56 million nonprofit groups (NPGs) in total worldwide at present, including both MAs and NPAs. Of these, about 49 million (roughly 88%) are GAs. An estimated one billion people now are members of one or more MAs, and even more will become members sometime during their lifetimes. The estimated income of all NPGs in the world was at least USD 4.2 trillion in 2011, which is equivalent to the fourth rank among nations in GDP. The cumulative monetary value of time contributed by active MA members as volunteers was at least USD 500 billion in 2005, according to one research-based estimate (see Handbook Chapter 44). MAs also have cumulative global incomes and assets in the hundreds of billions of US dollars. Many associations strongly support the economic systems and economic development in their own nations and globally.

There are MAs, especially GAs, focused on every topical area, idea, belief, issue, and problem in contemporary nations having non-totalitarian political regimes. Beginning mainly 10,000 years ago as social clubs, MAs now tackle every type of problem and potential benefit for members or for the larger society, often having significant societal and historical impacts (Smith 2017b). Sometimes these impacts are unintentionally negative or harmful to members or non-members or both, but MAs can also be *intentionally* harmful (Smith 2017a). The members of MAs mainly participate during their leisure time, as *serious leisure,* and sometimes as *casual leisure* (Stebbins 1996, 2007). But MAs can, and often do, serve economic and occupational needs and goals, as well as conventional political, social movement (activist), religious, health, education, social welfare, self-help, economic development, and indulgent leisure needs and goals.

Most MAs in any nation are conventional and law-abiding, but some break the law on a long-term basis as deviant voluntary associations (DVAs; Smith

2017a). However, social movement associations in particular, though initially seen as DVAs, often turn out to be the *positive* "dark energy" of the VNPS (op. cit.). Such DVAs frequently foster positive social innovation and socio-cultural change in their own nations and sometimes in the world as a whole (e.g., Smith 2017a). *Governments and businesses mainly run and control the world, but certain DVAs change the world permanently*, including changing government regime structures and entire national business and economic systems. Smith (2017b) documents extensively such impacts of MAs in his forthcoming review article. Although "values, passions, and ethics" are central in the VNPS, as Rothschild and Milofsky (2006) have argued, NPAs almost never have such powerful, far-reaching, and historical impacts as do certain MAs.

Voluntary, nonprofit MAs constitute a persisting and persistent *third force* to be reckoned with in the world, and in every contemporary nation, beyond governments and the business sector. MAs are "the soul of civil society," as Eberly and Streeter (2002) have pointed out usefully. Nonprofit agencies and foundations are simply not. This crucial, innovative force of MAs can even be active in totalitarian dictatorships, where some independent MAs usually exist underground in secrecy. Many MAs as Deviant Voluntary Associations (DVAs) have overthrown such totalitarian or authoritarian regimes of emperors, kings, juntas, and other dictators (cf. Smith 2017a, 2017b).

MAs as a whole cannot sensibly be ignored as irrelevant, weak, or unimportant, however small specific MAs may be, however many MAs are in existence at a given time in a given nation, and however much MA existence and activities are apparently controlled or suppressed by the government. MAs are a key form of human group that has unlimited potential, for both good and bad societal outcomes and impacts, as history has clearly demonstrated (Smith 2017a, 2017b).

C. Membership associations are neglected by many voluntaristics scholars

Paid-staff NPAs serving non-members have a much shorter history than MAs, dating back only 2,500 years or so (Smith 2015b:261–262), rather than at least 10,000 years, and perhaps 25,000 years in a few cases (Anderson 1971). Smith (2015b) writes the following about early NPAs [quoted here with permission of the author]:

The first NPA in history was probably the museum of Ennigaldi-Nanna, founded *c*.530 BC by a Babylonian princess in Ur, now Iraq (Smith 2015b: 262). Other very early NPAs were the first hospital at the Temple of Aesclepius at Epidaurus in Greece, from *c*.430 BC (ibid. p. 261), while Plato's Academy in Athens was likely the first proto-college, from *c*.387 BC (ibid.). There are several other examples of early NPAs of various types,

such as libraries, monasteries (but not religious congregations, which are associations), secondary schools, colleges, universities, almshouses, and orphanages. However, *NPAs have existed in substantial numbers for only the past two centuries* (Chambers 1985; Critchlow and Parker 1998; Harris and Bridgen 2007; Katz 1986; Smith 1997b, 2015b:262; Smith, Stebbins, and Grotz 2016:chapter 1).

Generally, when studying NPOs, voluntaristics scholars have focused mainly on NPAs as *the largest*, *most visible*, *bright matter of the NPO universe*, much as early astronomers focused only on apparently brighter stars and close planets in the solar system. This astrophysical myopia has subsequently been corrected by astronomers, leading to the current view that the more visible, bright, and reflective matter of the universe (stars, planets, moons, asteroids, comets, gas, etc.) constitutes only about 4% of all the matter estimated to be actually present (Nicholson 2007; Panek 2011). By contrast, the dark matter of the universe, of unknown composition at present – hence the term *dark* – is estimated to account for about 23% of the matter-energy of the universe, with the rest (73%) being dark energy, also of unknown composition at present (Panek 2011:12).

Smith (2000:12–15) developed an astrophysical metaphor as well as a map-making metaphor to help convey to readers both the myopia and the inadequate comprehensiveness of the research and theory by most voluntaristics scholars. Smith (1997c) has referred to GAs as "the Dark Matter Ignored in Prevailing 'Flat-Earth' Maps of the Sector." Smith (1997a) titled a related article, "Grassroots Associations Are Important: Some Theory and a Review of the Impact Literature." In a later publication, Smith (2000:chapter 9) provides many examples of the impact of GAs, which were updated in Smith (2010a). Similarly, in his chapter in the *International Encyclopedia of Civil Society*, Smith (2010b) expands his review of research on the impact of MAs to cover supra-local MAs. In the present Handbook, Chapters 52 and 53 review research regarding the impact of volunteering and association participation on the volunteer-participant, while Smith (2017b; see also Smith 2017a) focuses on all other kinds of impact – in particular, on long-term and historical impacts on the larger society, which are often ignored.

When defined very restrictively, as by Salamon (1999) and identically by Salamon and Anheier (1992), so-called NPOs omit nearly all of the NPOs in the world and in any nation – GAs, and many all-volunteer or unincorporated supra-local MAs. Based on empirically grounded estimates by Smith (2000:42) and Smith (2014), drawing on extensive prior research by himself and others, the widely used Salamon–Anheier definition of the VNPS and NPOs omits about 88% of the NPOs (mostly GAs) in the United States and similarly 88% of all GAs worldwide. The Salamon and Anheier NPO/VNPS narrow definition thus omits virtually all of the world's nearly 50 million GAs, as the most common type of NPO in all of the past ten millennia all over the earth, very rarely

incorporated or government-registered. However, this narrow definition also omits the many supra-local MAs that have few or no paid staff and that lack formal incorporation or government registration. Unincorporated and non-government-registered NPAs are also omitted (Smith 2000:38), amounting to additional millions of NPOs worldwide. Moreover, the Salamon and Anheier definition also omits all those NPGs that are fundamentally deviant MAs, as DVAs (Smith 2017a), often operating secretly or underground to avoid being smashed by government, hence never initially incorporated or registered with the government. Nevertheless, DVAs have fostered revolutions, civil wars, guerrilla wars, and terrorist attacks, and have changed history in many countries (Smith 2017b).

The narrow Salamon and Anheier structural-operational definition of the VNPS and NPOs adheres to the *bureaucratic fallacy* in their total omission of voluntary action by individuals. In taking this approach, those authors are implicitly asserting that only NPOs undertake actions in the VNPS, not individuals, which is clearly incorrect. Their approach to studying the VNPS and NPOs would have us do the following as voluntaristics scholars:

(a) Ignore the humane core values, passion, and commitment of individuals that have motivated volunteering, civic participation, and social movement organizations (SMOs) in prior centuries (e.g., Colby and Damon 1992; Eberly and Streeter 2002; O'Connell 1983; Rothschild and Milofsky 2006; Wuthnow 1991; see also Handbook Chapters 17, 24, and 36).

(b) Ignore the transformative and charismatic leaders who have invented and established the many innovative types of NPOs in the past ten millennia (e.g., Barker et al. 2001; Bryson and Crosby 1992; De Leon 1994; Stutje 2012; see Handbook Chapters 1 and 36), including the social movements and SMOs that have helped create positive socio-cultural change in the past 200+ years.

(c) Ignore all of the other kinds of influences on volunteering, civic participation, and social movement, individual activism besides motivations, including thus biology, social statuses and roles, and various geographic levels of social context (e.g., Musick and Wilson 2008; Smith 1994; see Handbook Chapters 25–31).

(d) Ignore *informal* volunteering, with no NPO, or even any MA/GA, involved, even though informal volunteering pre-dated formal volunteering by over 100,000 years, and perhaps 190,000 years (see Handbook Chapters 9 and 51). Although neglected in the Salamon and Anheier definition of the VNPS, informal volunteering was estimated by Salamon et al. (2011) to be twice as frequent as formal volunteering in many nations studied.

(e) Ignore *informal social networks* and social capital in relation to volunteering, civic participation, and MAs, especially GAs (see Handbook Chapters 6 and 7).

Fortunately, the very recent work of a group of European voluntaristics scholars, led by Salamon, has finally redressed most of the imbalance by including individual, formal, and informal volunteering in their recent *consensus* definition of the VNPS (see http://thirdsectorimpact.eu). Their definition still omits SMOs, political activism, protest activity, and DVAs (Smith 2017a, 2017b), but is now mostly in line with the definitions of *voluntary action* and the VNPS suggested by Smith, Reddy, and Baldwin (1972a) 44 years ago. "Better late than never."

D. Volunteering as unpaid productive work or more?

The volitional conception of volunteering clashes with the economic conception (Stebbins 2013). The latter is largely descriptive, portraying volunteering as, at bottom, intentionally productive unpaid work. One problem with this blanket depiction is that by no means all such work is voluntary, as seen clearly in the domain of non-work obligation (here activities are by definition disagreeable, the agreeable ones being essentially leisure; Stebbins 2009:chapter 1). Moreover, since they are essentially leisure, some other kinds of unpaid work hardly resemble paid work. Still, the economic conception does steer attention to an important sphere of life beyond employment and livelihood.

Note further that the unpaid work in question is intentionally productive. In volunteering, volunteers intend to generate something of value for both self and other individuals, including their group or community, if not a combination of these. Such volunteer work is supposed to produce results, thereby showing the utility of volunteering. But now, on the explanatory level, the definitional ball gets passed to leisure.

Stebbins (2013) presented the following definition of the work–leisure axis of volunteering. For him, volunteering is

> un-coerced, intentionally-productive, altruistic activity framed in socio-cultural-historical context and engaged in during free time. It is also altruistic activity that people want to do and, using their abilities and resources, actually do in either an enjoyable or a fulfilling way (or both). If people are compensated, the amount of payment in cash or in-kind is significantly less-than-market-value.

The *free time* in which all this unfolds constitutes the temporal context of leisure: *those hours not spent performing either paid work or unpleasant, non-work obligations*. *Activity* (and core activity) is substituted for *work* in this definition, because the first is the more precise term for what people do in and get from their leisure and volunteering (Stebbins 2009). The adjective *intentionally-productive* is added to distinguish the beneficial social

consequences of volunteering, which are absent in some kinds of leisure (e.g., walking in a park, reading for pleasure or self-improvement, people watching from a sidewalk cafe).

E. Plan of this Handbook

Part I, bearing on the historical and conceptual background of volunteering and nonprofit MAs, opens with a chapter on the ten-millennium-long (or in some cases longer) history of associations and formal volunteering. This leads to one chapter on theories of association and volunteering and then another on typologies and classifications. Chapters 4 and 5 examine, respectively, leisure and time use perspectives on volunteering and volunteering in relation to other leisure activities. Chapter 6 examines associations and social capital, while Chapter 7 reviews research on associations and social networks. The final chapter of Handbook Part I, Chapter 8, discusses hybrid associations.

In Handbook Part II, we explore in depth the major analytic aspects and types of volunteering. Chapter 9 studies informal, unorganized volunteering. The rich variety of volunteering in the 21st century is evident in Chapters 10 and 11 on, respectively, stipended (partially paid) transnational and stipended national service volunteering. Chapter 12 looks into voluntourism, or volunteer tourism, which is followed by a chapter on volunteering online. Spontaneous volunteering in emergencies is the subject of Chapter 14. The nature of volunteering is further addressed in the final two chapters of Part II – bearing on the many volunteer service programs (VSPs) and the changing nature of VSP volunteering.

With parts I and II as background, the Handbook turns in Part III to the major activity areas (or goal and purpose types) of volunteers and volunteering. In Chapters 17 through 24 the contributors focus separately on eight of these, constituting a reasonably complete survey of the main types of such volunteering. One criterion underlying our decision to include them was the presence of enough theory, research, and application to justify a chapter.

In Part IV, the Handbook moves to the enduring question of volunteer motivation: why people start, continue, and/or stop volunteering. In broad terms, this section centers on the many motivational conditions (personal, genetic, social) that lead people to engage in this activity. These conditions are considered separately in Chapters 25 through 31. Chapter 31 discusses how far we have come in pulling together theoretically the contents of the preceding six chapters, presenting a new, comprehensive S-Theory, invented by Smith. The theory was tested and has performed well using data from an interview survey of a large, national sample of adult Russians in 2014.

Part V of the Handbook moves to a more descriptive level in studying the internal structures of associations. The chapter titles (Chapters 32–37) show just how involved this issue is. These associations may be local or grassroots micro-associations. They may be supra-local and national associations, as meso-associations. The transnational associations or INGOs are seen as macro-associations. Governance and internal structure and leadership and management are the subjects of Chapters 35 and 36. Chapter 37 discusses the life cycles of individual associations.

Handbook Part VI brings us to the practical realm of leading or serving on the board of nonprofit MAs. There are several internal processes of associations (Chapters 38–44). They include acquisition and retention of members, attraction of resources, and prevention of over-bureaucratization and mission drift. Self-regulation is critical to successful associations. Additionally, there are matters of accountability, information and technology, and the economic bases of associational operations.

Handbook Part VII examines the external environments of associations. Chapter 45 focuses on civil liberties and freedoms as variable association contexts, while Chapter 46 discusses pluralism, corporatism, and authoritarianism as alternative government regime contexts of associations. Legal, registration, and various tax issues are considered in Chapter 47. Associations also have relationships (some of them collaborative) with other groups (see Chapter 48). Chapter 49 focuses on public perceptions of, and trust in, associations and volunteers, followed by a chapter that examines the prevalence of associations across territories, and that rounds out this part of the Handbook.

All this brings us to Part VIII – the scope, trends, and impacts of associations. Chapter 51 provides extensive global data on the scope of and trends in associations and volunteering. The main impacts considered are those on volunteers. The nature and impacts of misconduct and associational deviance are also examined.

In conclusion, Handbook Part IX, we focus on some general theoretical conclusions and on needed future research, as this concern emerges from our overall conclusions. There is a wealth of research reported in this Handbook, which, however, shows vividly how much more there is to do.

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Part I

Historical and Conceptual Background

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1

History of Associations and Volunteering

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A. Introduction

This chapter examines the history of the topics in its title, with major emphasis on the history of associations. This Handbook is very clearly about *associationalism* writ large, not about associations and social welfare only (Smith 2015c). The latter issue is one key piece of the total puzzle, but we aim to cover the whole range of association types and time periods. Volunteering seems to be a characteristic of our species, with *informal* (unorganized) volunteering probably going back to our origins 150,000–200,000 years ago. *Formal* volunteering in associations can only be traced back about 10,000 years to the origins of associations in which to do such volunteering (Anderson 1971; Bradfield 1973). Volunteering in formal volunteer service programs (VSPs) as departments of other organizations is very recent historically, only going back to the mid-1800s (Smith 2015b; see Handbook Chapter 15). We know very little about the long history even of formal volunteering, since volunteering leaves few physical or written traces and was seldom mentioned by historians as a phenomenon until the past few hundred years.

The chapter is structured around major historical periods in which associations have existed, beginning about 10,000 years ago, when many human societies settled down in villages from being small, nomadic, hunter-gathering bands. Thus, we discuss associations in (1) preliterate horticultural societies, (2) ancient agrarian societies, (3) recent pre-industrial societies, and (4) industrial and post-industrial societies.

Associations have left more traces than volunteering in the historical, archeological, and anthropological records. Many anthropologists have included descriptions of associations in their ethnographic accounts of various preliterate societies (e.g., Anderson 1971; Bradfield 1973; Goldschmidt 1959; Lowie 1950:chapter 13; Ross 1976; Schurtz 1902; Smith 1997; Webster 1908). The history of associations (voluntary associations, common interest associations) is very important because associations were clearly the first form of nonprofit organizations (NPOs) to arise. They still dominate this sector in all societies in terms of numbers of separate groups and members/staff (e.g., Smith 2000:chapter 2, 2014, 2015c). Paid-staff nonprofit service agencies (voluntary agencies) now dominate the nonprofit sector in developed/industrialized and post-industrial/service societies in terms of wealth, income, and influence (Smith 2015d). This latter, familiar form of NPOs arose thousands of years after associations and has come to prominence only in the past 100–200 years in modern societies, with the exception of major world religious NPOs (ibid.).

The strict interpretation of the term *history* refers to *written* history. This chapter uses the broader interpretation of history as a thick description of all prior events. Further, this chapter is primarily concerned with social and institutional history and the history of daily life, rather than with political or economic history, although we do deal with some economic and political history also. We will begin, thus, with the *reconstructed history* of associations based on anthropology and archaeology, before going on to the works of professional and amateur historians. Our interest is in summarizing the interdisciplinary history of associations without concern for the academic disciplines of those who have contributed to this knowledge.

B. Definitions

This chapter accepts the general definitions presented in the Appendix of this Handbook. Various specialized terms for associations and types of associations will be introduced in context as they arise in the chapter text. A set of nine chapters discussing in detail the issues and alternative definitions of *voluntary associations* was presented long ago in Smith, Reddy and Baldwin's book (1972: Part One). A recent set of definitions of *association* and related concepts can be found in Smith, Stebbins, and Dover (2006:23 and passim).

The main problematic issue about defining an association concerns the extent to which membership is either voluntary or coerced. In 20th-century research, trade/labor unions and religious congregations have sometimes been omitted from the category of associations on the grounds that joining is either hereditary (in the case of religious congregations) or compulsory (in the case of closed-shop unions). That approach to defining associations has largely been overcome by current researchers and theorists, who usually include both

religious and economic associations (such as unions, professional associations, trade associations) as specific purpose-activity types of associations.

The problem of definition remains for associations in preliterate societies. In some small horticultural villages, which were independent societies, there was often only one association, usually for adult males. Hence, joining and membership were largely ascriptive (automatic, coercive). Such associations, whether unique or multiple in their existence, have been called *sodalities* by anthropologists (e.g., Lowie 1950:chapter 13).

Other anthropologists and sociologists have referred to such associations as *common interest associations*, avoiding the issue of voluntary versus coercive/ascriptive joining and membership (Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:48). Lowie's (1950) review of prior ethnographic research on sodalities in preliterate societies makes it clear that two or more such associations were often present in a village society, especially a large village, making joining and membership truly voluntary. Research he reviewed also notes the presence of separate structures (buildings, in a loose sense) as *clubhouses* in various societies, as do other authors discussing sodalities in preliterate societies (e.g., Bradfield 1973; Ross 1976:48–51; Schurtz 1902; Webster 1908).

C. Historical background

Because this whole chapter is about the history of associations and volunteering, this section is the main part of the chapter, and Section D, on key issues, is omitted. The various chronological time periods that are discussed below become the key issues in this chapter, answering the question, "What associations were present in various historical time periods?" This chapter is an extensive elaboration of the kind of meta-history of associations first presented in Smith (1997).

1. Anthropology and the pre-history of associations in preliterate societies

According to Robert Anderson (1971:209), "the history of formal common interest associations during the first million years of human existence lends itself to brief statement: there were virtually none." He then qualified this statement by adding that, as Walter Goldschmidt (1959:155–156) had suggested, "in a few instances a kind of religious sodality may have cut across band and family ties, as in the totemic groups of some Australian aborigines today." He also claimed that "although rare, the common interest associations of hunting nomads invariably unite individuals in terms of religious beliefs" (Anderson 1971:209). However, other authors have found evidence for the existence of different types of association among members of hunter-gatherer/fisher societies. Johnson and Earle (2000:178) have described the formation of voluntary associations of whale hunters in Eskimo Tareumiut society, and Lynn Gamble (2002)

has highlighted the role played by specialist associations of canoe builders (the *Brotherhood of the Tomol*) among the Chumash Indians of southern California – both being examples of preliterate economic/occupational associations.

One of the main problems raised by attempts to reconstruct the history of associations over such long periods is the lack of direct evidence for the most distant past. This has led previous authors, such as Anderson (1971), Bradfield (1973), and Ross (1976), to infer the extent of associational activity among preliterate societies in millennia long ago from more recent anthropological evidence. However, it is generally accepted that formal associations became more prevalent following the development of settled agriculture beginning about 10,000 years ago (Nolan and Lenski 2006). Because agriculture was very simple, essentially gardening, such societies are usually termed *horticultural societies*, in contrast to more developed agriculture of later *agrarian societies,* which supported large, ancient civilizations eventually (ibid.; also, Johnson and Earle 2000). Smith (1997:191) attributes the development of associations within horticultural societies to the fact that they were typically much larger than hunter-gatherer societies, inhabited permanent settlements, and were characterized by greater craft specialization and more complex status systems (also, Nolan and Lenski 2006).

Various attempts have been made to develop typologies of voluntary associations, based on anthropological evidence. In *Social Organization*, Lowie (1950:294–309) identified a number of different types of associations, based on examples of the pastoral societies with which he was familiar: men's tribal associations (including tribal clubs and tribal secret societies); more exclusive secret societies; exclusive clubs for the elite but not practicing secrecy; age classes/associations (including separate associations for spinsters and bachelors); and economic sodalities (including different types of guilds/associations for workers in different economic specialties). However, Smith (1997:192) has questioned whether many *tribal associations* or *exclusive clubs* can really be regarded as *voluntary* associations (vs. often *compulsory* common interest associations) and also the extent to which we can extrapolate from the experience of contemporary economic guilds or associations to the more distant past (on typologies, see also Handbook Chapter 3).

2. Associations in ancient agrarian societies

Although much of the evidence for associations in preliterate societies has been derived from anthropological sources, we have much more direct evidence for the existence of associations in ancient, partially literate, agrarian societies. Such societies had a more advanced agricultural economy (using irrigation, fertilizer, deep plows, enhanced seeds, insecticides, etc.; Johnson and Earle 2000). Much of this evidence comes from various types of inscriptions, honorific degrees, membership lists, funerary monuments, religious dedications,

legal and fiscal documents, and literary accounts (see, e.g., Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg 2012; Kloppenborg and Ascough 2011:3–4).

(a) China

In the case of China, Ross (1976:73–85) identifies five different types of association which can be considered as at least partially voluntary. The first was the *tsu*, which can be traced back at least as far as the *Shang* dynasty (123 BCE). Although this was "a formally-organised agnatic descent group tracing its origin in a certain locality to a specific ancestor" (p. 73), Ross argued that it could be regarded as a quasi-voluntary association because there was the possibility of exit and membership could be extended to non-family members by the invention of fictive genealogical links. The *tsu* served partly as a means of ancestor worship, but also as a source of mutual aid, providing a range of services, including education, care of the elderly, and burial assistance, to its members.

The welfare functions of the *tsu* were complemented by those of the *hui* and the *she*. The term *she* can be dated back to the 6th century BCE and was used to describe an association of 20–50 households that provided each other with a series of different kinds of practical support, including help with farm work, various kinds of welfare assistance, and opportunities for collective worship. The *she* became incorporated into the machinery of local government from the 13th century CE onwards (Ross 1976:76–77). The term *hui* refers to a number of different kinds of village-based associations providing a range of specialist services, including temple maintenance, worship, crop-watching, canal and granary repair, and even drama presentation. There were also more general *hui*, providing support for the village as a whole (Ross 1976:77–78).

Ross also examined the evidence for the existence of economic associations, or guilds, in ancient China. He drew particular attention to a *guild of bankers* which could be traced back to 200 BCE (Ross 1976:79). However, Morse (1909:9) claimed that the Bankers Guild of Ningpo traced its *craft* back to pre-Christian times, and Moll-Murata (2008:213) suggests that there is little evidence for the existence of European-style guilds in China before the late 16th century CE. There is rather more evidence for the antiquity of secret societies in China. According to Chesneaux (1972:2), the oldest of these organizations can be traced back to the struggles of Liu Pang and his *sworn brothers* against the *Ch'in* dynasty in the 3rd century CE, and to the Yellow Turbans' campaign against the *Han* four centuries later.

(b) India

There appears to be rather less evidence of voluntary associations in ancient India. Ross (1976:85–91) attributes this to the effects of the caste system and to the particular nature of village organization during the very long caste period. However, Drekmeier (1962:18–19, 275–277) argues that "guilds

of woodworkers, weavers, weapon-makers, hunters and other crafts and professional groups are mentioned in the Vedas" and that they became increasingly important from the fifth and sixth centuries BCE onwards. In addition to their economic functions, they also exercised a high degree of control over social aspects of their members' lives and played an important part in political life.

(c) Mesopotamia

In the Babylonian and Assyrian empires (3000–650 BCE), artisans organized associations, often linking persons in extended families that shared a common trade (Mendelsohn 1940b; Weisberg 1967). Other occupational associations were formed primarily among slaves. In all cases, the predominant focus of the groups was not economic but social (including the care of widows of workers) and religious in that cult played a part in group life.

(d) Ancient Palestine

Evidence for large and well-equipped, collectively owned occupational associations in ancient Palestine suggests that neighborhood associations formed around common occupations and provided members with practical enticements such as insurance against lost tools, religious rites, and social interactions (Mendelsohn 1940a; Ross 1976:117–128). A distinguishing feature of associations throughout the Levant was the emphasis on feasting and drinking, hence being mainly social clubs. The focus on business transactions, burial of members, banqueting, and (especially) drinking took on ritual forms and came to be known as the *marzĕaḥ* (Greenfield 1974). From the 4th century BCE through to the 3rd century CE, *marzĕḥîm* were predominantly formed by wealthy businessmen who not only met for social and commercial purposes but collectively-owned permanent meeting places along with fields, vineyards, and burial grounds. The Jewish community that lived at Qumran from the 1st century BCE through to the mid-1st century CE is a particularly ascetic sectarian example of such associations (Weinfeld 1986).

More in keeping with the voluntary unencumbered tradition of associations, however, are the Jewish synagogues of the 2nd century BCE. These began as groups in Palestine, gathering in any available building for reading, teaching, and discussion centered on the *Torah*, the five books of the Hebrew Bible (part of the "Old Testament" of the Christian Bible) (Harland 2003). Eventually, such groups began to own a specific meeting place. In both their origins and their development, these religious associations look similar to the array of Hellenistic associations within their broader cultural context (Runesson 2001). After the destruction of the second temple in Jerusalem in 70 CE, synagogues became the central focus of Jewish religious and social life, with the Rabbis taking on an increasingly dominant leadership role and a broad-based membership. In the

Diaspora, synagogues served to unite Jewish immigrants who were displaced from their home towns and extended families (Runesson 2001).

(e) Ancient Greece

Associations in the Greek world date back at least to the laws of Solon in late 6th-century BCE Athens that allowed the formation of associations that did not interfere with the interests of the state (Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg 2012; Kloppenborg and Ascough 2011; Kloppenborg and Wilson 1996). The majority of these associations centered on a common cult and chose specific deities such as Bendis or Athena as their patron. They took on characteristics of already extant associations organized around extended families, such as the Attic *brotherhoods* (*phratriai*) that focused on veneration of an ancestor or a hero.

Associations grew in size, scope, and importance from the 4th century BCE as other deities and heroes from Greece and its newly conquered territories became the foci for cult activity (Arnaoutoglou 2003; Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg 2012; Kloppenborg and Ascough 2011; Kloppenborg and Wilson 1996). There were also social and political clubs in Athens in these times (Calhoun 1970; Jones 1999). The expanded empire allowed for ease of movement for foreign traders, merchants, slaves, and noncitizens. Excluded from citizenship rights in Greek cities, these foreigners formed associations to provide themselves a sense of identity, often joining together on the basis of common ethnicity, common cult, or common occupation, and sometimes even on the basis of living in the same neighborhood. Although much of the extant data come from urban centers, enough evidence has come to light to suggest that cultic and occupational associations thrived in small villages and towns (Kloppenborg and Ascough 2011:3).

(f) Ancient Rome

Rome began its eastward expansion in the 2nd century BCE and in the process adopted and adapted Greek ways, including the formation of associations by both elites and non-elites. Of particular note is the influence of eastern deities such as Isis and Cybele, who became focal points for cult activity among small private associations. The increasing dislocation of individuals and families, through trade or as a result of war, also intensified the trend of associations forming in order to address the need for a sense of belonging in a foreign urban center. Merchants and artisans formed associations based on similarity of trade, not in order to control the economic sector, but to provide opportunities for social interaction and business networking (Kloppenborg and Ascough 2011:5; Waltzing 1895–1900).

In 186 BCE, concerns around abuses and immoral behavior in the Dionysos cult led the Roman Senate to ban associations, although they continued to flourish unrestricted. In late Republican Rome suspicions of associations being

involved in political activity were proved true as Clodius attempted to use associations (*collegia*) to influence the political process in 58 BCE, resulting in further restrictions on associations. Nevertheless, these laws seem rarely to have been enforced and in the Imperial period the number and influence of private associations continued unabated (Harland 2003:161–173).

In the post-Constantine period in Europe and the Levant, the predominant form of association quickly became Christian, with emphasis on churches and monasteries, and thus tended to fall under the authority of the political and religious authorities (Duchesne 1912; Harrison, Humfress, and Sandwell 2014:chapters 9, 10). As such, they were less voluntary than had been the case during earlier times. The exception was para-ecclesial associations formed by charismatic leaders and/or their followers, usually around a heterodox belief or practice. Once they drew the attention of the authorities, however, they were shut down, often violently, and their teachings and practices deemed *heretical*. There is thus little evidence for such groups outside of their condemnation by the authorities (cf. Smith 1997:200). This is not to say that many did not exist, but it was in their own best interest not to draw attention to themselves through the erection of inscriptions or the issuing of documents, as had been the practice of their predecessors in the Graeco-Roman period.

3. Associations in recent pre-industrial societies

Anderson (1971:213) also argued that, with the exception of the merchant guilds of medieval Europe, "a trough of quiescence, when the importance of associations was comparatively reduced" lay "between the crest of association in Neolithic communities and modern industrial nations," and that "perhaps 90 per cent of the total population [of pre-industrial societies] had no personal involvement in voluntary associations of any kind" (p. 215). However, the evidence from Western Europe in the Middle Ages (pre-1000–c.1500) suggests a very different picture (Hughes 1974). Almost every new form of institution created in the Middle Ages was the outcome of associational initiatives: the great universities, such as Bologna and Paris, sprang respectively from associations of students and teachers (Hartson 1911: esp. 17–24; Rüegg 1992:6; Verger 1992:37–39) and many of the great religious orders, such as the Cistercians and Franciscans, sprang from the initiatives of associations of lay people, as did associations that came to be seen as heretical.

To modern eyes, one of the most interesting forms of voluntary association in medieval Europe was that of the *béguines*. These associations of religious women, not entirely subject to Church control, flourished in the Low Countries, northern France and western Germany. Living together in a *béguinage*, as an intentional community, members pursued a frugal life of prayer and chastity, combined with religious teaching and charitable action that included caring for the poor and ill and those "explicitly rejected by the

social body" such as lepers, as well as laying out and preparing the dead (Simons 2001:61–87). These communities enabled women to spend some years engaging in meaningful, fulfilling activity, while remaining outside the marriage market. *Béguinages* also provided competitive labor in the enormous textile industry, spinning, preparing, and finishing cloth (Simons 2001:115). In the industrialized, textile cities of the Low Countries, they seem to have acted "as institutional supports for … women, offering companionship, mutual assistance, medical aid, and instruction, as well as relief in hard times" (Simons 2001:116). The Church's attitude to *béguines* was ambivalent. In the early 14th century there was much persecution by local bishops with accusations of heresy. But with support from senior churchmen and local elites, they thrived, surviving beyond the Reformation. There were more than 1,700 *béguines* in Belgium in the mid-1820s (Neel 1989; Simons 2001).

The most fundamental form of association in the medieval West was the fraternity or guild. Contemporaries used numerous terms, usually with no sharp distinction, to describe these groups. These included *fraternitas* (brotherhood), *consortium*, *confratrium*, *compagnia*, and, in northern Europe, variations of the word *gild*. Despite their religious branding, fraternities are thought to have derived from pre-Christian associations, drinking and convivial guilds in northern Europe, and *conviviae* (feasting groups) and *collectae* in southern Europe (Reynolds 1984:69).

Described by Duparc (1968) as "the basic cells of medieval society," fraternities and guilds touched almost every locality in Europe. They provided a *locus* for creating a sense of shared identity and belonging (focused on neighborhood, a church, and a patron saint), mutual help, and building crucial networks that went beyond one's own kin (Rosser 2009). These were mostly male organizations (Kowaleski and Bennett 1989; but see also Bainbridge 1996:47; Reynolds 1984:68).

Although there was great variation, for instance in membership criteria or religiosity (more pronounced in southern Europe, see, e.g., Black 1989; Terpstra 1995; Weissman 1982), there were several universal features: attachment to a specific church, often with a specific altar or chapel there; contribution to the upkeep of the church; an annual celebration on the feast day of the group's patron saint, involving a religious ceremony, the Mass, followed by a communal meal, often sumptuous and involving the distribution of food among members; obligations to mutual support; and a commitment to pay fees that was enforceable in church courts.

Practical benefits for members were material and spiritual: payment if needed for proper burial, where potential lack of such burial was a cause of great anxiety and a potential source of shame right into the 18th century and beyond; intercessory prayers by the fraternity's hired priest for living and dead members, reducing the time they would spend in Purgatory before entering heaven;

insurance against flood and fire (Reynolds 1984:68); modest payments to indigent members (Barron 1985:26–27; Richardson 2008); discounted loans and rents (Farnhill 2001:67); and dispute resolution without going to a civic or royal court.

The most far-reaching benefit was the opportunity to increase social capital and build links of trust beyond one's own kin, especially in the great mercantile cities where fraternities generally included members residing outside the religious parish and even the city. Fraternities were crucial in a society where sentiment and personal trust underpinned economic activity, with much business based on pre-existing social ties, which would have been breached by the use of a formal contract (Weissman 1982:24–25).

Economically and politically, merchant guilds (exclusive organizations for the leading merchants) and craft or trade guilds (which controlled particular crafts and trades), which in many cases grew out of informal or more open fraternities, had an enormous impact on medieval Europe (Gadd and Wallis 2006; Keene 2006; Lucassen, Moor, and van Zanden 2008). Some of the earliest economic guilds included the *ministeria* of Pavia (c.1000); the English craft guilds recorded in 1130–1131 as paying dues to the crown (Keene 2006:12–13); the *fraternitas* of weavers in Cologne, referred to in a charter of 1149 (Epstein 1991:52); and the 23 fishermen who were granted corporate hereditary rights over the wholesale fish market by the Bishop of Worms in 1106 (Epstein 1991:53).

The immense secondary literature on European merchant and trade guilds, which began as scholarship in the 19th century, continues to expand. The prevailing view among historians until c.1990 was that medieval guilds were restrictive and monopolistic, cramping innovation and growth. A new generation of historians, including S. R. Epstein (1991, 1998, 2008; Epstein and Prak 2008), has contended that guilds were a source of innovation and through apprenticeships and training an engine for building human capital, a view rejected by Ogilvie (2007, 2008).

Fraternities created a community based on place (involving a church and a patron saint), but engaging outsiders in terms of kinship and residence. They were part of a vibrant social economy of active self-help and mutual help, involving fundraising for churches, the maintenance of communal facilities, and the support of neighbors in distress (Bainbridge 1996; Bennett 1997; Dyer 2004, 2012; French 1997; Moisà 1997).

Medieval fraternities operated in a society in which the boundaries between personal and public were configured very differently from those of modern times. It was a world in which friendship had formal, public obligations, rather than being a matter of sentiment, personal liking, and choice (Althoff [1990] 2004; Haseldine 1999). Private groups, private courts, and fraternities were not seen as fundamentally different from baronial, royal, or civic courts. They were seen as different only in degree (Reynolds 1984:152). The private and voluntary

associations of the Middle Ages exercised powers of judgment and punishment over their members and in some settings were indistinguishable from other institutions of governance.

Across Europe fraternities often operated in effect as local authorities, with guild officers acting as representatives of a town community in the interstices of legal or enforced authority (Duparc 1968; Reynolds 1984:70). Fraternities were fluid and adaptable, with their members able to assume new roles and goals as circumstances changed. In the cathedral city of Lichfield, England, the Guild of St Mary was in 1387 an association that among other activities controlled the behavior of its members, with adulterous brothers being first admonished and then expelled if they did not reform. A century later the association had assumed wider responsibility within the city for "dealing with disturbers of the peace such as night-walkers, rioters, prostitutes and scolds" (Kettle 1984:169). Likewise, neighborhood fraternities could re-create themselves as trade fraternities more concerned with the regulation and membership of a type of business, such as brewing (Barron 1985:15–16).

Although guilds and fraternities disappeared as institutions in northern, Protestant Europe during the Reformation, it seems that in many respects the administration and social organizing of localities continued. As Barron (1985) hinted, those who had been active or leaders in these organizations continued, under new doctrinal rules, to run local affairs in much the same way as they had done before. They mobilized local energies to provide mutual support, to maintain the fabric of the church, and to relieve and help the poor. In England, merchant guilds became the basis for the emerging system of municipal government. In Germany, the merchant guilds of Lübeck and Bremen laid the foundations of an international trading network known as the Hanseatic League (Richardson 2008).

The history of merchant guilds followed a somewhat different trajectory in the Eastern Empire, where "some *collegia* appear to have survived from Antiquity until the Middle Ages, where ... sources reveal an unbroken tradition of state management of guilds from ancient times" (Richardson 2008). However, the number of guilds declined during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, before re-emerging under the Ottomans. The reasons for this revival are not entirely clear but "it is more or less agreed that craft guilds with similar characteristics and functions [to those which existed under the Byzantine guild system] existed with greater or lesser differences in almost all principal towns and cities of the seventeenth-century Ottoman Empire" (Yildirim 2008:77).

New directions of scholarship point to active merchant and trade guilds beyond those of medieval Europe (Lucassen, Moor, and van Zanden 2008). In medieval and early modern India, although there were a number of different types of collective association, such as the *kharkhana*, "guilds fulfilling the minimum formal characteristics – a written charter establishing a right to conduct

business and accepted by members, as well as the local or supralocal government authority – were rare, if not unknown, even in the context of urban crafts or commerce" (Roy 2008:97–98). In China, the government ordered the creation of various kinds of business associations as early as the 8th century. There is some evidence for the establishment of voluntary associations from the 12th century onwards (Moll-Murata 2008:218; but see also Golas 1977:555). However, the main function of these associations was to coordinate the merchants' and artisans' obligations to the government, rather than to regulate access and homogenize markets for their members. As a result, it is now generally agreed by scholars that there is little evidence of formal guild-like associations before the later years of the *Ming* dynasty in the 16th and 17th centuries (Golas 1977; Moll-Murata 2008).

Different forms of trade association also existed in other parts of Asia. In medieval Japan (defined here as the period between 794 CE and 1573), the dominant form of association was the *brotherhood* or *zu*. The members of a *zu* paid taxes to local lords or patrons in return for the right to trade in various markets, secure exemptions from other tolls and taxes, and be able to move freely. As Mary Louise Nagata (2008:128–129) has explained, individual merchants or groups of merchants competed with each other for the right to join a *zu*, and the brotherhoods competed with each other for new members. During the early modern period, the *Tokugawa* Emperors abolished many of the previous brotherhoods in an effort to undermine their patrons but also established new brotherhoods of their own in strategically important industries, such as those associated with the mining and working of precious metals. However, the most important form of trade association in this period was the *kabu nakama* or stock society. The government issued stock in a particular trade or industry, and individual merchants purchased shares which entitled them to operate a business in that industry. The stock societies performed some of the same functions as a guild, such as contract-enforcement and the policing of members, but they had little political influence and were essentially associations of business owners rather than of individual craftsmen or artisans.

4. Associations in industrial and post-industrial societies

As previous sections have shown, we can trace the history of voluntary associations back to ancient societies, if not further. However, it seems likely that the number and range of such associations has increased very substantially over the last two to three centuries. A number of different factors have contributed to this, including the industrial revolution, population growth, greater goal/interest differentiation, improvements in transport and communications, and a greater orientation toward collective goals (Boulding 1953; Smith 1973b, 1997; Smith and Baldwin 1983).

As Robert Morris (1990) has shown, the 18th and 19th centuries witnessed a remarkable efflorescence of voluntary association activity in the United Kingdom. A wide range of voluntary associations emerged for purposes of recreation, education, social networking, mutual aid, and social action, together with what might be regarded as associations designed for the promotion of élite self-interest (see Table 1.1). Although precise information is often elusive, it also seems clear that the number and percentage of individuals who belonged to voluntary associations continued to increase. In 1945, for example, it was estimated that more than six million people belonged to trade unions and that nearly nine million were affiliated to friendly societies (Beveridge 1948:87–88). Approximately half the population belonged to some form of voluntary associations at the end of the 20th century (Grenier and Wright 2006:31; see also Hilton et al. 2012).

Voluntary associations also played important roles in other parts of Western Europe. In France, it has been estimated that the number of *sociétés de secours mutuels* (mutual aid societies) increased from 2488 in 1852 to 13,673 in 1902, and that the number of friendly society members increased from just under 30,000 to more than two million (Mitchell 1991:184). In eastern Lombardy, more than 500 *societàs di soccorso mutuo* (mutual aid societies) were formed between 1860 and 1914 (Tedeschi 2012:48–54). More than 600 friendly societies were registered in Spain in 1887, although this figure is likely to be a substantial underestimate (Rodríguez and Pons 2012:69). The number of trade unionists in Western Europe also increased. By 1914, it has been estimated that more than 10% of the non-agricultural workforce were affiliated to trade unions in Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, and Norway (Friedman 2008).

In Imperial Russia, the development of voluntary associations was much more closely associated with the activities of the state. During the 1760s, Catherine the Great authorized the formation of English language clubs and the Free Economic Society to stimulate agricultural improvement and promote economic development (Tumanova 2008:35–38). The 19th century also saw the formation of a wide range of professional and scientific societies, including the Russian Geographical Society (1845), the Russian Technical Society (1866), and the Pirogov Society of Russian Physicians (1883). A large number of additional associations were formed in different parts of the country to promote social welfare, public health provision, town planning, education, science, and physical culture (Bradley 2009; Tumanova 2008:41, 44, 49). In 1905, the Russian people acquired the formal right to freedom of association, and this led to the growth of a number of trade unions (Tumanova 2008:164–171).

The murderous wars and revolutionary disturbances of 1914–1922 caused widespread social dislocation and imposed new burdens on the voluntary sector. This led to the creation of a large number of new associations for the assistance of peasants, people with disabilities, children, students, and artists.

Table 1.1 Voluntary associations in Britain (c. 1750–1950)

	Pre-1780	1780–1890	1890–1950
Recreational groupings	Taverns Coffee hours Fraternities	Clubs and Institutes Union Sporting associations (football, rugby, etc.)	Church societies Youth associations (Scouts, Guides, Boys' and Lads' Brigades) Rambling associations
Information and self-education	Edinburgh Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Sciences, Manufactures and Agriculture Select Society for Promoting the Reading and Speaking of the English Language in Scotland	Literary and Philosophical Societies Scientific societies Mutual improvement societies	
Mutual aid	Friendly societies	Friendly societies Cooperative societies Building societies Trade unions	Friendly societies Cooperative societies Building societies Trade unions
Coercive organizations		Proclamation Society Society for the Suppression of Vice Volunteer yeomanry Societies for the Suppression of Beggars	
Social action	Voluntary hospitals	Anti-slavery societies Anti-Corn Law League Visiting Societies Voluntary hospitals Educational societies (Sunday schools, elementary schools, adult education societies) Temperance societies Bible and missionary societies Reform societies (e.g., Female Political Union)	Church societies Visiting associations Dorcas societies Soup kitchens Political associations (especially labor groups) Women's Cooperative Guild
Polymorphic networks	Masonic lodges Manufacturers' associations		

Note: The term *coercive* is derived from Morris (1990:407–411). The voluntary organizations listed in the table were founded during a period of considerable social and political instability. Morris described them as coercive because they were "intended to achieve stability through coercion" (ibid. 407).
Source: Derived from Morris 1990.

The Russian Red Cross Society was engaged in the care of the wounded and sick people, and those harmed by natural disasters (Tumanova 2011:287, 308–314).

Although a large number of new associations, such as the Association of Atheists, the "Down with Illiteracy" Society, and the Association of Friends of Soviet Cinema, were formed during the Soviet period, it would be difficult to characterize these as either independent or voluntary. This was probably still true of the *new wave* of voluntary associations established during the thaw of the 1960s. The pace at which new associations were established reached a new level of intensity during the second half of the 1980s, and accelerated further following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 (Lelchuk 1988:422, 429–431).

The assumption that voluntary associations developed after the collapse of Communism from scratch (*de novo*) in other post-Soviet countries has also been challenged (Devaux 2005; Pospíšilová 2011; Skovajsa 2008). Various forms of civil society organization, such as charities, guilds, and both religious and secular foundations, existed in different parts of central and eastern Europe as far back as the 13th century. The number of patriotic and nationalist associations in countries such as Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Bulgaria increased dramatically during the 19th century (Bradley 2009; Frič et al. 1998; Kuti 1996; Leś, Nałęcz and Wygnański 2000; Valkov 2009). Communist regimes abolished or nationalized many civil society organizations and the rest functioned under direct state control. However, as in Russia itself, the relaxation of state control in all these countries allowed new forms of voluntary association to emerge from the 1980s onwards. Many of these organizations took the form of self-help groups associated with such issues as alcohol and drug abuse, while others were concerned with environmental issues (Carmin and Fagan 2010; Císař 2010; Gabrhelník, and Miovský 2009; Pickvance 1998).

Voluntary associations also played important roles in various parts of Africa, especially in response to colonization and the subsequent racially and ethnically segregationist policies of colonial governments. Gleaning from the literature, at least three dominant factors stand out as having influenced the formation and structure of voluntary associations: principles of reciprocity and solidarity in pre-colonial rural communities; the advent of missionary societies in Africa; and colonization, and the subsequent urbanization and industrialization (e.g., Graham et al. 2006; Kanyinga et al. 2004; Kiondo et al. 2004; Little 1957; Nyangabyaki et al. 2004). Equally influential are the idiosyncrasies and contextual factors inherent in each country, such as the apartheid regime in South Africa (Swilling et al. 2004).

"Early African associational life" had "a strong normative and moral basis" exemplified by "cultural notions of belonging, togetherness, and caring for one another" (Graham et al. 2006:8–9). The diversity of words and concepts found in different African cultures speaks to the voluntary traditions that continue

to sustain community life in the present day. Concepts from different parts of Africa describe the varieties of cultural ethos that have underpinned and continue to underpin voluntarism in Africa, for example, *ubuntu/botho* (fostering humaneness), *kujitolea* (meaning *service* in Kiswahili), *tirelo* (something done for others in Tswana), *vabatsiri* (meaning *those who help others* in Shona), and *harambee* (meaning *self-help* in Kenya) (Graham et al. 2006).

From these philosophies emerged traditional cultural beliefs, practices, and support systems that are based on the principles of collective responsibility, solidarity, and reciprocity (Graham et al. 2006; Patel et al. 2007). An ancient example of this type of collectivistic social safety net institution is Zimbabwe's cultural practice of *Zunde raMambo*, which involved community members working in their neighbors' fields once a week or plowing a plot set aside by the chief for the benefit of the needy (Graham et al. 2006; Patel et al. 2007:24). In the case of South Africa, the traditional tendency to self-organize in order to cope with life-threatening situations among the indigenous Khoi and San communities and the Bantu tribes "carried over into the modern civil society sector and manifest[ed] itself in the proliferation of separatist churches, unions, service and civic organizations, herbalist associations, and traditional tribal organizations" (Swilling et al. 2004:115).

Whereas Christian Missionary Societies introduced more formal civil society institutions in Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, and other parts of Africa, colonial rule and its segregationist policies provided the impetus for the emergence of formal indigenous voluntary associations. The introduction of colonial rule in Kenya in 1895 brought new forms of voluntary (nonprofit) organizations, including settler associations, social clubs, and sporting associations (Kanyinga et al. 2004). Indigenous political associations such as the Kikuyu Central Association also formed to resist colonial exploitation and native land appropriations, although such associations tended to develop along ethnic lines (Kanyinga et al. 2004). In response to similar exploitations, the local clan leaders in Uganda formed the *Bataka* Association (Nyangabyaki et al. 2004). The burgeoning Indian population led to the emergence of Muslim associations from the 1930s, with the East African Muslim Welfare Society forming in 1945, culminating in the recognition of Islamic laws in schools, welfare services, and development agencies (see Nyangabyaki et al. 2004).

In South Africa, the first African political association, Imbumba Yama Afrika, formed in 1882, with other black organizations such as the *Ethiopian* church movement forming in 1892 (Swilling et al. 2004). Other self-help and mutual aid associations formed during this period included the Afrikaner Bond, the Boer Farmers' Protection Association, the Union of South Africa (1910), and the South African Native National Congress (SNNC), which later transformed into the African National Congress (ANC) (Swilling et al. 2004). In all, Swilling et al. (2004) note that two types of organizations emerged in response to the

apartheid regime and its subsequent social policies: *organizations of survival* such as informal saving clubs (*stokvels*), sports clubs, and other non-political associations; and *organizations of resistance*, comprising civic associations and trade unions. In Tanzania, the emergence of trade unions, peasant cooperatives, civil servant associations, and sports clubs is largely attributed to urbanization and industrialization, with trade unions and peasant cooperatives later becoming instrumental in the movement for national independence in the 1940s (Kiondo et al. 2004).

Membership associations in the South Asian region, especially India and nearby countries, have a very long history that can be divided into three periods: pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial. In the pre-colonial period, voluntary associations were abundant in the region. They were mostly self-help groups based on the religious values of *karma*, which is widely accepted by the three major religions practiced in the region: Hinduism, Islam, and Buddhism (Fernando 2011). The development of membership associations during the colonial period was heavily influenced by missionary organizations whose primary objective was to spread Christianity. They also worked with many poor and indigenous communities, undertaking both development work and advocacy (Haider 2011). The development of membership associations in the more recent past has been closely associated with the role of non-governmental organizations, but many of these associations are neither spontaneous nor self-formed, and their role has become increasingly controversial (John 2005). According to one recent study of the role played by NGOs in Nepal:

> local people had mixed perceptions of NGOs with a majority expressing dualistic views. On the one hand, they praised the NGOs for their work; on the other hand, they criticized them for not addressing local issues, catering to needs of donors and political leaders, implementing short-term projects, and making money from the projects.
>
> (Roka 2012:112)

China's civil-society organizations also have a long history (Smith with Ting, 2016), but they have often been used as adjuncts to the system of local government, and after 1949, they were strongly controlled by the Communist Party (Cai 2005; Yu 2002). However, the economic reforms of the late-1970s ushered in a new period of economic growth, which, after the death of Mao and the Reform and Opening, also facilitated a marked increase in voluntary association prevalence (Smith with Zhao 2016; Wang 2011), together with an explosion of academic interest (Zhang and Zhou 2008).

The development of voluntary associations in Canada and the United States was shaped by the circumstances under which they were settled and by the distinctive nature of their religious traditions (Ellis and Noyes 1990; Hall 2006;

Hammack 1998). As early as 1685, a *Bureau des Pauvres* was established in Quebec City to provide relief to survivors of the Great Fire of 1682, and to new immigrants, wounded soldiers, and plague victims (Bélanger 2000; Reid 1946).

In colonial America, religious congregations that rejected the practice of state-established churches were important early models of voluntary associations. This trend of forming new religious associations has continued to the present (Finke and Stark 2005), enhanced in the 18th century by the religious efflorescence of the First Great Awakening (Hall 2006). The 19th century and early 20th century also saw the formation of very large numbers of fraternal associations, such as the Ancient Freemasons, Elks, Moose, and Oddfellows (Kaufman 2002). In colonial times, associations also provided a fertile training ground for the establishment of anti-British political associations, such as the Sons of Liberty, during the 1760s (Bullock 1996).

The centrality of these associations in the Revolutionary cause gave pause to the first generation of American leaders, who cautioned against the formation of self-interested *factions* as detrimental to the republican order, based on broad public interest, which they hoped to achieve in the United States (Neem 2008). However, the organizational impulse was reinforced during the early years of the 19th century by the organizational and moral fuel of American Protestantism in the Second Great Awakening. Not only were Americans energetically creating new churches helter-skelter (Finke and Stark 2005), but this phase of evangelism encouraged direct reform efforts, accelerating, most notably, membership in the anti-slavery and temperance movements (Scott 1992). It was such activity that caught the eye of Alexis de Tocqueville, whose observations on American voluntary activity in *Democracy in America* helped cement the image of voluntary action as a key element of American political culture (De Tocqueville 1835; T. Smith 1980). The reorganization of the US postal system in the 1840s also facilitated the nationalization of voluntary organizations, linking citizens agitating for causes such as anti-slavery across the country (John 1995). Skocpol, Ganz, and Munson (2000) describe historical aspects of the development of national and sub-national associations in the United States, emphasizing the role of organizers and a kind of multi-level pattern of territorial organizing from the beginnings of the nation onward.

In both Canada and the United States, voluntary associations played a central role in efforts to improve social conditions and gave women a vital opportunity to participate in social life (see also Prochaska 1980). Women provided much of the volunteer workforce for the US Sanitary Commission, a quasi-public voluntary association formed in the North in 1861 to coordinate medical services for wounded Union soldiers. Upper-middle-class women also played a central role in the activities of the various Charity Organization Societies, which sprang up in many northeastern and mid-western cities during the latter years of the 19th century (Ginzberg 1990). Such women were also the driving force behind

many arts and cultural associations that sprang up in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Blair 1994; McCarthy 1991). A wide range of voluntary associations, such as the Montreal Hygiene Committee, the Social Hygiene Council, and the Moral and Social Reform Council, also emerged in Canada during this period. Like their American counterparts, these groups often appeared to take a particularly individualistic and moralizing approach to the resolution of social problems (Elson 2008, 2011).

Immigration also shaped the world of volunteers and voluntary agencies. In late-19th and early-20th century Canada, ethno-cultural groups formed volunteer organizations such as libraries and reading clubs to preserve their language and culture, including music, dance, and sport (Lautenschlager 1992). In the United States, immigrant groups formed voluntary associations to preserve their linguistic and cultural heritage and to provide various kinds of welfare support, including building societies and burial funds (Beito 2000; Cohen 1990). African-Americans also established their own network of charities and civic associations when excluded from whites-only institutions (Gordon 1991). Activists in the Progressive Era, such as Jane Addams, used voluntary institutions such as settlement houses as a means to ease urban social tensions by connecting native-born middle- and upper-class volunteers with working-class immigrants (Davis 1984).

By the 1920s, the United States enjoyed a rich network of voluntary institutions, though in many associations the volunteers were increasingly displaced by professional staff (Lubove 1965). With the onset of the Great Depression, President Herbert Hoover hoped that civic-minded members of trade associations, professional societies, and charitable institutions might carry the burden of need during the downturn, but these organizations proved unequal to the task (Romasco 1965). While the expansion of the public safety net through the New Deal during the 1930s displaced some voluntary agencies, the decade also saw new venues for volunteers emerge – President Roosevelt's public endorsement of the March of Dimes campaign for polio research foreshadowed an explosion of health-related charities that would attract many middle-class volunteers in the postwar era (Morris 2009; Zunz 2012).

Nonetheless, the landscape of voluntarism in the United States did change dramatically in the postwar era, and particularly since the 1960s. Social and political causes such as the civil rights movement in the 1960s often drew on large numbers of grassroots participants and created new voluntary organizations. With their successes, though, such groups became increasingly focused on using professional staff to achieve and sustain their goals, while connections to individual members attenuated. Demographic changes such as increasing education and employment opportunities for women shifted the availability and composition of the pool of volunteers, while the passing of the Second World War generation has diminished membership in many traditional

fraternal and veteran organizations. Moreover, shifts in public policy, such as government contracting rather than directly providing social services, have created a nonprofit sector where the lines between public and voluntary are again quite blurry. Whether this portends good or ill for democratic participation, civic engagement, and the social safety net remains to be seen (Putnam 2000; Skocpol 2003).

Hall (2006) wrote a fine historical overview of the development of voluntary associations and other NPOs in America for the period 1600–2000. Two amateur historians, Ellis and Noyes (1990), wrote a history of Americans as volunteers, with much attention to voluntary associations. Some other historical overviews of voluntary associations in North America and in Europe include publications by Arai (2004), Bradley (2009), Gadd and Wallis (2006), Hammack (2002), Harris and Bridgen (2007), Hartson (1911), R. Morris (1990), A. Morris (2009), Schlesinger (1944), D. Smith (1973d: Part One; 1997), D. Smith and Baldwin (1974), and C. Smith and Freedman (1972:chapters 1–3). D. Smith (2013) has also described how the structures of associations have tended to change in the past 200 years or so.

5. The history of volunteer service programs (VSPs)

Although our Handbook is mainly about volunteering in associations, some chapters deal also with volunteering in VSPs (e.g., Handbook Chapters 15–17). Where associations are relatively, or completely, independent collective entities (groups or organizations), VSPs as collective entities are always dependent on some larger parent organization, which effectively owns them (cf. Smith 2015b, 2015d). Where associations are nearly always parts of the voluntary nonprofit sector (VNPS), VSPs by contrast are *usually* parts of that sector, but may instead be parts (actually *departments*) of businesses (e.g., a volunteer program in a for-profit hospital) or government agencies (e.g., a volunteer program in a government operated and owned national park). Brudney (2005) gives an overview of several recent types of VSPs, with most of them being topics of the Handbook chapters here.

Smith (2016b) has recently written a brief history of VSPs (the following paragraphs are quoted from that paper, with permission):

> Volunteers have been present in VSPs linked to government agencies/units for many centuries, usually without being termed VSPs by historians or others. Examples are volunteer militias, juries, local police patrols, and councils of local leaders (Smith 2015a). More recently, local draft (Selective Service) boards in the United States for wars in the 20th century have been composed of volunteers (J. Davis 1968; Perri 2013). Hence, such boards have been VSPs, *not* associations, since they have been government agencies.

In the past many centuries, state (*established*) churches in European countries have been quasi-government agencies. Although usually structured as strict hierarchies, with the power at the top and flowing downward, such churches in capital cities and in other cities and towns have usually had affiliated VSPs, again without historians using this technical term to describe them (Lynch 1992; Sirota 2014). For instance, there have been choirs, altar attendants, and affiliated VSPs that organized celebrations for specific saints on their feast days (birthdays) and on other religious holidays. Sometimes more independent confraternities of laypeople, as associations, have instead done the latter organizing, as noted earlier. State churches also set up charities and ran social welfare programs that were sometimes VSPs, rather than associations (e.g., Sirota 2014).

When relatively independent NPOs as nonprofit agencies have arisen in past centuries, such as hospitals, almshouses, libraries, museums, private schools, and universities in the UK, many of these have had VSPs, again without use of the terminology by historians (Gray 1967; Jordan 1959). Unlabeled VSPs have been even more frequent in the past two centuries in NPO health and social welfare agencies of most types in the United States, including settlement houses (Carter 1961; Chambers 1985; A. Davis 1984; Ellis and Noyes 1990; Katz 1986; Manser and Cass 1976; O'Neill 1989; Sieder 1960; Trattner 1973).

Further, various art, music, and other cultural NPO agencies arising in the past two centuries in the United States (e.g., orchestras, theaters, ballet companies, opera companies) have often had VSPs affiliated to them, either to help select presentations and/or to help with fund-raising and publicity (Blair 1994; Ellis and Noyes 1990; Ginzberg 1990; McCarthy 1991). Similar historical patterns of VSPs exist in other modern countries (e.g., Malcolmson and Malcolmson 2013; Olate 2007; D. Smith 1974).

6. Recent development of the concept of a nonprofit/voluntary/third sector

Although associations have manifested or demonstrated the VNPS as distinct from the family/household, business/private, and government/public sectors for about 10,000 years, the *concept* of the VNPS is very recent historically. Cornuelle (1965:26–27) wrote the first book articulating the concept of the *independent sector* or *third sector*, as he called it alternatively. In the 1970s, several other authors wrote books and articles elaborating on and promoting alternative VNPS terms, such as the *voluntary sector*, *nonprofit sector*, or *third* sector (cf. Smith 2016).

Smith and his colleagues defined and fostered attention to the term *voluntary sector* in various early publications (Smith 1973a, 1973c; 2016; Smith, Reddy and Baldwin 1972). The Filer Commission used this term in the title of its summary report, bringing much wider recognition to the term *voluntary sector* than had Smith's prior publications (Commission on Private Philanthropy and Public Needs 1975).

Levitt (1973) wrote the first book to use the term *third sector* in its title, while clearly referring to the independent sector or third sector concept invented by Cornuelle (1965). Very few authors followed up in using Cornuelle's term *independent sector* in articles or books, but his label *third sector* has become very popular indeed, in spite of being numerically incorrect (see Smith, Stebbins, and Dover, 2006:90, *fourth sector*).

Smith (1973a) used the term *nonprofit sector* early in the 1970s, but it became fairly common only later in the 1970s and in the 1980s in America (Salamon and Abramson 1982; Smith 2016; Weisbrod 1977). In the 1980s, the term *civil society* was promoted and became popular in some academic circles for referring to the sector (Ehrenberg 2011; Naidoo and Tandon 1999; Ndegwa 1996; Smith 2016). Similarly, the terms *social economy* and *solidarity economy* referring to the sector came into wide use only in the 1990s and later, especially among more economics-oriented academics in our field (Laville 2010; Quarter 1992; Sayer and Walker 1992; Smith 2016; Van Til 1988). Hall (1992), a professional historian, gave his interpretation of *inventing the nonprofit sector* as a concept, and Smith (2016) has given his version, as a direct participant in this history.

E. Usable knowledge

Pessimists say that "the only thing we learn from history is that people learn nothing from history." While probably true in general, we *can* learn some things from the history of associations sketched here. First, contrary to the perceptions of most people and scholars in our field, associations always have been and still continue to be the dominant form of NPOs in all countries since their beginning about 10,000 years ago. As such, associational life in all countries is important to encourage and protect. The association as a form of human group has proved itself to be useful and valuable in all human societies in the past ten millennia. The history of associations also suggests that this form of human group is exceedingly versatile in terms of goals that can be achieved, with the types of purposes for associations expanding especially in the past millennium, particularly since the Industrial Revolution beginning about 1800 in some countries (Boulding, 1953; D. Smith, 1973b). D. Smith (1973c) pointed out many positive impacts of associations for any human society, including serving as a latent resource that can be mobilized in various natural and man-made crises (see also Smith 2017).

F. Future trends and needed research

In recent years, voluntary associations have attracted increasing amounts of attention in all parts of the world, usually growing in numbers with population size and economic development, among other causal factors (Schofer and Longhofer, 2011; D. Smith 2016; D. Smith and Shen, 2002). In those countries that lack a strong tradition of voluntary organizations, voluntary associations are seen as critical to the formation of social capital (Hamrin 2006). Meanwhile, in other countries, concerns have also been expressed about the impact of both individualism and state action on levels of voluntary social activity (Couton and Cormier 2001; Putnam 2000). It is obviously difficult to draw any categorical conclusions from such a brief and sweeping survey as this chapter has been able to offer. However, while the *forms* of voluntary association may change, there is little evidence to suggest that the associational impulse is truly imperiled, contrary to Putnam's theses (Putnam 2000; Smith and Robinson 2017).

Future research is needed on many world regions and time periods not covered here. In terms of world regions, historical research is particularly needed for Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe, and Latin America. Regarding time periods, much more research is needed regarding ancient agrarian societies in various world regions and societies, for the so-called medieval period of Western history but in non-Western regions/societies, and for preindustrial and industrial societies in the regions noted above as lacking in research. Of special importance will be comparative historical studies of several or many societies in any world region or time period, seeking to understand broader trends (e.g., Bradfield 1973; Ross, 1976; D. Smith, 1997).

G. Cross-references

Chapters 3, 37, 45, 46, and 51.

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2

Theories of Associations and Volunteering

David H. Smith (USA), with Stijn Van Puyvelde (Belgium)

A. Introduction

This chapter reviews key theories relevant to the other Handbook chapters and also relevant to potential chapters not included here. Smith's basic contention is that most voluntaristics scholars (Smith 2013) view relevant theory far too narrowly, seriously limited by (a) academic discipline blinders and also (b) avoidance of topics reflecting social deviance and/or social conflict. As a corrective to such intellectual limitations, we include here brief reviews of theories that deal with (a) and (b). Many more theories of individual participation in volunteering and citizen participation are reviewed in Handbook Chapter 31, as relevant micro-theories.

We distinguish among (a) *macro-theories* that deal with the nature of the nonprofit sector as a whole, (b) *meso-theories* that explain aspects of nonprofit membership associations (MAs) as organizations or that explain looser collectivities like social movements or social conflict/protest campaigns, and (c) *micro-theories* that explain membership and participation by individuals as volunteers/members/participants/activists or that explain pro-social behavior more generally. Main sections here discuss (I) the nonprofit sector and the incidence-prevalence of associations within it; (II) conventional all-volunteer associations, distinguishing local (grassroots) associations from supra-local associations (state/province, regional, national, and transnational associations); (III) conventional paid-staff associations; (IV) deviant voluntary associations (DVAs); (V) other informal collective conflict and protest; (VI) membership, civic participation, and volunteering by individuals; (VII) general human behavior by individuals, with applications to sociality and association volunteering; and (VIII) prospects of developing a general theory of nonprofit sector phenomena.

B. Definitions

This chapter accepts the definitions of concepts and terms in the Handbook Appendix. The key definition for the entire Handbook is that an *association* (an *MA*) is "[a] relatively formally structured nonprofit group that depends mainly on volunteer members for participation and activity and that primarily seeks member benefits, even if it may also seek some public benefits" (see Appendix). In addition, MAs use the *associational form of organization*, defined as

> a manner of operating a group that usually involves having official members who are mostly volunteers, some elected formal nonprofit leaders, often a board of directors with policy control, financial support mainly from required annual dues (but may also include donations, fees and occasionally grants), often one or more committees as part of the leadership, and regular face-to-face meetings attended by active official members and informal participants.

In large, supra-local MAs, the face-to-face meetings may be infrequent, as in annual conferences or less frequent meetings, and usually only attended by a minority of all official members. Telephone and computer-mediated conference calls as *virtual meetings* are increasingly replacing face-to-face (in-person, real) meetings, especially for leaders of supra-local associations.

In addition, we note that when analyzing MAs, one must distinguish *all-volunteer associations* from *paid-staff associations*, where the latter involve one or more paid-staff individuals. *Local* all-volunteer MAs, also known as *grassroots associations* (GAs), are locally based, significantly autonomous, volunteer-run, formal nonprofit groups that use the associational form of organization (Smith 2000: ix). *Supra-local* all-volunteer MAs are similar to GAs, except for having a larger territorial base or scope. Such associations are one kind of supra-local nonprofit group, defined by Smith, Stebbins, and Dover (2006:223) as a "nonprofit group that serves a territory larger than a local community, such as a state, province, region, or nation" or a world region or the whole world.

We further distinguish *conventional* or *mainstream MAs* from *unconventional, fundamentally deviant associations*. *Deviant voluntary associations* (DVAs) are defined as local or supra-local MAs having one or more goals, or normative means of achieving one or more goals, that are seen to violate the current moral standards and norms of the surrounding society (Stebbins 1996:3; see also Handbook Chapter 54). For additional definitions of terms and concepts, see the Handbook Appendix and Smith, Stebbins, and Dover (2006).

In addition, MAs need to be distinguished carefully from formal *Volunteer Service Programs* (VSPs; Smith 2015b; see also Handbook Chapters 15–17).

Where MAs are relatively or completely independent collective entities (groups or organizations), VSPs as collective entities are *always* integrally dependent on some larger, parent organization, which effectively owns them. Where associations are nearly always parts of the nonprofit sector, VSPs by contrast are *usually* parts of that sector, but *only* when located in nonprofit agencies (Smith 2015b). VSPs may instead be parts (actually *departments*) of businesses (e.g., a volunteer program in a for-profit hospital) or government agencies (e.g., a volunteer program in a government-operated and government-owned national park). This distinction between associations and VSPs becomes especially important when we consider volunteering and volunteers, who can participate in either kind of context. Although there are similarities between associational and service program volunteers, there are also important differences (see Handbook Chapters 15 and 16).

Even more than DVAs, which use the associational form of organization, *informal collective conflict and protest* that expresses strong emotions is widely ignored by voluntaristics scholars. Yet riots, insurrections, rebellions, revolutions, and other forms of collective protest clearly involve voluntary action, as much as do more formal social movement organizations (SMOs)/MAs as DVAs (e.g., Anderson and Herr 2007; Ness 2009; Record 2007). There is a fast-growing interdisciplinary field of conflict and conflict resolution studies that includes such informal collective activities, and that needs to be seen as overlapping in part with voluntaristics, broadly understood (Bercovitch, Kremenyuk, and Zartman 2008; Coleman, Deutsch, and Marcus 2014).

Although volunteering is defined in the Appendix, based on Smith, Stebbins, and Dover (2006), here is a more recent, alternative definition by Smith (2016b), based partly on Cnaan (2004) and Cnaan and Park (2016):

> Volunteering is (a) a noncompulsory, voluntary (free will) activity or effort that is (b) directed by an individual toward a person, people, or situations outside one's household or close family that is (c) intended to be beneficial to another person or persons, group/organization, the local community, the larger society, and/or the ecosystem at some scale of magnitude, (d) with the activity being unpaid (unremunerated) financially or in-kind to the full, current, market value of the activity performed, leaving a *net cost* to the volunteer.

Definitions of terms and concepts are an important part of theory. There have been very few published attempts to define the full range of terms and concepts in the field of *voluntaristics* or *altruistics* (see Smith 2013b for the introduction of these terms), as a new way to refer to the entire field of nonprofit and voluntary sector/voluntary action research using a single word, as for nearly all academic

disciplines. Salamon (1997) made a relatively early attempt at defining terms, but we do not know how many terms/concepts were defined there. The next major attempt was by the Donors Forum of Chicago, published in Volume 2 of the three-volume encyclopedia edited by Burlingame (2004:533–541). This set of 96 concepts/terms focuses entirely on philanthropy and foundations. Hence, terms such as *associations*, *volunteer*, and *volunteering* are excluded.

Anheier and List (2005) made a somewhat more comprehensive attempt the next year. This volume had extensive inputs from advisory committees and contributors from many nations (see pp. vii–x). The resulting *Dictionary* defined "about 348 conceptual terms" (p. xiv). Nevertheless, no references are given to lodge the definitions in the research and theory of our field. Instead, a brief, select bibliography of 43 items is presented at the end of the book.

By far, the most comprehensive dictionary document is *A Dictionary of Non-profit Terms and Concepts* (Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006; a second, expanded edition is contracted and in process for 2017). This reference work defines 1,212 terms and concepts found to be useful in past research and theory on the nonprofit sector, with cross-references to an additional 555 terms (for a total of 1,767 terms included). About 1700 references lodge the definitions in the research literature of our field. The entries reflect the importance of associations, citizen participation, philanthropy, voluntary action, nonprofit management, volunteering, volunteer administration, leisure, and political activities of nonprofits. They also reflect a concern for the wider range of useful general concepts in theory and research that bear on the nonprofit sector and its manifestations in the United States and elsewhere. This dictionary supplies some of the necessary foundational work needed for a general theory of the nonprofit sector (see the book review by Jeavons 2008).

C. Historical background

The relevant theories of associations, civic participation, and volunteering have generally been recent in historical origin (cf. Smith 2016a). Those discussed here have all been constructed since approximately 1950, and most have appeared only in the past couple of decades (Smith 1975, 1994; Musick and Wilson 2008). Theories of informal collective social conflict, especially revolutions and rebellions, go back into the 19th century (e.g., Marx and Engels 1896) and even earlier (Kort 1952, referring to Aristotle 2,400 years ago), but detailed theories arose mainly in the first half of the 20th century (e.g, Adam 2013; Brinton 1938; Case 1923; Reeve 1933). By *theory*, we mean more than just general or specific talk or writing about a subject. We refer to a clear set of five or more *propositions* about how some phenomenon occurs or operates, and we term similar but smaller sets of propositions (one to four) *models*.

D. Key issues

I. Macro-theories: The nonprofit sector and its associations

1. Nonprofit sector nature, origins, and structure

Abzug (2004) discusses and critiques sector theories, with special attention to the voluntary nonprofit sector (VNPS), contrasting the VNPS with the informal (underground, black market) sector. Wagner (2012) distinguishes the *third sector* and *civil society* as somewhat different perspectives on the VNPS. Smith (2016a) has recently reviewed the development of VNPS terminology. Billis (see Handbook Chapter 8) discusses the distinctive nature of the VNPS and issues of sector overlap, blurring, and hybridity with other societal sectors. In section C, #6, Handbook Chapter 1 reviews briefly the history of the VNPS concept.

Anheier (2005) offers an overview of various economic, sociological, and political science approaches that address the origins of the nonprofit sector. From an economic perspective, a number of demand and supply theories have been developed to explain the existence of nonprofit organizations (NPOs) in general, including the *contract or market failure theory*, the *public goods or government failure theory*, *entrepreneurship theories*, and *stakeholder theories* (see also, Anheier and Ben-Ner 2003). In contrast to these economic approaches, the *interdependence or voluntary failure theory* developed by Salamon (1987, 1995) argues that the relationship between the nonprofit sector and the government is not one of conflict or competition, but rather one of partnerships and extensive government support to NPOs. More specifically, given that voluntary action may be limited, sporadic, unorganized, and inefficient, there also exists *voluntary failure* besides market and governmental failure. As a consequence, the government may intervene by providing, for example, a more stable stream of resources.

In addition, the *social origins theory*, developed by Salamon and Anheier (1998), argues that cross-national variations in size and composition of the nonprofit sector actually depend on the type of nonprofit regime in each nation. In particular, they distinguish four types of nonprofit regimes (liberal, social democratic, corporatist, and statist) based on two key dimensions: extent of governmental social welfare spending and economic scale of the nonprofit sector. Each type reflects a particular constellation of social factors, policies, and policy-making, which leads to the development of a certain form of nonprofit sector. In sum, by taking a comparative-historical approach, the authors move away from the emphasis on microeconomic models and identify circumstances in which cooperative nonprofit–state relationships are most likely to emerge (Anheier 2005).

Smith has been developing and testing for 40 years a theory of association prevalence across territories using different data sets and territorial levels of analysis (Smith 1973, 2011, 2013a; Smith and Baldwin 1983, 1990; Smith and

Shen 2002). Each of these publications reports analyses that explain substantial amounts of the variance in association prevalence, unlike many other theories, including that of Salamon and Anheier (1998) who provide no results from a multiple regression analysis. The most succinct version of Smith's general theory of voluntary association prevalence (Smith and Shen 2002) sets out three broad types of societal factors: (1) *societal background factors* (greater population size and more favorable historical–cultural–environmental interface); (2) *aspects of basic societal structure* (more permissive political control, greater modernization, more developed organizational field, and greater ethno-religious heterogeneity); and (3) *societal mobilization factors* (aggregate resource mobilization for associations and aggregate social cohesion). Schofer and Longhofer (2011) later developed and tested a similar theory (they added some variables compared to Smith and Shen [2002], and omitted others). Both the latter research and that of Smith and Shen (2002) explained from 70% to 89% of the variance in association prevalence. None of the other theories mentioned above even comes close to this level of successful explanation/prediction.

2. Nonprofit sector's relationship to the other sectors in society

The relationship of the nonprofit sector to other societal sectors has been studied and discussed by various scholars. First of all, Smith (1991) suggested that the nonprofit sector really consists of two distinct subsectors, or that these two subsectors can be seen as the fourth and fifth sectors of society: (1) the member-benefit sector and (2) the non-member-benefit sector. The member-benefit sector consists mainly of nonprofit associations (Smith 2015a), while the non-member-benefit sector consists mainly of nonprofit agencies (Smith 2015b). Smith argues that these two sectors operate very differently, with their constituent groups/organizations usually having internally focused versus externally focused goals.

Chapter 46 of this Handbook, by Wiarda et al., discusses at length the relationship of the nonprofit sector, particularly associations, to the larger political regime structure of a society (the government, public, or statutory sector). Pluralism, corporatism, and authoritarianism are three principal types of such relationships. In Chapter 8, Billis discusses differences among three sectors he identifies, including the associational sector, and their interrelationships.

3. Nonprofit organization incidence-prevalence-exit rates

(a) Major perspectives on NPO prevalence.   Three broad theoretical perspectives have been used to explain the existence of NPOs in general and the variations in size of the nonprofit sector across different geographical areas: demand theories, supply theories, and theories of social structure.

(i) *Demand theories* suggest that NPOs arise in the economy to correct market and governmental failures. In brief, demand for NPOs exists because they can be entrusted to provide collective goods in case of demand heterogeneity and limited governmental supply and to guarantee the quality of services in case of information asymmetry (Anheier 2005; Hansmann 1987).

(ii) *Supply theories* argue that NPOs are typically formed by entrepreneurs who want to exercise control over the organization and maximize non-monetary returns (Anheier 2005; Badelt 1997).

(iii) *Social structure theories* suggest that variations in nonprofit sector size can be explained by factors such as population size, employment structure, political culture, and social cohesion (Corbin 1999; Grønbjerg and Paarlberg 2001; Smith and Baldwin 1983; see Handbook Chapter 50).

(b) Complications in NPO prevalence explanations.   As consumers may demand goods and services from NPOs for the same reason that entrepreneurs form a nonprofit firm, it may be necessary, when examining differences in nonprofit sector size, to analyze demand and supply factors simultaneously (Ben-Ner and Van Hoomissen 1991; Marcuello 1998). Socio-economic characteristics that may simultaneously affect demand for and supply of NPOs include income, education, and population heterogeneity (poverty, unemployment, and racial and religious diversity in the population). For example, a higher income and higher level of education may not only imply less demand for NPOs (higher capability to choose a reliable for-profit provider in case of information asymmetry), but also imply greater supply of NPOs (higher capability to create a nonprofit firm).

4. Association incidence-prevalence-exit rates

A detailed discussion of the topic of this sub-section is available in Chapter 50, which is mainly concerned with this issue. Theoretical and empirical literature on voluntary association prevalence has mainly focused on societal factors to explain differences in prevalence rates. The simplest summary is as follows: Two key and substantially overlapping theories of association prevalence have been tested on data for one-third to two-thirds of the nations in the world (Schofer and Longhofer 2011; Smith and Shen 2002). Key factors leading to greater association prevalence in a nation were population size, educational levels, wealth levels (GDP per capita), civil liberties/democracy, non-associational organizational field, resource organizations/mobilization for associations, historical interface/momentum, state expansion, and political instability, Both theories were able to explain large amounts of the variance (70%–89% of the R^2) in prevalence, adjusting for statistical degrees of freedom. Other studies by Smith and associates at the societal and lower territorial levels (states/provinces,

municipalities) have also born fruit (Smith 1973, 2011, 2013a; Smith and Baldwin 1983, 1990), as have studies by others at the county and municipality levels (e.g., Lincoln 1977; Wollebæk 2010). Nonetheless, there are few models or theories of association incidence (formation) or exit (death) rates.

II. Meso-theories: All-volunteer conventional associations

1. Voluntary associations in theoretical context

Organization theorists and researchers have largely ignored voluntary associations. The extensive review of the organizational research literature by Tolbert and Hall (2010) continues in its tenth edition to virtually ignore about 50 million associations in the world, as estimated by Smith (2014b) from many empirical studies. In addition, handbooks and encyclopedias on NPO theory and research have only devoted a tiny amount of their space to nonprofit associations (Anheier 2005; Anheier et al. 2010; Burlingame 2004; Powell and Steinberg 2006). Although some general theory about associations exists (Knoke 1990; Smith 2000, 2017a, 2017c), a review of the research literature on membership associations (Tschirhart 2006) concluded that association research remains a largely unintegrated set of findings needing a more comprehensive theory.

Therefore, in this section, we discuss some economic theories of nonprofit organizations (see, e.g., Hansmann 1987) to determine whether the propositions and empirical findings of these theories can be useful in analyses of nonprofit associations. In particular, we investigate how theories about the objectives, formation, and prevalence of voluntary associations fit the broader economic theories of nonprofit organizations.

2. The life cycles of all-volunteer associations

The topic of this sub-section is dealt with at length in Handbook Chapter 37. In summary, here we may say that there has been only a modest amount of research on this subject and few attempts to develop related theories.

3. Internal structures and processes in all-volunteer associations

In his book *Grassroots Associations*, Smith (2000; see also Smith 2004, 2010a, 2010b, 2015a) constructed the first comprehensive general theory of associations having 100+ hypotheses/propositions, with a central focus on GAs versus paid-staff nonprofits. Smith's theory is the first to fill the large theory gap identified by Knoke (1986:2) in his review of research and theory on associations: "Put bluntly, association research remains a largely unintegrated set of disparate findings, in dire need of a compelling theory to force greater coherence upon the enterprise." Tschirhart (2006:536) has stated that "such earlier assessments still hold today." However, her review of research on membership associations was optimistic that theory about grassroots associations (Smith 2000) could form the kernel of a broader theory of associations.

Smith's (2000) theory of GAs covers several major areas of structure and process presented here as selected propositions (general hypotheses) from each chapter of Part II of his book. Smith derived the 100+ hypotheses of his theory inductively by reading about 2,000 published books and articles and citing 948. He also drew on 60 years of participant observation experience in a wide variety of GAs in his life.

(a) Founder choices.   Table 3.1 in Smith (2000:89) indicates that GAs (and hence all-volunteer associations in general) tend to have the following characteristics:

• located in the voluntary nonprofit sector (VNPS),
• mostly focus on member benefits in their goals,
• have an informal group style of operation and structure,
• are high in operational autonomy relative to external organizations,
• are moderate in their local territorial scope of activity and membership base (supra-local associations would have correspondingly different and larger territorial scope),
• have diffuse goals,
• have conventional (not unconventional, deviant) goals,
• use conventional means to achieve them, and
• have some socio-demographic membership criteria (requirements for entry).

(b) Ideology and incentives.   Table 4.1 in Smith (2000:105) indicates that GAs (and hence all-volunteer associations in general) tend to have the following characteristics:

• moderate conventional ideology (while DVAs tend to have strong deviant ideologies),
• strong sociability incentives for members,
• similarly strong purposive incentives (satisfactions from pursing valued collective goals),
• similarly strong service incentives (satisfactions from helping others),
• moderate informational incentives (learning new information),
• moderate developmental incentives (personal growth),
• sometimes strong other incentives for members,
• usually weak utilitarian (economic) incentives, and
• weak other work organization incentives.

(c) Structure.   Table 5.1 in Smith (2000:124) indicates that GAs (and hence all-volunteer associations in general) tend to have the following characteristics:

- a small locality base/territory (or a larger one, in supra-local all-volunteer associations),
- substantial autonomy in their structure,
- operate mainly with volunteer work/labor (no paid employees),
- have mainly informal tax exemptions (not registered with the national Internal Revenue Service in the United States, for example),
- are only informally organized (not incorporated with the government as legal persons),
- practice significant internal democracy (members elect top leaders),
- have mainly member-benefit goals (rather than goals to benefit non-members and/or the general public),
- are more likely to be polymorphic (branches of some larger association),
- have substantial socio-demographic homogeneity of members, and
- have few economic resources of money or personnel.

(d) Processes and operations. Table 6.1 in Smith (2000:147) indicates that GAs (and hence all-volunteer associations in general) tend to have the following characteristics:

- evening and weekend timing of meetings, events, and other activities;
- intermittent activities (not continuous activities, such as daily activity from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. Monday through Friday in the United States);
- low professionalism of both leaders and members;
- low (usually no) external funding from major gifts/donors, grants, or contracts;
- broad, intermittent political activity, if any (unless they have explicit political goals);
- low external power in their communities;
- only low to moderate prestige locally as groups/organizations;
- more likely to be fundamentally deviant or to have deviant leaders/members temporarily;
- distinctive group action norms;
- do mainly informal (personal) recruitment;
- do informal socialization of new members (not formal training);
- members leave mainly by voluntary termination (not ejected or fired/sacked by the group);
- do low or moderate horizontal collaboration with external groups/organizations, if any;
- younger age as groups (low in longevity or life span of group).

(e) Leadership and group environment. Table 7.1 in Smith (2000:165) indicates that GAs (and hence all-volunteer associations in general) tend to have the following characteristics:

- require leadership as essential to their existence, even if collective/egalitarian leadership,
- elect their top leaders (rather than appointing them, except for lower-level leaders like committee chairs and committee members),
- volunteer (not paid) leaders,
- leaders who practice low professionalism (enjoying their leisure, rather than making a job of it),
- higher-status males as leaders in all-male or usually in mixed-gender groups,
- leaders who emphasize consideration (personal relationships and kindness),
- leaders who do not supervise their followers or sub-leaders closely (instrumental accomplishments are usually secondary to positive and close interpersonal relationships),
- do only loose and vague priority setting for the group,
- acquire funds and new members in a routine manner (rather than pursue these strategically),
- obtain leaders only from among existing members (not selected from outside the group),
- low levels of selectivity for leaders (few requirements, beyond willingness to serve and significant time spent in the group),
- more leader quality problems (because of low leader selectivity), and
- few (or no) relations with the government at any territorial level, especially for local (vs. supra-local) associations.

(f) Life cycle changes. The Conclusion of Chapter 8 in Smith (2000:192–193) indicates that as GAs (and hence all-volunteer associations in general) get older and pass through their life cycle, they tend to have the following characteristics:

- increase in size and complexity,
- still often resist increasing complexity (see Handbook Chapter 40),
- a greater number and proportion of leaders,
- acquire paid staff with age (may become paid-staff associations),
- acquire greater assets and income/revenue,
- achieve greater *good will* and public recognition,
- more collaboration and have more other relationships with other groups/organizations,
- more external fund-raising (seek large donations/gifts, grants, and contracts from external persons and organizations),
- more likely to change their group goals (goal succession),

- more likely to displace their original goals in favor of sheer group mainte-nance/survival/growth (goal displacement), and
- more likely to survive (be active) at any subsequent time as they continue to live.

(g) Impact and effectiveness.   Table 9.1 in Smith (2000:212) indicates that GAs (and hence all-volunteer associations in general) tend to have the follow-ing characteristics:

- to provide their members with a high level of felt social support,
- provide members with high levels of felt information gained,
- provide members with high levels of felt socio-political activation,
- provide only moderate external political influence (if any),
- provide members with more economically valuable contacts (social capital),
- provide members with greater happiness/satisfaction,
- provide members with better health, and
- support the economic system of their society.

Smith has also written several other articles that analyze empirical data, or theorize based on literature reviews, the aspects/factors for GAs (and hence all-volunteer associations in general) that promote *greater impact and effec-tiveness* (Smith 1985, 1986, 1990, 1997a, 1997b, 1999a, 1999b, 2015a; Smith, with Eng and Albertson 2016; Smith and Shen 1996; Smith and Smith 1979a, 1979b, 1979c). Smith (1999a, 1999b) stated a set of generalizations that were empirically derived hypotheses about GA effectiveness, hence consti-tuting a theory of such phenomena focused on internal and also external impacts.

III. Meso-theories: Paid-staff conventional associations

In this section, we discuss the paid-staff association, which is a special form of NPO that has natural persons or organizational representatives as members, uses the associational form of organization, and relies on both volunteers *and* paid staff to reach organizational goals (Smith 2010b). However, the theoretical literature on structures and processes in this type of associations is most lim-ited, compared with that on general NPOs (meaning nonprofit agencies) and voluntary associations (Smith 2015a, 2015b). The main goal of this sub-section is therefore to identify the key governance issues, tensions, structures, and processes in paid-staff associations. For a detailed discussion of internal struc-tures and processes in all association types and a multi-theoretical approach to associational governance, including the governance of paid-staff associations and association leadership, see Handbook Chapters 35 and 36.

By reviewing some main theoretical perspectives on corporate governance and discussing how they can be usefully extended to analyze association governance, Cornforth (2004) identifies three governance tensions that boards of membership associations face. First, tension exists between *representative* and *expert* boards. Should board members act as representatives for particular membership groups or as experts that use their professional expertise and skills to improve the performance of the association? Second, tension arises over conformance and performance board roles. Whereas the conformance role accentuates the importance of monitoring associational performance and being accountable to external stakeholders, the performance role emphasizes the importance of board involvement in the association's strategy and top management decisions. Since these roles require board members to behave in different ways, how much attention should boards of associations pay to these contrasting roles? Moreover, is it possible to combine these roles without experiencing difficulties or compromising one of them?

Third, there is also a tension between monitoring and controlling managers, on the one hand, and acting as a partner to them and supporting them, on the other hand. For example, if control is excessive, intrinsic motivation may be crowded out. Too little control, however, may increase opportunism. Since boards of associations may experience pressure to simultaneously control and coach their managers, to what extent should they perform each function to improve associational performance?

Although association board members are typically elected from within the membership, boards of associations are not without means to mitigate the aforementioned governance tensions (Cornforth 2004:21–26). In sum, boards can

(1) *improve the board's competency* by improving the quality of training and support available to both current and potential board members, as well as by using co-options to fill gaps in skills and experience among current board members;
(2) *focus their attention on important board processes*, such as the way in which longer-term issues are given priority on the board's agenda; and
(3) *regularly review their relationships with the management of the association* by discussing and negotiating roles and responsibilities and by analyzing how well they are working together to improve the performance of the association. As such, governance issues related to board composition, board roles, and internal structures and processes in paid-staff associations may at least be partially resolved.

Spear (2004), in contrast, investigates member influence and managerial power in membership associations. First, in examining the extent of

member influence over the board, he considers five issues: (1) proportion of users/consumers with member rights, (2) member participation, (3) effects of association size and age on member participation, (4) coalition formation among members, and (5) board functioning. Second, in exploring managerial power in membership associations, he analyzes a number of internal factors (reward structures, information systems, and monitoring) and also a number of external factors (market for corporate control, legislation and regulatory frameworks protecting members' interests, and the professionalization of the managerial labor market) that influence associational governance. In sum, he finds that low member participation, lack of coalition formation, and insufficient board control result in weak member control.

This situation is exacerbated by the absence of an external market for corporate control and weak legislation for protecting member rights, although the latter may vary from country to country. Consequently, Spear (2004) argues that (a) there are serious questions about the extent to which board members of paid-staff associations may be considered representative and that (b) the managers of paid-staff associations may have more power than their counterparts in similar-sized private sector organizations. To improve this situation, a number of countervailing measures are provided that reduce managerial power and develop good board practices in nonprofit associations. These include (1) *regulation or voluntary self-regulation* to improve governance standards, (2) *improving the board's competency* through increased member participation and training of board members, and (3) using *effective incentive structures for managers* (Spear 2004:54–55).

IV. Meso-theories: Deviant voluntary associations (DVAs)

The general study of fundamentally deviant voluntary associations (DVAs) is in its infancy, not only in regard to theory, but also in regard to systematic comparative study. DVAs are MAs whose main goals, or means of achieving them, violate one or more current moral norms of the society in which they are embedded or operate (Stebbins 1996:3). Hence, the deviance involved is fundamental and enduring regarding the goals, or means of goal attainment, in DVAs, unlike temporary deviance in conventional associations (see Handbook Chapter 54).

There are many case studies of DVAs (see references in Smith 2017a, 2017c) by historians, anthropologists, and other social scientists. However, there have been very few attempts to develop theories or models explaining how DVAs of specific types or DVAs in general function (but see Smith 2017a, 2017c; see also Handbook Chapter 54).

1. Theories of Social Movement Organizations

One exception to the foregoing generalization about DVAs is theory about social movements and their constituent social movement organizations

(SMOs), which are usually DVAs. Many scholars have developed, with varying degrees of generality, models and theories of social movements and SMOs in the past half-century (e.g., Buechler 2011; Gamson 1990; Laraña, Johnston, and Gusfield 1994; Lofland 1996; McAdam and Snow 1997; Morris and Mueller 1992; Snow, Soule, and Kriesi 2004; Zald and McCarthy 1987). We will consider only two examples here.

(a) Zald and Ash-Garner's theory of SMOs. Zald and Ash (1966; in slightly revised form as Zald and Garner 1987) presented a theory of SMO growth, decay, and change with 17 propositions. This was unusual, because it seems to be the first orderly and extensive set of propositions about SMOs as DVAs ever to be published. To have a flavor of their theory, consider these sample propositions:

  (i) "Proposition 5: [SMOs] with relatively specific goals are more likely to vanish following success than [SMOs] with broad general goals" (Zald and Garner 1987:130).
 (ii) "Proposition 8: A becalmed [SMO] is most likely to follow the Weber-Michels model [of goal displacement, oligarchy, and organizational maintenance] because its dependence on and control of material incentives allows oligarchization and conservatism to take place" (Zald and Garner 1987:131).
(iii) "Proposition 13: Exclusive [SMOs] are more likely than inclusive [SMOs] to be beset by schisms" (Zald and Garner 1987:135).

(b) Gamson's theory of effective SMOs. Gamson ([1975] 1990) presented and tested a general theory of SMO effectiveness and impact, based on careful coding of published qualitative material describing a random sample of 53 US SMOs from 1800 to 1945. He did not state all his propositions as such, but they can be inferred from hypotheses in his text and graphs reporting data testing them. For present purposes, we focus on his dependent variable *new advantages* as the outcome/impact criterion. Here are a few of the propositions, with statements of the propositions and numbering by the present first author. Note that all of these might be true of all DVAs and perhaps of all groups in general:

  (i) Proposition 2: SMOs that focus mainly or solely on a single issue tend to achieve more new advantages than multiple-issue SMOs (Gamson 1990:46).
 (ii) Proposition 8: SMOs that use selective incentives (special inducements or constraints for members only) to recruit and retain members tend to achieve more new advantages than SMOs that rely only on solidarity incentives, such as appeals to values or group loyalty (Gamson 1990:69).
(iii) Proposition 15: SMOs that have both more bureaucratic structure (written constitution or equivalent, formal list of members, three or more levels

of internal divisions/levels) and greater centralization of power/authority tend to achieve more new advantages than SMOs that are less formally organized (Gamson 1990:91–95).

(iv) Proposition 17: SMOs that avoid factionalism (serious internal splits) tend to achieve more new advantages than SMOs that experience factionalism (Gamson 1990:105).

2. Smith's general theory of DVAs

From general reading of the research literature, mainly qualitative case studies on DVAs, and from teaching for many years a course on DVAs (Smith 1996), Smith inductively generated 51 hypotheses about DVAs in general (Smith 2017a). With the collaboration of Robert Stebbins, Smith sought support for these hypotheses by additional, more formal content analysis of qualitative published research on a wide variety of DVAs, mostly using books rather than articles (ibid.). Using this content analytic process over the course of two years, Smith developed an additional 37 hypotheses, for a total of 88 hypotheses, which were also subjected to content analysis for empirical support.

The set of documents that were content-analyzed were selected purposively to include coverage of 24 common sense (natural language) categories of DVAs as expressed in two independently published books for each type (Smith 2017a). Most books described DVAs in North America, especially the United States, but some books reached back up to 800 years and described DVAs on other continents, mostly Europe. These *final* 24 DVA types, winnowed down theoretically from a larger set of 57 initial categories/types, fall into three broader, constructed categories: (a) political influence/liberation DVA types (e.g., social movement groups, terrorist groups, vigilante groups, citizen militia groups, extremist political parties); (b) religious/salvation/occult DVA types (e.g., new religions [*cults* and deviant sects], medieval heresy groups, witches' covens, religious communes, doomsday/suicide/massacre groups); and (c) hedonic satisfaction DVA types. Category "c" has two sub-categories: (1) negative emotional expression (e.g., hate groups, motorcycle outlaw gangs, juvenile delinquent gangs) and (2) positive emotional expression (e.g., group sex/swingers' groups/group marriage, transvestite groups, nudist/naturist groups, gay/lesbian groups, and some secular communes).

The 88 inductively generated DVA hypotheses were clustered by topic into several broader categories, which are chapters in Smith (2017a). From four of these broad categories, we present here illustrative hypotheses that were strongly supported by the content analytic process (ibid.).

(a) Origins phase

(i) "Hypothesis OR.5: During their origins phases, [DVAs] usually follow significant aspects of the organizational pattern of some prior, similar,

group predecessor, which was linked to one of more of the founder-activists of the current [DVA] by that person's life experience, often as a member or participant."

(ii) "Hypothesis OR.9: If successfully established, new DVAs are nearly always fundamentally deviant from one or more societal moral norms from the time period of their origins, rather than starting as conventional associations and shifting later to become DVAs."

(b) Joining and membership

(i) "Hypothesis JM.12: Members of DVAs are particularly attracted to solidary (sociability) incentives and rewards provided by such groups – a sense of belonging, community, acceptance, caring, and support."

(ii) "Hypothesis JM.17: DVAs often involve high commitment by members, developed through mechanisms of commitment built into group structure [and processes]."

(c) Ideology

(i) "Hypothesis ID.1: DVA ideologies try to create a *fictive reality* that opposes and rejects aspects of mainstream society, its norms and beliefs."

(ii) "Hypothesis ID.5: DVA ideologies are often based on the beliefs and values of the group's founders, which are preserved with modest changes over time."

(d) Structure and leadership

(i) "Hypothesis SL.4: Obedience and conformity by DVA members in meetings and other collective events tend to be high."

(ii) "Hypothesis SL.8: DVAs seek isolation and secrecy from conventional society to some significant degree [often operating underground]."

(iii) "Hypothesis SL.23: Insofar as leadership is present, leaders are usually promoted from or emerge from within the DVA, rather than being brought in from outside."

(V) Meso-Theories: Informal Collective Conflict/Protest

As noted in this chapter's Introduction and Definitions sections, the overlap between (a) research on informal (or semi-formal) collective conflict/protest and (b) voluntaristics research is usually ignored by voluntaristics scholars, but also by social conflict scholars (e.g., Anderson and Herr 2007; Bercovitch, Kremenyuk, and Zartman 2008; Coleman, Deutsch, and Marcus 2014; Ness 2009; Record 2007). Such mutual ignorance does not serve theory or research in either field. Because of the vastness of the research field of informal collective conflict and protest, we can only scratch the surface of relevant theory

here (but see especially Smith 2017d for more details on such research and theory). It is important to remember that conflict and protest are not necessarily harmful to society, but instead often have positive outcomes, as Coser (1956) explained at length long ago. See also Smith (2017d) for many positive societal and historical outcomes of social conflict as impacts of MAs and related informal collectivities.

1. Gurr's Theory of Why People Rebel Violently

Among various theories of informal collective conflict/protest that have been presented over the past century or two, Gurr's (1969) theory of *why people rebel* is outstanding for its extensiveness and deep roots in the empirical literature up to the date of its publication. Although Gurr has done much additional work on social conflicts (e.g., Goldstone et al. 2010; Gurr 1980; Gurr, Jaggers, and Moore 1990), as have many others (e.g., Jenkins and Schock 1992; Oberschall 1978; Van Zomeren, Postmes, and Spears 2008), Gurr's 1969 theory remains impressive (cited by about 6,000 other scholars), with 82 hypotheses and corollaries, showing the lasting value of high quality and extensive theory. Here are a few interesting propositions from that theory, for most of which the intellectual linkages are clear to general voluntaristics research, especially on DVAs, but also on participation in MAs generally:

> "H:V.1: The potential for collective violence varies strongly with the intensity and scope of relative deprivation (RD) among members of a collectivity." [p. 360]

> "H:ID.1: The intensity of RD varies strongly with the average degree of perceived discrepancy between value expectations and value capabilities." [p. 361]

> "H:VC.3: Perceived value capabilities vary strongly and inversely with the rate of a group's past experience of value loss." [p. 362]

> "H:JV.2: The intensity and scope of normative justifications for political violence vary strongly with the historical magnitude of political violence in a collectivity [or population]." [p. 363]

> "H:RI.1: Regime institutional support varies strongly with the proportion of a population belonging to regime-oriented organizations." [p. 365]

> "H:T.1: The likelihood of turmoil increases as the ratio of dissident to regime coercive control approaches zero [in a population or society]." [p. 366]

2. Chenoweth and Stephans' Theory of Nonviolent Resistance

Although research on *violent* social conflict involves a huge literature over centuries, there is also a recent but significant research on *nonviolent* approaches

to conflict resolution, which was given a great impetus by the life and career of Gandhi (cf. Juergensmeyer 2005). In addition to practical books on how to do nonviolent resistance successfully (e.g., Nagler 2014; Sharp 2012; Sharp and Paulson 2005), there are many empirical studies and also various handbooks/summaries on the nature and effectiveness of nonviolent resistance/social conflict (e.g., Engler and Engler 2016; Nepstad 2011; Record 2007), often enunciating general principles/hypotheses.

Chenoweth and Stephan (2011) examined 323 nonviolent and violent social conflicts occurring from 1900 to 2006 in all world regions and political regime types, finding that the nonviolent approaches were more successful: 53% of the time versus 27% for violent/armed approaches. These findings are consistent with Gamson's (1990) results about greater success of nonviolent American social movement organizations in the period 1800–1945. Here we state briefly some of the key conclusions reached by the authors about effective nonviolent resistance:

- Domestic and transnational legitimacy of the movements involved are improved by a nonviolent approach, usually leading to more participation by the population in the movement.
- Broader population participation in the movement puts more pressure on the government to make some or all of the political changes sought.
- Government regimes find it harder to oppress/repress nonviolent movements, and such oppression/repression can often backfire and generate sympathy for the movement in the general population.
- The population usually perceives nonviolent movements/approaches as less extreme, improving their popular appeal to and support or tolerance by the general population.
- With more popular support, nonviolent movements can often extract more concessions from the government regarding key political change issues in bargaining.
- Government regime officials (e.g., civil servants, security forces, judiciary officials) are more likely to shift to the side of a nonviolent movement than to shift toward supporting a violent change-oriented movement.

VI. Micro-theories: Association membership, participation, and volunteering

The micro-theories relevant to this part of this chapter are presented at length in Handbook Part IV and will not be repeated here. Handbook Chapter 31 gives an overview of the most comprehensive theories and models of participation that have been tested empirically. Very substantial portions of the variance (40%–70%) in volunteering and participation can be explained by the best of these theories, such as S-Theory (e.g., Smith 2017b).

Rochester's (2013) recent book is one example of renewed interest in theories about volunteering and voluntary action (see also Rochester, Paine, and Howlett 2010). Rochester (ibid.:chapter 8) discusses three paradigms of volunteering, as different contexts all of which are needed for a *round earth* map of volunteering (Smith 2000:chapter 10)– a dominant *nonprofit paradigm* involving VSPs; a *civil society paradigm*, involving self-help and mutual aid in associations; and a *serious leisure paradigm*, involving arts, culture, sports, and recreation activities also in associations.

Smith (2015a, 2016b) prefers a different but related approach. He distinguishes five analytical types of volunteering, based on the external context of each type, as follows, with types #2 and #4 corresponding to Rochester's three paradigms, but adding #1, 3, and 5 in the list below (quoted with permission of the author from Smith 2016b):

(1) *Informal volunteering* (INV), where there is no relevant external group or organization as a context and role guiding the individual's volunteer activity (see Handbook Chapter 9);

(2) *Formal association volunteering* (FAV), where the individual is acting in a role as a volunteer member or participant in an external association (see most chapters of this Handbook);

(3) *Formal board volunteering* (FBV), where the individual is acting in a role as a volunteer member or participant in a policy-making board, commission, or similar elite unit of some larger organization, whether an NPO or not (not the subject of a chapter of this book, given insufficient research literature);

(4) *Formal service-program volunteering* (FSPV), where the individual is acting in a role as a service-providing volunteer as part of some VSP, that is a non-autonomous, volunteer department of some larger, parent organization in any sector of society (see Handbook Chapters 15–17 and parts of other chapters); and

(5) *Stipended service volunteering* (SSV), where the individual is acting in a role as a service-providing volunteer as part of some volunteer service program (VSP) but receives significant payments, either financially or in kind, which still leave a net cost to the volunteer relative to the market value of the activity performed (as in the US Peace Corps as a trans-national SSV, or a domestic SSV program, such as VISTA; see Handbook Chapters 10 and 11).

VII. Micro-theories: General human behavior, especially pro-social behavior

Psychologists, sociologists, and other social scientists have been seeking general theories of individual human behavior for the past 80 years or more.

An example of an early proto-theory in psychology is Lewin's pseudo-equation for behavior:

$$B = f(P, E),$$

where B = behavior, P = person, and E = environment (Lewin [1936] 2008). It is not clear whether Lewin sought to quantify his pseudo-equation, which seems more like a heuristic device. In sociology, Homans' (1961) exchange theory is a more recent but still early example. In political science, Almond and Verba's (1963) Civic Culture model of political participation is an early example.

In Handbook Chapter 31, Smith with Van Puyvelde briefly review various recent theories and models in three social-behavioral sciences and some fields of biology that are converging toward a common theoretical approach to explaining human individual behavior. In the past three years, Smith (2014a, 2015c, 2017b) has used his view of such convergence to construct S-Theory (Synanthrometrics). S-Theory is presented as a comprehensive, quantitative, interdisciplinary, and consilient theory of human behavior and proposed as a new Standard Human Science Model.

S-Theory is exceedingly complex and therefore difficult to summarize effectively. It posits a Basic Behavior Equation (BBE) in various forms that are hypothesized to explain and predict the complexity of nearly all instances of individual human behavior, including sociality and voluntary action.

Quoting with permission from Smith (2017b):

S-Theory can be summarized in a Brief Basic Behavior Equation (Brief BBE) in deterministic form [Smith 2017b: Proposition P2]. This equation asserts that human behavior (P below) results from the joint effects of three Mega-Independent Variables (Mega-IVs): the individual's Body (B), external Environment (E), and Psyche, psychological system, or mind (Ψ, pronounced as *psi* or *sigh*), as follows:

$$P = B + E + \Psi. \tag{1}$$

The most comprehensive version of the BBE in S-Theory [Smith 2017b: Proposition P4], termed the General BBE/*Comprehensive* Version (General BBE/*CV*), contains the following 19 Key Macro-Independent Variables (Macro-IVs) that collectively are hypothesized to explain and predict nearly all of human behavior (P below):

P (position or behavior) = [seven *Relevant-Body* IVs (BIF, CAP, ASC, BGR,

CBC, BSR, SBF)] + [five *Relevant-Environment* IVs (PPM, EDF, SBS, CE, GBP]

+ [seven *Psyche* IVs (M, A, G, I, C, π, S)] (2)

or a bit more simply:

$$P = [\text{BIF} + \text{CAP} + \text{ASC} + \text{BGR} + \text{CBC} + \text{BSR} + \text{SBF}] + [\text{PPM} + \text{EDF} + \text{SBS}$$
$$+ \text{CE} + \text{GBP}] + [M + A + G + I + C + \pi + S]. \tag{3}$$

The following are the contents (and brief labels) for all 19 Key Macro-IVs comprising the three Mega-IV types:

(A) *Seven Relevant-Body (R-B) Key Macro-IVs*:

(1) BIF = Body Internal Functioning-health at present
(2) CAP = Conscious Alertness Phase at present (Alert-Awake, Distracted-Awake, Transitional, Light Sleep, Deep Sleep, Stupor/Coma)
(3) ASC = Altered State of Consciousness (e.g., drunk, drugged, hypnotized, in shock, sexually aroused, enraged, or psychotic), *if any* (a Threshold IV)
(4) BGR = Behavior Genetics Relevant (various genetic behavior-dispositions relevant at present to a given behavior DV)
(5) CBC = Current Body Chemistry-neurology (including especially the following)

  (a) CEO = Current External-origin (non-human-DNA-based) Organisms and chemicals (e.g., bacteria, viruses, parasites, fungi, allergens, poisons)
  (b) CHS = Current Hormones and Secretions
  (c) CNC = Current Neuro-Chemistry
  (d) CNP = Current Neuro-Physiology

(6) BSR = Body Structure and (body-linked socio-cultural) Roles indicated at present (e.g., age, gender, race-ethnicity, abnormal height or weight, facial disfigurement, body deformity, varieties of able vs. disabled [blind, deaf, mute, paraplegic, quadriplegic, amputee, birth defect victim, brain-damaged, physiological psychotic]).
(7) SBF = Superficial Body Features (especially including the following)

  (a) BE = Body Emissions (excretions, external secretions, odors, sounds) at present
  (b) BSA = Body Surface Appearance features (hair on head and body, skin color and texture, tattoos, scars, pimples, moles; visible deformities, abnormalities) at present
  (c) CAB = Clothing and Adornments on the Body at present (technically a part of the MIcro-Environment/MIE, but listed here for practical reasons), *if any* [a Threshold IV]

(B) *Five Relevant-Environment (R-E) Key Macro-IVs*, some of which refer to the MIcro-Environment (MIE):

(1) PPM = Physical Permissiveness of the MIcro-Environment/MIE (extent to which the MIE limits normal, gross, motor activity of the body)
(2) EDF = Environment Driver Factors (objectively present, noxious or dangerous stimuli or situations in the MIE that are likely to influence the individual to escape the MIE or to ameliorate/eliminate these stimuli if either is feasible; for instance, sufficient cold, heat, wind, moisture, noxious gas, sound, brightness of light, other extreme radiation, unpleasant smells, etc.; also, dangerous animals, people, situations, etc.)
(3) SBS = Socio-cultural Behavior Setting (a socio-culturally meaningful situation or behavior setting that is *physically-objectively present* [vs. perceived by the individual] in the MIE or larger socio-cultural environment, with associated-linked normative expectations for behavior)
(4) CE = Control (i.e., objectively likely over the) Environment, especially the MIE, by the individual)
(5) GBP = General Bio-Physical environment (including the Natural Non-human Biological environment/NNB, the Built-Artificial Environment/BAE, and the Human Population Environment/HPE).

(C) *Seven Psyche (Ψ) Key Macro-IVs*:

(1) M = Motivations/dispositions
(2) A = Affects/emotions
(3) G = Goals/values
(4) I = Intellectual capacities/skills
(5) C = Cognitions/perceptions/beliefs
(6) π (pi) = Pain level felt, if any (a Threshold IV)
(7) S = Self (both the conscious and unconscious, unique, organizing pattern of the other six Psyche IVs, which are termed the *Life Stance IVs/LS*, M, A, G, I, C, π)

If or when S-Theory receives sufficient empirical confirmation and/or expert approval, this theory may be seen as a proposed *new Standard Human Science Model* or SHSM (using the term *Standard Model* as in particle physics). This SHSM seeks to make sense of the huge number and variety of variables that significantly affect human behavior. However, unlike the SSSM, the new SHSM, based on S-Theory, gives biological and psychological variables their rightful place in this model.

The new SHSM is intended to replace the narrower Standard Social Science Model (SSSM) identified and discussed by Tooby and Cosmides (1992).

Edward Wilson (1999:204–207) has suggested some key elements of an SHSM, all of which S-Theory includes as consilience. The SHSM also implements the central interdisciplinary recommendation of the Gulbenkian Commission on the Social Sciences (Mudimbe 1996). The first author would prefer to use the label *new Standard Human Science Model* (NSHSM), because the word *Human* is much more appropriately interdisciplinary than the word *Social*.

VIII. Toward a general theory of nonprofit sector phenomena

While at present there is no general theory of nonprofit sector phenomena, we clearly need one. Anheier et al. (2014) seem to working on such a theory, but it does not cover all relevant phenomena and they have yet to test it. From the theories reviewed and referred to in this chapter (and many others in Handbook Chapter 31), it should be evident now that the theories of associations and of volunteering/participation have come a long way in the past decade or two, contrary to the earlier conclusion of Tschirhart (2006). There has also been much useful theory proposed in the past few decades regarding the size and nature of the nonprofit sector as a whole and its relationship to other sectors of society (Anheier 2005:chapter 6; Boris and Steuerle 2006; Clemens 2006). In addition, the theory of nonprofit agencies has made much progress. For instance, there is a reasonably advanced economic literature on the role, behavior, and governance of paid-staff nonprofit agencies (e.g., Anheier and Ben-Ner 2003; Cornforth 2012; Hansmann 1987; Jegers 2009; Steinberg 2006; Van Puyvelde et al. 2012).

A general, multi-level theory of associations is probably within our grasp in the near future, meaning the next ten years or so. Such a theory will need to integrate the various levels of association theories reviewed here and in some subsequent Handbook chapters. (cf., Smith 2015a, 2015b, 2017d).

E. Usable knowledge

Based on the results of research/theory on association prevalence, such prevalence can be increased in a territory by stimulating more resource/support organizations and by increasing civil liberties/democracy, as the most easily affected factors. Given the inductive theory of GAs and supra-local all-volunteer associations presented, association founders can use the following as a checklist for key decisions about their new associations: member versus non-member benefits in their goals, informal versus formal group style of operation and structure, high versus low operational autonomy relative to external organizations, large versus small scope of their territorial activity and membership base, diffuse versus focused goals, conventional versus unconventional (deviant) goals and means to achieve them, and the restrictiveness versus inclusiveness

of socio-demographic membership criteria. In fact, founders and leaders of such associations may use all the propositions of the Smith's theory of GA structures and processes as a practical checklist. As for paid-staff associations, a number of measures were suggested to improve their governance, including improving board competency, using effective incentive structures for managers, and implementing various board processes such as self-regulation and long-term priority setting.

For DVAs, particularly SMOs, the theories presented here have much practical utility for SMOs seeking optimum impact in securing new advantages (e.g., single issue focus, selective incentives for participation, more bureaucracy, avoid internal factions). Smith's theory of DVAs also suggests many useful factors to consider in forming or leading such an association. For instance, if founders have ultimately deviant goals in their society, they should begin their group as a DVA, not as a conventional association expecting to be able to convert to a DVA later on.

F. Future trends and needed research

One key future trend we see is a growing interest in developing and testing theory, even rather general theory, in our field of voluntaristics. Such theory, however, tends to be general *within* the levels of macro-, meso-, and micro-theories. Nonetheless, a clear need exists for a general theory of nonprofit sector phenomena that integrates all three levels. Such general theory must also take into account the distinctions made in this chapter between and among different association types. The distinction between conventional and unconventional (deviant) associations is crucial, as is that between all-volunteer and paid-staff associations. The distinction between local and supra-local associations of any kind is also quite important. Moreover, although not discussed here, the distinction among associations in terms of their member types is important: individuals only, groups or organizations only (as in federations), or both types of members. Many other theoretical points and issues need to be included, as identified in passing in the many chapters of this Handbook. This is especially true for the need to distinguish among five different contexts and types of volunteering, as suggested here, in theories of participation and volunteering.

Probably the most important agenda for future empirical research is much further testing and elaboration of the various theories sketched in this chapter, as well as testing competing or alternative theories not mentioned here, but sometimes dealt with in Handbook Chapter 31. More extensive treatment of theories of volunteering and participation will be found in Chapter 31 and earlier chapters in Part IV of the Handbook. The S-Theory sketched here may be compared with the more narrowly focused theories of

volunteering and participation discussed in Chapter 31 (Smith 2014a, 2015c, 2016c).

G. Cross-references

Chapters 3–9, 15, 16, 28, 30, 31, 35–37, 45, 46, and 50.

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3

Typologies of Associations and Volunteering

David H. Smith (USA), with Robert A. Stebbins (USA), Jurgen Grotz (Germany), Pradeep Kumar (India), Janice L. H. Nga (Malaysia), and Stijn Van Puyvelde (Belgium)

A. Introduction

This chapter reviews prior research and theory on both purposive-activity and analytical-theoretical typologies of associations and volunteering, with some attention to related typologies of nonprofit agencies and of nonprofit organizations (NPOs) generally. After sketching the history of such typologies, Smith presents several improved purposive-activity and analytical-theoretical typologies, including a Tenfold Purposive Typology of associations, a Membership Typology of associations, an Analytical Typology of associations, and a Territorial Scope Typology of associations. Also presented is a new, Smith Analytical Typology of Volunteering and a Typology of Volunteer Activities, from Rochester et al. (2010). Some examples of special typologies used in other nations are given. Usable knowledge, future trends, and needed research are also discussed. An extensive set of references is provided.

Typologies (sets of types) are an important part of theorizing in all the sciences, and in scholarship more generally (Rich 1992), although "existing typologies of organizations are typically limited." Typologies also have important practical utility, by summarizing and simplifying a more complex set of phenomena (Carper and Snizek 1980; Doty and Glick 1994). Human thinking/cognition depends in a very deep way, at the level of brain processing of information, on categorization. Our perceptions are structured into categories from the beginning of our lives, and our socio-cultural systems prescribe the socially accepted categories to use, or at least to consider using.

Unfortunately, all categories or typologies relating to human thinking, emotions, dispositions, and behavior are *fuzzy* – meaning imprecise, with unclear/flexible boundaries, unlike most categories in the physical and biological sciences. Such imprecision in human phenomena seems ultimately

unavoidable, because all human psychological phenomena involve probabilities (or *probability fields*, as in quantum mechanics), not deterministic relationships. These imprecisions can also be seen as socio-behavioral science equivalents of *Heisenberg's uncertainty principle* in quantum mechanics. Smith (2017) sees this socio-behavioral science uncertainty principle as rooted in an *observation awareness reactivity* (OAR) trait of humans.

Winch (1947) distinguished two different types of typologies or taxonomies (synonyms). *Heuristic* typologies are constructed from theory, deduction, experience, and/or intuition. They often distort empirical phenomena by "positing extreme forms of relevant characteristics" (p. 68). Empirical typologies are constructed on the basis of observed clustering of characteristics, often through factor analysis techniques. McKelvey (1975:509) suggested "some guidelines for using multivariate analyses to aid the development of classifications." Vakil (1997) further suggests that typologies of nonprofit organizations (NPOs), long hampered by problems of definition, need to distinguish essential (core, central) from contingent (peripheral, non-essential) characteristics.

One might have expected that researchers and theorists in the field of organization studies would have considered NPOs, including both associations and agencies, in their theories and typologies. Unfortunately, this has seldom been the case. Older standard texts on organizations spend only a few pages on NPOs (e.g., Blau and Scott 1962; Caplow 1964). In their index, March and Simon (1958) do not even mention NPOs, voluntary organizations, or associations.

Scholars of NPOs, associations, and volunteering have been constructing *purposive-activity* typologies of such groups for many decades, as reviewed in the next section. This chapter will review two main kinds of typologies of associations and of volunteers*: purposive-activity typologies* and *analytical-theoretical typologies*. The first author proposes here original typologies of both types.

More recent overview texts on organization studies also generally neglect NPOs and associations (e.g., Hatch 1997; Scott and Davis 2003; Tolbert and Hall 2010). Recent handbooks on organizations similarly give little attention to NPOs, especially to associations (e.g., Baum 2005; Clegg et al. 2006; Tsoukas and Knudsen 2007). In a national sample study of all types of work organizations (i.e., organizations with one or more employees), Kalleberg et al. (1996:47) included NPOs, finding nonprofit units to be about 7% of the unweighted sample.

However, some of the older texts, monographs, and articles on organizations made useful contributions to analytical typologies that included NPOs, voluntary organizations, and/or associations (e.g., Blau and Scott 1962; Scherer 1988). The seminal book by Etzioni (1975) is by far the most important of these. His entire book focuses on understanding *all* organizations in terms of their *compliance structures*. Etzioni (p. xv) defines *compliance* as "a relationship consisting of the power employed by superiors to control subordinates and the orientation

of the subordinates to this power," combining a "structural and a motivational aspect." He sees compliance as "the organizational equivalent of social order" (p. xvii). Compliance involves power, which Etzioni defines (p. 4) as "an actor's ability to induce or influence another actor to carry out his directives or any other norms he supports."

Three types of power are distinguished, being characteristic of three different types of organizations (p. 5):

> *Coercive* power rests on the application, or the threat of application, of physical sanctions such as infliction of pain, deformity, or death . . . .
>
> *Remunerative* power is based in control over material resources and rewards [such as money and valuable things] . . . .
>
> *Normative* [or "persuasive," "manipulative"] power rests on the allocation and manipulation of symbolic [and emotional] rewards and deprivations . . . .

Along with corresponding types of involvement (alienative, calculative, and moral), these different forms of power tend to pervade and dominate whole organizations, leading to three correspondingly different types of organizations in terms of compliance structures: coercive, utilitarian, and normative organizations. Within society in general, prisons and the military are coercive organizations, businesses are utilitarian organizations, and NPOs tend to be normative organizations (Etzioni 1975:chapters II and III). Zald and Jacobs (1978:403) suggested improving the clarity and measurability of the various types of compliance structures by defining a property space with four continuous dimensions: "negative and positive utility, probability of delivery, transferability, and collective goods," all of which are based on power-dependence.

Although Etzioni does not put it this way, NPOs, or *voluntary organizations* in his terms, can be divided into two ideal types (see Smith 2015a, 2015b):

(1) Nonprofit *agencies,* relying mainly on paid staff (e.g., a nonprofit hospital, museum, or university), are often *dual organizations attempting to combine normative and remunerative compliance structures* (Smith 2015b). But of the two bases of compliance, utilitarian compliance usually dominates in large agencies (e.g., with ten or more full-time, paid staff), though normative compliance may dominate in some smaller agencies.

(2) By contrast, in all-volunteer NPOs, usually voluntary (membership) *associations,* especially grassroots associations (Smith 2000, 2015a; see Handbook Chapter 32), the *normative compliance structure usually dominates*, since there is no pay for work. Because all-volunteer nonprofit *agencies* are rare, voluntary (membership, nonprofit) associations are the main kind of organization and NPO where the normative compliance structure is found.

Put another way, the *voluntariness (normative-voluntary character) of the voluntary, nonprofit sector (VNPS) is mainly found in voluntary associations, not in the paid employees of nonprofit agencies*. Volunteers in volunteer service programs (VSPs), as departments (units) of nonprofit agencies, government agencies, and some businesses (especially for-profit health organizations, such as hospitals), also manifest some voluntariness, but volunteers in VSPs lack any power over the larger, parent organization, by contrast with the power/authority situation in voluntary associations (Smith 2015a, 2015b; see also Handbook Chapters 15 and 16).

This extension of Etzioni's analysis here supports the thesis in Smith (1991) that the nonprofit/third/voluntary sector is comprised in every nation of two quite distinct subsectors (or a fourth and fifth sector): (1) the non-member-benefit subsector/sector and (2) the member-benefit subsector/sector (see also Smith 1993). These two types of subsectors/sectors also generally correspond to (1) nonprofit agencies operated mainly by paid staff and (2) voluntary associations operated mainly and often solely by volunteers. The recent encyclopedia entries by Smith (2015a, 2015b) further support this *Dual Subsector Model* of the nonprofit sector, where the two subsectors may also be seen as separate sectors.

Scherer (1988:475) has suggested a related but interesting alternative typology that can be applied to all organizations, in his view. He notes that some critics "have become concerned about the unsuitability of available models for the study of organizations which affirm values or involve strong commitments," contrary to Weber's rational bureaucracy model. His point is well taken for various types of NPOs, especially associations, including religious denominations, which were Scherer's central interest. Scherer (p. 475) suggested that organizations (or groups) generally fall into four categories, as models: *market*, *bureaucracy*, *clan*, and *mission*, referring to businesses, government agencies, families, and NPOs, respectively. Many other analytical typologies, often only single dimensions, have also been suggested as crucial for organizational classification.

B. Definitions

This chapter accepts the definitions in the Handbook Appendix. However, we emphasize that an association by definition must have a membership, contrary to uses of the term *association* by some other scholars (e.g., Skocpol 1999).

This chapter refers frequently to NPOs, a category of organizations (and groups) which includes both *nonprofit agencies*, usually paid staff based (Smith 2015b), and also *nonprofit, voluntary associations*, usually volunteer based (Smith 2015a). The term *NGOs*, referring to non-governmental organizations, is also used sometimes. Although the term *NGOs* is roughly synonymous with the term *NPOs*, the term *NGOs* is the preferred English term in certain nations (e.g., China) and more generally preferred in referring to transnational

or international associations (as in the term INGOs – International Non-Governmental Organizations; see Handbook Chapter 34).

Adam Habib (University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa; personal communication via Ram Cnaan) has suggested that the dominant sector in a society affects which term will be preferred – *NPOs* or *NGOs*: In modern, capitalist, and democratic societies, where the business sector is dominant, the term *NPOs* will likely be preferred. In traditional and developing/transitional societies, especially in socialist or communist nations, where the government regime is only weakly democratic or is non-democratic and government is the dominant force in society, the term *NGOs* is likely to be preferred.

The term *NGOs* is paradoxically often used even when the NPOs being referred to are clearly influenced by, often founded by, or even controlled at present by the government of a nation (e.g., the oxymoronic term, *GONGOs* – government-organized non-governmental organizations; Wu 2002).

In addition, we define a *typology* as a set of categories or types.

Purposive-activity typologies list various different main purposes and activities of an association (or other NPO). Such typologies are based on common language names or labels (and simplistic, lay perceptions) such as *health* or *religion*, not on theory in the socio-behavioral sciences.

Analytical typologies list various different theoretical variables/dimensions or categories that are useful for understanding the basic structures and processes of an association, irrespective of its purposive type(s).

Organizational goals are the outcomes or end-states that an association seeks to achieve. The *purposes* and *mission(s)* of an organization are basically synonyms for goals.

Official goals are the goals an association formally stated as its ostensible, explicit, or public mission, whether or not the group actually dedicates significant resources to achieving them presently or recently (e.g., in the past 12 months).

Operative goals are the goals an association actually seeks at present or has sought recently by allocating significant resources to their achievement, whether stated or admitted publicly or not. Operative goals are implicit, often non-obvious, covert, and sometimes even secret.

Compliance structure of an association is how the leaders persuade or induce their subordinates to follow directives/suggestions and/or follow norms that the leaders favor (Etzioni 1975).

C. Historical background

1. Purposive-activity typologies

Purposive-activity typologies refer to typologies that classify NPOs according to their major, common sense (superficial, phenotypic) kind(s) of activities or

purposes. Such purposive typologies of NPOs in general go back only a few decades. Smith (1972b) compiled the most extensive list of all terms in the English language referring to NPOs, voluntary organizations, and voluntary associations by content analysis of a dictionary. Smith (1972a) also presented an early typology of volunteers, and Smith, Baldwin, and White (1980) presented one of the first purposive typologies of associations, with 18 main categories or types. Another purposive typology, the National Taxonomy of Exempt Entities (NTEE) was developed in the early 1980s by the National Center for Charitable Statistics/NCCS, originally part of INDEPENDENT SECTOR, but since 1996 part of the Urban Institute in the United States (Sumariwalla 1987; www.ncss.urban. org). Rudney (1987:57) described NPO employment using 20 sub-categories of NPOs. Van Til (1988:87) presented a *map* (really a typology) of the voluntary sector that included eight main purposive types and five subtypes under one of these main types. O'Neill (1989:4) developed a brief set of nine categories of NPOs. Salamon and Anheier (1992) reviewed other purposive typologies in existence at the time, then developed their own version: the International Classification of Nonprofit Organizations (ICNPO). The European Values Survey (EVS) (and later, the World Values Study (WVS); Inglehart et al. 2010) developed a 15-category purposive typology of associations (Halman 2003:188) in the 1980s.

Smith (1996) examined both the NTEE and ICNPO, finding them to be inadequate for the study of *voluntary associations* (usually being designed to categorize only nonprofit, paid-staff-based, agencies), unlike the purposive typology of Smith, Baldwin, and White (1980). He suggested several improvements that could be made to the ICNPO to make it useful for classifying associations, but these ideas seem never to have been implemented.

Various earlier attempts by academics to develop a purposive typology specifically for voluntary associations date back to the early community studies in the United States in the 1930s (e.g., Warner and Lunt 1942). Since about 1950, various surveys and even historical studies have constructed purposive typologies of associations (e.g., Almond and Verba 1963; Hausknecht 1962; Knoke 1986; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995:63; Wright and Hyman 1958).

Van Deth (2008:219) summed up the general situation very well when he wrote, "[N]o generally accepted typology or characterization of voluntary associations is available for cross-national comparisons."

2. Analytical-theoretical typologies

Scholars in organization studies have been identifying relevant analytical types and variables/dimensions worth measuring for several decades (e.g., Kalleberg et al. 1996; March and Simon 1958; Price and Mueller 1986; Pritchard 1990). Recent overview volumes on organizational measurement indicate a wide range of analytical types/variables, some of which are also relevant to NPOs (Baum

2005; Clegg et al. 2006; Swanson and Holton 2005; Tsoukas and Knudsen 2007). In general, organizational measurement is more advanced in organization studies, management, and public administration than in NPO studies or voluntaristics (Smith 2013).

Analytical or theoretical typologies of NPOs as single dimensions go back to the 19th century, as with purposive typologies, but mainly tend to be 20th century constructions. Historical studies that offer analytical insights on one or another particular type of paid-staff nonprofit agency have been frequent (see references in O'Neill 1989; but also see some overview volumes such as Axinn and Levin 1982; Commission on Private Philanthropy and Public Needs 1977; Hall 2006; Hammack 1998; Kramer 1981; National Center for Charitable Statistics 1985; Rudney 1987; Weisbrod 1977). Various recent overview volumes suggest many analytical types/variables relevant to nonprofit agencies (Paton 2003; Poister 2003; Saul 2004).

Warner (1972) discussed ten characteristics of voluntary associations that might serve as aspects of analytical typologies. In the same year, C. Smith and Freedman (1972:2–10) reviewed a variety of analytical types/variables for classification for voluntary associations – size, internal political structure, dependence on outside control or resources, societal functions, sources of support, location, the classes and characteristics of their members, intimacy among members, main dependence on one or another kind of incentives (material, solidary, or purposive), and main type of beneficiary.

Fox (1952) described three types of voluntary associations on the basis of functions performed by them. He examined 5000 US associations and classified them as Majoral, Minoral, and Medial associations. He defined Majoral associations as those that serve the interests of the established institutions of society, while Minoral associations refer to institutions which serve the minorities of the population. Medial associations do some of both.

Rose (1954) developed a typology of voluntary associations based on functional aspects – the *social influence* and the *expressive* type. According to him, social influence associations are those associations that are designed to act as interest and pressure groups attempting to affect government policies and practices. By contrast, expressive associations mainly fulfill emotional needs of members as a substitute for primary groups, such as the family.

Gordon and Babchuk ([1959] 1966) developed a related, influential typology of associations, contrasting the instrumental with the expressive/emotional type. In addition, they discussed the degree of accessibility of associations, according to their relative openness versus high selectivity in allowing members to join. These authors further pointed to the important, related aspect of degree to which the association confers prestige on its members versus do not confer prestige (and by extension, may confer stigma, or highly negative prestige).

D. Key issues

1. Goals and purposes in associations

The concept of an organizational goal can be quite complicated (Simon 1964). As noted in Section B above on Definitions, associations, like other organizations, can have both official/stated and also unofficial/operative goals or purposes (Bonikowski and McPherson 2007; Perrow 1961). The older the association or other organization, the more likely it is that there are important *un*official goals and that substantial association resources are devoted to achieving them, diverted from achieving official goals.

In the ultimate state of *unofficial* goal dominance, the situation is termed *goal displacement* (Van Buren 1981). In this situation, the original mission or central goal of an association is permanently displaced in favor of some new goal(s). Occasionally this occurs in an association because the original goal has been achieved (e.g., Sills 1957). But more often goal displacement occurs because the leaders have their own ideas about the appropriate current and future operative goals, irrespective of the original and current stated goals and of the preferences of the membership. As Ridder (1979:256) correctly pointed out, goal displacement usually occurs when "the interests of the inner circle [formal and informal leaders] become removed from the actual organizational goals." However, goal displacement can also occur inadvertently when external cooperation pressures unexpectedly cause such displacement because of resource limitations (e.g., Dubbs 2009).

So far, very little general theory exists about the goals of associations. Although Tschirhart (2006) provides an overview of ways to categorize associations by their purposes, no attempts have been made to model association goals from an economic perspective. Knoke (1990:56) makes a distinction between three general categories of association goals: (1) member servicing, (2) legitimation, and (3) public-policy influence. These three types of purposes are also present in the general nonprofit literature. While most economic models of nonprofits' organizational objectives have focused on the maximization of quality and/or quantity of service (e.g., Hansmann 1981; Newhouse 1970), some studies have showed that survival and legitimacy (DiMaggio 1987) as well as the welfare of the membership (Canning et al. 2003; Hansmann 1986) are also important objectives of nonprofit organizations, which is in line with the categories of association goals proposed by Knoke (1990).

First, although associations may want to maximize the quality of the services offered to their members and/or non-member beneficiaries, the realization of this objective might be hindered if the most powerful members can influence the association to act primarily in *their* (elite) interests, promoting goal displacement (Ridder 1979:256). Consequently, some researchers have explored

governance problems and governance structures in nonprofit membership associations (Kreutzer 2009; von Schnurbein 2009).

Second, legitimacy can be defined as "a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions" (Suchman 1995:574). Nonprofit organizations may change their policies, practices, and structures to enhance their legitimacy. Some authors have stressed the connection between the legitimacy of nonprofit organizations and their survival from a neo-institutional perspective (Abzug and Galaskiewicz 2001; Anheier 2005; Hager, Galaskiewicz, and Larson 2004). Following this line of reasoning, Fernandez (2008) investigated causes of dissolution among voluntary associations and found that associations with lower socio-political legitimacy dissolved younger (i.e., earlier in their life cycles).

Third, in line with general nonprofit literature and the social movements literature, associations may also have a significant advocacy role or even a primary advocacy role (Anheier 2005; Berry 1997; Gamson 1990; Tarrow 1998). They may use their power – which depends on their resources, their total number of members, and their prestigious or powerful members – to obtain access to policy-makers and to influence public policy decisions in such a way that the situations of their members and non-member beneficiaries are improved (Balassiano and Chandler 2010).

This advocacy approach, let alone a social change-oriented approach, occurs far more often in nations with enduring democratic features and stronger civil liberties. When democracy and civil liberties are fragile, weak, or temporary in a nation, and especially in authoritarian or totalitarian political regimes, both advocacy and especially social-change activities by associations (or any NPOs) are suppressed. In such instances, the associations involved are refused government registration and funding, and, if registered already, are dropped from registration and may be forcibly dissolved by the government (e.g., Allen 1984; Teets 2014; Wang 2011:210).

2. Purposive-activity typologies of associations and Smith's new Tenfold Typology

(a) Overview

Research and theory regarding both associations and volunteering have long been hampered by the lack of consensus on purposive-activity types. Researchers studying volunteering, and especially those who have studied associational volunteering and membership associations more narrowly, have developed a variety of *non*-systematic typologies for use in their interview schedules and in subsequent analyses. The EVS 1999–2000, for instance, has used 15 categories or types (Halman 2003:188). The National Opinion Research

Center at the University of Chicago has used a similar purposive typology of associations since 1972 (Marsden 2012). Hougland (1979) used data on a US statewide sample of individuals in North Carolina to derive clustering of purposive types of associations by factor analysis of participation patterns in different purposive types of associations.

A smaller but still extensive set of categories or types is often useful in analyzing and studying volunteering and association volunteering specifically. Van Der Meer, Te Grotenhuis, and Scheepers (2009) reviewed some earlier attempts at such classification. They suggested a three-category purposive typology of voluntary associations: (1) leisure associations (sports, culture, and social); (2) interest associations (trade unions, professional/business, and consumer); and (3) activist associations (environmental, humanitarian/peace). Using European Social Survey data collected in 2002, they demonstrate the analytical utility of this typology, which shows important differences in the causes and consequences of associational involvement.

Alternatively, Davis-Smith (2000) has offered a four-type classification including mutual aid, philanthropy, political participation, and social movement activism. Rochester, Ellis-Paine, and Howlett, with Zimmeck (2010) suggested that leisure volunteering would need to be added to these to make the list more comprehensive.

In this chapter, Smith proposes a new purposive typology of associations that aims to be comprehensive and a candidate for consensus. This typology incorporates elements of most prior schemes, but resolves their differences by *analyzing the roots of their prior lack of consensus*. Prior typologies of association purposes have always conflated some *purposive* types with *membership* types, making the typology an analytical hodgepodge.

For instance, some prior so-called purposive typologies include among their types such categories as youth, senior citizens, consumers, veterans (military, patriotic), nationalities-ethnic groups, alumni, women's groups, and neighborhood-homeowners groups. All of these category labels refer mainly to the *type of members involved*, not to their substantive purposes. For instance, a women's group could be a social club with sociability purposes, a service group with philanthropic helping goals (e.g., a rape crisis center), a conventional advocacy group with political goals for women to be achieved through the existing political regime/system, or a social movement organization with radical social change purposes affecting women and using protest or direct action strategies. The other categories of members listed above can have a similar range of possible purposes to be pursued by the members of the category stated.

(b) The Smith Tenfold Typology of Association Purposes-Activities

The presently proposed Tenfold Typology of Association Purposes is an extension of that earlier seven-category scheme proposed by Smith (e.g., UN

Volunteers 2010), and incorporated into Smith and Grotz (2011), as well as into Grotz (2010). The Tenfold Typology here splits the Leisure type into three subtypes of substantial importance and adds the Community Improvement-Development type, previously and needlessly ignored.

The empirical basis for the new Tenfold Typology lies in all earlier, imperfect typologies that conflate membership characteristics with purposes, as noted above, but is also based on data about participation from a few major surveys. Data from 50 societies on the percentage reporting participation in the Tenfold Types are given in parentheses below, from the 1999–2001 wave of the WVS/EVS (Dekker and Halman 2003:63). Where the 14 WVS/EVS categories differed, data were placed where the category labels best fit into the Tenfold Typology. An *Other* category/type at the end of the ten substantive types allows for missing types with small percentages of participants in recent surveys.

The proposed Smith *Tenfold Typology of Association Purposes* is as follows:

(1) Philanthropic/charity-social service-health/medical-education associations (7% = social welfare; 4% = health related)
(2) Political influence-advocacy-rights associations and parties (4% = political parties)
(3) Social movement organizations/associations and activism (3% = environment, conservation; 2% = peace movement)
(4) Community improvement-protection-economic development-poverty alleviation associations (4% = local groups; 2% = Third world development and human rights [some may fit also in #3]).
(5) Occupational-economic support associations (farmers, factory workers [trade unions]), white-collar workers (employee associations; unions), professionals, businesses-employers associations (3% = labor unions; 3% = professional associations)
(6) Religious-ideological-morality associations (12%)
(7) Self-help-support-improvement-personal growth associations (5% = Youth Work)
(8) Sports-recreational-exercise associations (8%)
(9) Arts-music-culture-study associations (7%)
(10) Sociability-conversation-conviviality associations (3% = Women's groups [some of these may fit also in #3])
(11) Other associations (e.g., hobby-games-garden-plants-animals leisure associations; environmental-ecology-flora/fauna preservation associations, automobile-trailer-caravan-travel leisure associations; investment-financial management clubs; residential associations [monasteries, communes]; family concerns-planning-birthing-child-rearing associations; infrastructure-support associations; deviant voluntary associations)

Note that all of the WVS/EVS main categories are accommodated in the Ten-fold Typology, plus *Other*. However, some of those earlier categories would need to be revamped to use the present typology in future research.

- Specifically, the *Environment, conservation* category would need to be split into environmental movement/social change associations (new type #3) versus environment political influence associations (new type #2) versus conservation associations with a basic service purpose (new type #1), not political influence or social change advocacy.
- *Peace movement* associations would need to be split similarly.
- *Third world development and human rights* associations would need to be split similarly.
- The infrequent but important, related transnational understanding-exchange associations belong in new type #7, as do inter-ethnic/racial understanding associations.
- Women's groups would also need to be split among service purposes (new #1), political influence (new #2), social change activism (new #3), and sociability (new #10). Some so-called *women's groups* might fit into other new categories, when properly studied.
- More careful future research should also include in new type #7 the various addiction-recovery 12-step groups, like AA, now omitted. Other kinds of informal support groups should also be included in type #7 (e.g., as studied in Wuthnow 1994).
- Farmers' and peasants' associations are also now omitted by the WVS/EVS, but belong in new type #5, common in agrarian/ preindustrial societies.
- Infrequent hobby-games associations might be added as a new type #11, but it is preferable to see them put into new type #10, as a kind of social fun in many cases. However, such associations and volunteering (as contrasted with leisure activities) are very infrequent and thus do not merit a new type.
- Implicitly, an *Other* category could handle the foregoing hobby-games volunteering associations and other purposive types that are infrequent.
- But we do not suggest that *Other* is a useful additional purposive type here. Ten types are necessary and sufficient as a comprehensive but detailed typology of volunteering and associations.

(c) The need for multiple coding of purposive types of any single association

Smith has pointed out (see Smith, Baldwin, and White 1980:1–5) that for proper coding of the purposive type of any association in the research process, the purposive typology being used usually *needs to be applied sequentially multiple times*. Associations usually have at least two purposes, often more. Therefore, in performing classification of any association in research, it is recommended that the foregoing Tenfold Typology be applied up to four times for any specific

association. However, the coding may stop after two type-codes if no more are warranted.

(d) Contemporary leisure theory and the Tenfold Typology

Types 8, 9, and 11 fail to square with contemporary leisure theory. This inconsistency has originated in data gathered according to earlier, simplistic definitions of purposiveness. The Serious Leisure Perspective defines as serious leisure the activities comprising these three types (Stebbins 2007, 2015). These activities encourage the establishment of purposive associations. According to the serious leisure perspective (SLP), such leisure is pursued not only for the love of the core activities that lie at the very center of each pursuit but also for the rewarding experience and resulting self-fulfillment that follows (see the Handbook Introduction for a fuller explanation). Associations are formed to enhance and enable these pursuits which, though powerfully attractive in their own right, also benefit significantly from formal and informal organization of crucial resources, training, services, opportunities, social support, and the like. Moreover, part of the social world that emerges around each pursuit is made up of such entities. Immersion in this world is itself exciting, another important reason for engaging in that leisure.

Amateurism in art, science, sport, and entertainment constitutes one of the three major forms of serious leisure. Looking across these four types, we find a vast range of purposive associations of the sort just described. Hobbyism is the second form of serious leisure. It has five types: *collecting, making, or tinkering with things* (e.g., quilters, craftspeople, do-it-your-selfers, gourmet cooks, animal breeders); *hobbyist participation in activities* or those who engage in rule-based activities not inherently interpersonally competitive (e.g., orienteering, barbershop singing, recreational fishing, mountain climbing); *hobbyist participation in sport*, or interpersonally competitive physical activity with no established professional counterpart (e.g., Ultimate Frisbee, curling, marathon running, dog and dog-sled racing).

The fifth type is the *liberal arts hobby*. Enthusiasts here are attracted to the systematic acquisition of knowledge for its own sake. Many of them accomplish this by reading voraciously in a field of art (fine and entertainment), sport, cuisine, language, culture, history, science, philosophy, politics, or high-culture fiction, poetry, and essays.

Were our data on purposive associations collected with the SLP as a conceptual guide, we could reconfigure types 8, 9, and 11 as Amateur associations (8) and Hobbyist associations (9). The associations mentioned in type 11 seem subsumable in the newly proposed types 8 and 9 and, according to the SLP, in the volunteer types of 1 through 7. Volunteers in these seven may be of the casual or of the career volunteer variety. The latter is the third form of serious leisure.

How empirically grounded is the SLP? On what grounds can we claim that types 8, 9, and 11 in the older tenfold typology fit poorly the leisure reality? The SLP, which has been under development since l973 first as a substantive grounded theory, is now a formal grounded construction (see www .seriousleisure.net/history; especially Stebbins 2014, listed in the References). Today, there are over 1,000 theoretical and empirical works bearing substantially on the Perspective (see the Bibliography on that website). In short, the SLP now presents a valid picture of contemporary leisure in many parts of the world that argues for its inclusion in future attempts to create a typology of volunteering-association purposes.

3. The Smith membership typology of associations

As noted earlier, one key reason for the confusion and non-consensus among purposive typologies of associations has been the conflation by typology-constructors of the association's purpose (or main activities) with the association's typical members. To avoid that confusion, Smith suggests here to add the following membership types as an *additional* aspect of typology for classifying associations – *not* seeking to replace the purposive typology. Smith derived the set of membership types below from earlier purposive typologies and from empirical research by himself and by others. Each type is intended to be mutually exclusive of the other types. Some additional membership types might be added, but the ones below seem to be most common:

 (a) Women's associations
 (b) Ethnic-racial-nationality associations
 (c) Veterans and active military associations
 (d) Immigrants-hometown associations
 (e) Youth-children associations
 (f) Parents' associations
 (g) Elderly-retired-pensioners associations
 (h) Medical patients-disabled associations
 (i) Alumni associations
 (j) Lodges-fraternal-sorority/sisterhood associations
 (k) Residents-homeowners-tenants associations
 (l) Students-school associations
(m) Consumers associations.

4. Analytical typologies of associations (theoretical variables)

In fact, purposive typologies are quite simplistic, only rarely useful for theory-based research, and thus need usually to be supplemented for research purposes by various, more analytical typologies and variables. Using only purposive types to classify associations or volunteering is roughly equivalent to classifying

animals by the color of their skin/hair; by the common sense types of food they eat; or by whether they swim, walk, tunnel, glide, fly, or are stationary. Combining the Linnaean taxonomy approach as a classification scheme for animals and plants, with knowledge of internal biology and evolution, has led to the current, scientifically useful, classification of animals (and plants) in biology. We need to do the same kind taxonomy in studying associations and volunteering, as with other NPOs.

(a) Smith key structure-process typologies of associations (key theoretical variables)

Smith proposes here the following set of *key structure-process analytical typologies* of associations, although many of the elements also apply to other NPOs and to organizations in general. Decades ago, Smith, Seguin, and Collins (1973) provided an extensive (alternative, but overlapping) set of analytical types, which has served in part as a basis for selecting the ones below. The types below have stood the test of time in research, to the extent they have been studied. All are based on empirical research on associations, mostly in the United States, and with varying frequencies. Future researchers can make a case for adding other types to the set below. These types or theoretical variables are roughly ordered in declining order of importance.

- Relatively Independent Association (RIA) versus Volunteer Service Program (VSP), as a department of some parent organization (Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:23, 244).
- Structural type of members: individual persons versus organizations versus both (Smith, Seguin and Collins, 1973).
- Conventional-mainstream-acceptable versus unconventional-*outsider*-marginal-deviant in goals or means to achieve them (Bonikowski and McPherson 2007; Smith 1995; Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:58, 68).
- Residential association for members (as in monasteries and communes) versus non-residential association (Smith, Stebbins, and Grotz, 2016: chapter 22).
- Socio-cultural change seeking versus integrative-establishment-*status quo*-oriented (Rose, 196:58).
- Average level of membership activity/strength; for instance, average total hours per month of member activity serving the association, including meeting attendance (Bonikowski and McPherson 2007).
- Internal, member-focused goals versus external, non-member-focused goals versus both (Smith 1993).
- Degree of formalization: high versus low bureaucratization and centralization (Gamson 1990; Smith, Seguin, and Collins 1973).
- Legally incorporated (as a *legal person*) with some level of government versus not (Fishman and Schwartz 2000; Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:113).

- Formal registration with some level of government versus not (Fishman and Schwartz 2000).
- Exemption from certain government taxes (especially income taxes) versus not (Ott 2001:chapters 10, 11, and 12; Weisbrod 1992).
- Leadership quality-quantity-commitment: Many committed, high-quality leaders versus some such leaders versus only one or two such leaders versus no such leaders in evidence/essentially or completely leaderless (Bryman et al. 2011; Bryson and Crosby 1992; Handbook Chapter 36).
- Presence and effectiveness of board of directors (Fishman 2007; Handbook Chapter 35).
- Degree of socio-political power and influence (Rose 1966:57).
- Degree of participatory democracy versus authoritarian hierarchy at present: regular election of top leaders by all members versus oligarchy versus autocracy (Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:65, 163; Warren 2001).
- Extent of rotation of individuals in top leadership positions (Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:65, 163; Warren 2001).
- Size of paid-staff, administrative component/structure, relative to membership and resources (Akers and Campbell 1970).
- Amount of paid-staff work time relative to volunteer work time in accomplishing association goals/mission (Smith 2000:26).
- Number of levels of bureaucracy (Gamson 1990).
- Degree of emphasis on instrumental/task-oriented/bureaucratic versus expressive-emotional-social-personal-charismatic leadership styles (Mason 1984:chapters 2, 3; 1996).
- (If an RIA) Polymorphic, as a branch/chapter/franchise/unit of some higher-level association versus monomorphic, not structurally linked to some higher-level association, which holds significant authority (Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:146, 176).
- (If an RIA is polymorphic) Extent to which the larger, parent association has a corporate, high power approach to its lower affiliates versus a more federated (e.g., national or international) authority structure, allowing lower-level units more independence and control (Sills 1957).
- Instrumental versus expressive goals/purposes (Gordon and Babchuk 1966; Harp and Gagan 1971; Rose 1954).
- Degree of emphasis on social-expressive-enjoyable activities versus on activities with instrumental-task-accomplishment goals, often externally focused (Mason 1996).
- Extent of cooperative activity/collaboration with other groups (Smith, Seguin, and Collins 1973).
- Formal relationship(s) with some local network, federation, or umbrella organization as horizontal integration: two or more local links, one local link, no local links (Smith, Seguin, and Collins 1973).

- Sponsorship by some local nonprofit or other organization, such as a school, church, museum, and so on: sponsored versus not sponsored locally (Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:218).
- Degree of voluntariness versus social pressure versus coerciveness of joining (Smith, Seguin, and Collins 1973).
- Extent of freedom of association and autonomy permitted to the association by governments at different territorial levels (Smith, Seguin, and Collins 1973).
- Membership size (Smith, Seguin, and Collins 1973).
- Age of association (Smith, Seguin, and Collins 1973).
- Life cycle stage: New (less than three years old) versus Young (four to seven years old) versus mature (eight to ten years old) versus older (11 or more years old; Smith 2000:chapter 8).
- Wealth of association (Smith, Seguin, and Collins 1973).
- Income of association (Smith, Seguin, and Collins 1973).
- Average wealth/income of members (Smith, Seguin, and Collins 1973).
- Degree of membership homogeneity versus heterogeneity in demographic factors (Smith, Seguin, and Collins 1973; Stolle 1998).
- Majoral versus Minoral versus Medial associations, in terms of serving established institutions and majority people in a society versus serving minority and marginal interests and people (Fox 1952).
- Value or benefit of the association for members: pleasure in performance; satisfactions from sociability/social relations; symbolic satisfactions from affirming a belief system or values; productive satisfactions from producing goods, services, or changes in some object, collectivity, and so on (Warriner and Prather 1965).
- Main types of incentives used: normative, social, lobbying, utilitarian, occupational, and informational (Knoke 1988:311).
- Goal multiplicity: one primary goal versus two main goals versus three or more goals (Smith, Seguin, and Collins 1973).
- Average level of internal cohesion/solidarity: low, medium, high (Bonikowski and McPherson 2007).
- Extent of usual member interaction: face-to-face regularly in meetings versus annual or less frequent conferences/conventions versus no in-person meetings/interactions (Skocpol 1999, 2003, 2004).
- Average level of member commitment to the group: low, medium, high (Wiener 1982).
- Extent of internal efficiency versus dysfunction of operations/activities (Block 2004).
- Extent of achievement of official, stated, overt goals, or mission (Bonikowski and McPherson 2007; Perrow 1961).

- Extent of achievement of unofficial, de facto, operational goals (Bonikowski and McPherson 2007; Perrow 1961).
- Organizational capacity, in terms of human resources, accommodation, management, financing, and external orientation (Balduck, Lucidarme, Marlier, and Willem 2015).
- Local versus cosmopolitan orientation (Richmond 2003).
- Nature of prime beneficiaries of activities: public-at-large, as commonweal organizations versus public-in-contact or clients, as service organizations versus members themselves, as mutual benefit associations versus owners/managers of organization as economic, business, or profit-oriented organizations; Blau and Scott 1962:42–43).
- Clarity versus permeability of associational boundaries (Smith 1992).
- Support versus opposition by external entities, organizations, agencies, and so on (Bonikowski and McPherson 2007).
- Location in local population ecology of associations (McPherson and Rotolo 1996).
- Degree of accessibility: very open to new members versus highly selective and restrictive or elitist (Gordon and Babchuk 1966).
- Transparency and openness of policies, membership, and activities versus secrecy (Smith, Seguin, and Collins 1973).
- Degree of prestige conferral: high versus low prestige versus stigma, as negative prestige (Gordon and Babchuk 1966; Smith, Stebbins, and Grotz 2016: chapter 53).
- Indigenous origin and control versus foreign origin or current foreign control (Wang 2011).

Smith, Seguin, and Collins (1973) also list over 25 other typological dimensions/categories not among the 55 listed above. In a lengthy chapter, Smith, Reddy, and Baldwin (1972) discussed many aspects of various types of voluntary action, including associations as one subtype.

(b) Specialized typologies of associations

Various theorists have suggested special typologies for particular purposive types of associations. For instance, Sherraden et al. (2006) present a typology of international voluntary service associations. Feld and Jordan, with Hurwitz (1994:23–24), distinguish different types of international non-governmental organizations (INGOs as associations), stressing the importance of *regional versus global* INGOs. Hall (1988) distinguishes between *community* and *other worldly* religious communes as residential associations. Acik (2013) derived three types of civic engagement (polity volunteering) by analyzing the European Social Survey: political activism, association involvement, and political consumerism

(boycotting, signing petitions, etc.). Borkman (1991) distinguishes between *support groups* and *self-help groups* as mutual aid associations. Schubert and Borkman (1991) make further distinctions among analytical types of self-help groups: *unaffiliated, federated, affiliated, hybrid, and managed*. Walker et al. (2011) distinguish between *membership* and *non-membership* advocacy organizations in the United States. Only the former are truly associations, although Skocpol (1999) has called them *associations without members*, which we consider to be an error. By definition, associations *must* have members (Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:23), as this is distinctive and essential in the associational form of organization (p. 24).

(c) Smith Territorial Scope Typology of associations

In addition to the foregoing, Smith also proposes the following Territorial Scope Typology of associations to be applied simultaneously with purposive, membership, and analytical typologies. Some purposive typologies conflate territorial scope with purposive type when they include *international associat*ions as a distinct type. That is clearly an error. Territorial scope of an association has nothing to do theoretically with its purposive-activity type.

- Single building-condominium
- Building complex-residential development
- Neighborhood or census tract
- Community, town, or city
- Metropolitan area or county
- Region of a province or state
- Province or state
- Region within a nation
- Nation
- Bi-national
- Multi-national world region
- Global-worldwide

5. Variations in association and NPO/VSP typologies in other nations

(a) India

Following Rose, Oommen (1975) classified Indian voluntary associations into two broad categories. The first he called *extension of traditional structure*, such as religious and caste associations. The second he called *newly introduced into the society*, such as youth clubs, cooperatives, and trade unions. Sharma (1996) rejects Oommen's classification on the ground of over simplification of this complex nonprofit sector. Shah and Chaturvedi (1983) divided the secular NGOs of India into three categories: techno-managerial, reformist, and radical.

Desai and Preston (2000) did the same with four categories of urban NPOs. Hirway (1995) classified the voluntary organizations of Gujrat as welfare-oriented, development NGOs, and NGOs working for empowerment. Iyengar (1998) identified four main types of modern voluntary associations, based on their functional strategies: Gandhian, delivery organizations, professional organizations, and mobilizing organizations. Here, the term grassroots *delivery organization* refers to those associations that facilitate the implementation process for government or other organizations' programs. Many grassroots associations have emerged as delivery organizations during last three decades in rural India (Kumar 2005). The legal status of voluntary associations reveals four different types or laws under which associations are registered: The Societies Registration Act (1860), Co-operative Society Act (1912), The Company Act, section 25 (1956) for nonprofit activities, and The Indian Trust Act (1982). All the foregoing Acts are available at http://indiacode.nic.in/.

(b) Malaysia

In Malaysia, *non-governmental organizations* or *NGOs* is a common term that refers to all types of civil society organizations (CPPPN 1998:440; Hodgkinson and Painter 2003:2; Martinez 2001:474; Marwell 2004:266; Mitlin et al. 2007:1699, 1701; Nga 2009:1; Suandi 1991:I, 19). Weiss and Hassan (2003:42, 43) claim that Malaysian NGOs play an important role in political, social, and economic reforms, even though very few of them are truly independent from the government. Farouk (2011:99,100) makes useful comments on the associational life of main community ethnic groups (i.e., Malay, Chinese, and Indian). In general, the associational life of the dominant Malay community is mainly related to their religion, Islam. The second largest ethnic group, the Chinese community, has a vibrant associational life and they are most active in Huay Kuan and Kongsi groups (based on clan/dialect/kinship/ region), followed by temple organizations. The Indian community is also active in associational life, especially in unions, caste organizations, trade organizations, and guilds.

In Malaysia, the Registrar of Societies (ROS) is delegated to register and monitor activities of voluntary associations. The ROS can accept or reject any application of new associations. However, several types of associations are exceptions, such as youth associations, that are to be registered with Registrar of Youth and Sports (ROY), under the enforcement of Youth Societies and Youth Development Act 2007. Some other associations are established in accordance to Parliament Act. Many new associations are established and registered every year. ROS reported that in year 2014 (as of September 2014), 3,515 applications have been approved (66%), 1,813 applications were rejected (34%), and there are 154 applications under review pending decision (ROS: 1 October 2014). NGOs in Malaysia can be distinguished as national or state level. They can be categorized as follows by purposive-activity types: Religious, Social

welfare, Social/Recreational, Women, Culture, Mutual benefits, Trade, Sport, Youth, Educational, Political, Employment, and General.

(c) West and East Africa

Little (1965:3) studied several nations in *West Africa* (especially Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Ghana, and the Gambia) with anthropological/ethnographic methods, drawing on his own field research and that of others. Defining voluntary associations (p. 1) as "institutionalized groups in which membership is attained *by joining*," he identifies various purposive types of associations in West African towns/cities, some traditional (in chapters 2 and 3), and some more modern (in Chapter 4). The traditional types include tribal associations/unions (referring to tribes *back home*), syncretist cults, occupational or economic mutual benefit/aid associations (*not* organized around tribal identities), including rotating credit associations (p. 51), and recreational/entertainment associations (for drumming, dancing, and social gatherings/parties).

In Chapter 4, Little (1965) described a variety of types of modern, non-indigenous purposive types of associations, all of which have been initially imported by colonial administrators and settlers. The most common types were Christian church-related associations of all kinds (pp. 66–67), social clubs (p. 77), and sports clubs (e.g., for cricket; p. 82). In addition, there were non-denominational Christian youth groups like the YMCA and YWCA (p. 71), benevolent societies (p. 73), and higher status, common interest, cultural-social associations (e.g., literary and debating clubs; p. 77; exclusive dining clubs; p. 79; lodges and fraternities; p. 81).

Wamucci (2014:109) describes various types of associations in *East Africa* (Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania) in *pre-colonial* times as including "a combination of kinship, age groups, lineages, self-help groups, trade associations, and communal labor groups." After achieving independence in the 1960s, the types of associations that had been active in advocating and promoting independence (trade unions, ethnic groups, and resistance movements; p. 111) "all gradually reverted to single-party political structures," with little freedom of association. This was true especially in Kenya "from 1982–1991 – a period when Kenya was a one-party state" (p. 112).

In the 1990s, Kenya and Tanzania allowed more freedom of association, and Uganda followed in 2005, leading to a greater variety of association purposive types, including multi-party sets of political associations. Most associations and other NPOs are based in urban areas, and "more established organizations with a mass membership base, such as trade unions and cooperatives, or ethnic associations, are far less visible and have much less influence" (p. 121).

Although "CSOs [Civil Society Organizations] are generally perceived as democratic, efficient, less corrupt, and rooted in the grassroots," there is "some disconnect between these perceptions and reality" (p. 121). Hence, as

elsewhere, there is a dark side to associations in East Africa. In addition to accusations of internal inefficiency and lack of internal democracy, CSOs in these nations also have problems of over-dependence on their governments and on international donors (p. 171). However, Wamucci (2014:122) concludes, "The single undisputable commonality is that NGOs [including many associations] have grown in size and that they have been instrumental in social-economic development." Other chapters in Obadare's (2014) handbook further elaborate on various typologies of African associations and nonprofit agencies.

(d) Peru

Sanborn and Portocarrero (2005) reported on a national survey of adults in Peru that investigated volunteering and also giving to charities. The authors developed an extensive purposive typology with 41 categories (p. 68), which fit into 10 main types. However, the empirical results showed that only 12 of these purposive types had 4% or more of the respondents participating in them (p. 70). Some five of these 12 types were VSPs (see Handbook Chapter 15), not associations. Among the types of associations, these were the top participation types and frequencies: parish groups (20%); neighborhood organizations (12%); glass-of-milk committees (12%); sports clubs (10%); religious groups or associations (6%); parishes, synagogues, and mosques (6%); and music, artistic, and cultural groups (5%). In addition, 42% of persons volunteering were members of the various associations for which they volunteered.

Because of the wording of the relevant interview questions, it is likely that association volunteers were underestimated in general. The focus was on volunteers and volunteering, with corresponding words in Spanish, rather than on associations and civic participation, including membership, contributions, meeting attendance, committee work, event attendance, and holding offices. This is a central limitation of most or all of the Johns Hopkins-based surveys (e.g., Salamon, Sokolowski, and Associates, 2004.) There are similar surveys cited in three other South American countries (p. 66).

6. Purposive-activity typologies of volunteering

Purposive typologies for *volunteers/volunteering* in associations have mirrored purposive typologies for *associations*. Researchers have generally classified purposive types of volunteers in terms of the purposive types of associations in which volunteers have participated (e.g., Halman, 2003:188, for the EVS). However, researchers focusing on VSPs have tended to use different purposive typologies (e.g., Davis-Smith 1994). For instance, Hodgkinson and Weitzman (1988) created a 15-category purposive typology of volunteering in VSPs, similar to the principal categories of the NTEE. Maki and Snyder (2016) devised an eight-category typology of volunteering activities. Research shows that both purposive and analytical types of associations can have significant effects on the

level of individual association participation (e.g., Gray, Khoo, and Reimondos 2012; Maloney, van Deth, and Rossteutscher 2008; Stolle 1998).

Davis-Smith (2000), of the Institute for Volunteering Research (of Volunteering England), developed an initial conceptual map of volunteering. This typology was absorbed into the UN Volunteers broad definition of volunteerism for the International Year of the Volunteer in 2001. Later, this typology, including traditional service-delivery, mutual aid and self-help, and civic participation, was carried over into the *2011 State of the World's Volunteerism Report* (Leigh et al. 2011:5–6).

Rochester et al. (2010:10–16) highlighted three related but different purposive types and contexts of volunteering as perspectives: (1) The *dominant paradigm* that views volunteering as altruistic and philanthropic service to others who are less fortunate – a social welfare approach. (2) An alternative *civil society paradigm* that emphasizes self-help and mutual aid done through associations, often as advocacy or activism, rather than via volunteer service programs as departments of other organizations. (3) The *serious leisure paradigm* that emphasizes the intrinsic satisfactions of volunteering, not altruism, usually pursued though arts-culture associations or sports-recreation associations.

Grotz's (2010) initial version of a volunteering associations typology included only those three purposive/context types of volunteering from Rochester et al. Smith has relabeled these three types as the Traditional Service Type, the Mutual Aid Type, and the Leisure Type (omitting the term *serious*, as unnecessarily narrow). Smith also added four other types of volunteering: Civic Engagement (conventional political), Activism (social change oriented), Religious, and Occupational Support.

7. Analytical typologies of volunteering

(a) Various analytical typologies of volunteers/volunteering

For many scholars, volunteering means unpaid, non-coerced, voluntary service for others outside one's household/family that is done through a VSP (see Handbook Chapters 15 and 16). A VSP is a department of some parent organization (e.g., a paid-staff nonprofit agency, a government agency, or a for-profit business like a proprietary hospital or nursing home). Omitting *by definition* associational volunteering is far too narrow a view of volunteering (e.g., as Musick and Wilson 2008 do). That view results in the inaccurate conclusion that there is very little formal volunteering for many developing as well as for some developed countries. Wollebaek and Selle (2003:167) noted that nearly all volunteering in Norway, for instance, involves membership in associations. Volunteering in attached VSPs is a very recent social invention (in past 100–150 years), while associational volunteering goes back at least 10,000 years (Smith 1997; Handbook Chapter 1).

Although purposive typologies of volunteering/volunteers have been more common, there have also been various *analytical types*/variables of volunteers/volunteering identified by scholars in the past 50 years and more. Chapin (1928) constructed the first analytical typology of volunteering in associations, distinguishing membership versus attendance at meetings/events versus contributions versus committee membership versus office(s) held. He combined these with weights into a total participation scale (the Chapin Scale) that received much use in research for decades. Evan (1957) later used empirical data to improve the scale and typology. Alexander et al. (2010) distinguished *associational intensity*, time spent on associational volunteering, from *associational scope*, the number and type of associations that individuals are involved in. Cnaan and Amrofell (1994) identify ten major facets or dimensions of volunteering, which constitute a typology. Dolnicar and Randle (2007) used factor analysis of data on Australians who volunteered for two or more associations to derive four analytical types of volunteers: altruists, leisure volunteers, political volunteers, and church volunteers (although these have a purposive tone). Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003) distinguish *collective* versus *reflexive* styles of volunteering in VSPs.

Bekkers and de Witt (2014:7) distinguish eight groups or types of volunteers in terms of stages/phases of an individual volunteering career over years or longer: (1) non-volunteers, (2) new volunteers, (3) sustained volunteers, (4) loyal volunteers, (5) job-hopping volunteers, (6) intensifying volunteers, (7) extensifying volunteers, and (8) former volunteers. These categories can overlap in some instances for any given individual, but comprise a useful way of thinking about a multi-year or even lifetime sequence of volunteer roles. This typology differs from the typology of volunteering phases within a particular volunteer role and organization, as described by Haski-Leventhal and Bargal (2008).

Selle and Strømsnes (2001) showed that even *passive membership* in associations has distinctive effects and needs to be considered as a type of participation, rather than being seen only as non-participation. Maloney (1999) has referred to such passive membership as *checkbook participation*, referring to an older form of making payments to an association.

(b) Smith analytical typology of volunteers/volunteering

Smith proposes here five, main, analytical-theoretical types of volunteering, based on the external context of each type. Each of these five categories is an *ideal type*, often not fitting perfectly with reality, but instructive and of heuristic value, nonetheless. There are also subtypes under four of these types. Types 2 to 5 are varieties of formal volunteering (FV), but FV is usually viewed as including *only* types #2, #3, and #5, with type #5 being seen as *quasi*-volunteering (Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:191). To clarify that quasi-volunteering is a kind of

FV broadly defined, *quasi-volunteering* might be replaced with the term *formal quasi-volunteering* (FQV). Similarly, the narrower, usual version of FV might be termed *formal non-stipended volunteering* (FNV). Hence, FV is composed of FNV plus FQV.

(1) *Informal volunteering* (INV), where there is no relevant external group or organization as a context and role guiding the individual's volunteer activity (Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:118–119; see also Handbook Chapter 10A). There are two main subtypes of informal volunteering:

  (a) *Routine INV*, as in helping people in one's normal daily life (see Handbook Chapter 9). Can be one-time, episodic, or regular in timing. Usually done in person, but may involve local travel for errands.
  (b) *Crisis INV*, as in helping people in emergencies, disasters, and sociopolitical crises (see Handbook Chapter 14). Usually is one-time and short term in timing; usually done in person on site.

(2) *Formal association volunteering* (FAV), where the individual is acting in a role as a volunteer member or participant in an external association (Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:88). FAV can vary in its usual timing or periodicity. Usually done in person, but sometimes can be done online/virtually (see Handbook Chapter 13).

  (a) *One-time FAV*, as in volunteering to help with some specific association meeting or fund-raising event;
  (b) *Episodic FAV*, as in multiple short time periods of FAV, as in working on an association committee;
  (c) *Regular FAV*, as in participating regularly in association meetings or other regular association events (e.g., social events and sports events).

(3) *Formal board volunteering* (FBV)*,* or policy volunteering (PV), where the individual is acting in a role as a volunteer member or participant in a policy-making board, commission, or similar elite unit of some larger organization, whether a nonprofit organization or not (Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:29, 176). Usually is regular, involving in person attendance at board meetings one or more times per year for some hours.
(4) *Formal service-program volunteering* (FSPV), where the individual is acting as a service-providing volunteer as part of some VSP, that is a non-autonomous, volunteer department of some larger, parent organization in any sector of society (Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:184–184, 209; see Handbook Chapters 15 and 16). FSPV can vary in its usual timing or periodicity. Usually done in person, but sometimes can be done online/virtually (see Handbook Chapter 13).

    (a) *One-time FSPV*, as in volunteering to help with some public event, such as the Olympics;

    (b) *Episodic FSPV*, as in multiple short time periods of FSPV;

    (c) *Regular FSPV*, done regularly for some specific time period each week or month.

(5) *Formal stipended service volunteering* (FSSV), where the individual is acting in a role as a service-providing volunteer as part of some VSP but receives significant payments, either financially or in kind, which still leave a net cost to the volunteer relative to the market value of the activity performed (Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:220–221. There are two main subtypes of FSSV, both usually involving full-time service/work for six months or a year. Always done in person on site.

    (a) *Domestic FSSV*, done within a specific nation by citizens, usually with an anti-poverty and community development focus, as for the US VISTA FSSV (see Handbook Chapter 11).

    (b) *Transnational FSSV*, done by citizens of one nation in another nation, as in the US Peace Corps program (see Handbook Chapter 10).

7. Dingle typology of formal volunteering activities

Based on Dingle (2001), Rochester et al. (2010:27–29) summarized a typology of the kinds of activities that formal volunteers can engage in. However, though distinctive, the types are not necessarily mutually exclusive. A particular volunteer may engage in two or more types below in a single day or week, or even simultaneously.

  (a) Community activity
  (b) Emergency response
  (c) Community peacekeeping
  (d) Social assistance
  (e) Personal assistance
  (f) Children and youth
  (g) Human rights, advocacy, and politics
  (h) Economic justice
  (i) Religious volunteering
  (j) Education
  (k) Health care
  (l) Environment
 (m) Data collection
  (n) Promotion of knowledge
  (o) Promotion of commerce

(p) Law and legal services
(q) Culture
(r) Recreation.

Rochester et al. (2010:51) also present a typology of 13 types of activities that *informal* volunteers can engage in.

E. Usable knowledge

The various new typologies presented in this chapter have special practical utility for leaders and policy-makers concerned with associations and/or volunteers, as well as for researchers and theorists, in describing or keeping records on any set of associations or volunteers and their activities. These new typologies, based on a careful review of many prior ones, constitute a distinct advance by eliminating prior theoretical conflation/confusion of separate dimensions.

However, in research it will be important to use and code for several parallel typologies simultaneously, as presented here, to fully describe and understand any given association or set/sample/list of associations: Smith's new purposive-activity typology, membership typology, territorial scope typology, and key analytical typology. The same process is needed in research on volunteers, coding individuals using a purposive typology of volunteering, Smith's analytical typology of volunteering, and the typology of volunteering activities noted above, for either formal or informal volunteering.

This chapter has tried to make clear that the *analytical typology* of associations is the most important one for both research and practical/policy purpose. That typology focuses on the equivalent of the *genotypes* (internal structures and processes), rather than on superficial *phenotype*s (external features/appearances), to use words from biology.

F. Future trends and needed research

It is likely that purposive typologies will continue to proliferate, although consensus on two or three of them would be useful. The US Internal Revenue Service now uses the NTEE for classifying all NPOs. The ICNPO has been fairly widely used in other research contexts, but mainly where the focus is on *paid-staff nonprofit agencies*. When classifying associations, the NORC and WVS/EVS purposive typologies are widely used. The typologies by Smith presented in this chapter seem to be the most carefully designed to classify associations, avoiding conflation of different analytical dimensions.

The most important type of future research needed is highly cross-cultural/cross-national research testing the value of the various analytical typologies/dimensions presented here both for associations and for volunteers.

The various types identified, especially the analytical typologies, need to be studied simultaneously in the same research project with a large, broad, representative sample of associations (e.g., using hyper-network sampling for local associations, and national directories/lists for national associations) to see whether and under what conditions the types/variables identified here significantly affect the operations and impacts of associations and the activities of volunteers. No such research project has yet been done using all or even most of the analytical typology dimensions listed here and/or in Smith, Seguin, and Collins (1973). Such research can replicate prior, narrower, research on the significant effects of different types of associations or volunteers. Clearly, it will be best if such research is carried out in a broad sample of nations.

G. Cross-references

Chapter 2.

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4

Leisure and Time-Use Perspectives on Volunteering

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A. Introduction

Taking a time-use perspective, this chapter examines where volunteering fits in people's daily, weekly, and annual time use in different countries and world regions. Within a person's total time-use pattern, the central focus is on free time and the portion within it that is devoted to volunteering and associational activity. Formal volunteering (FV), whether for service programs or associations, is most often a kind of serious leisure, defined below. Such activity has its own temporal requirements that have to be coordinated with other use of free time, as well as with paid work and non-work obligations (such as family care or personal care, like sleep). Informal volunteering (INV) – volunteering done more spontaneously by individuals without any organizational auspices – is also discussed, as is the travel related to FV and INV. Substantial attention is devoted to options in time-use measurement and methodology, and to the special value of such methods to enhance and overcome biases in survey interview methodology.

B. Definitions

The definitions of the Handbook Appendix are accepted here, with special emphasis on FV through some group or organization as the larger context, and on INV, where no such group or organization is involved from the perspective of the individual. The latter presents more measurement difficulties since it may occur spontaneously, in many guises, and without the presence of formal organizations.

Free time (discretionary time) is defined in Smith, Stebbins, and Dover (2006:92) as "time left over after work and other, nonleisure obligations have been met. Some scholars treat *free time* as synonymous with *leisure*. Others,

however, distinguish it from leisure, noting that boredom can occur in the former but not, by definition, in the latter."

Leisure/leisure time is defined in Smith, Stebbins, and Dover (2006:133) as

> uncoerced activity undertaken within free time.... Uncoerced activity, including volunteer action, is thus something people want to do and, at a personally satisfying...level using their abilities and resources, succeed in doing.... Further, as uncoerced activity, leisure is an antithesis to work as an economic function; a pleasant expectation and recollection; a minimum of involuntary obligations; a psychological perception of freedom; and a range of activity running from inconsequence and insignificance to weightiness and importance.

Leisure activity is defined in Smith, Stebbins, and Dover (2006:133) as "what a person does in free time, such as watch television, play tennis, or volunteer for the Red Cross.... Sometimes referred to as *discretionary activity*."

Serious leisure is defined in Smith, Stebbins, and Dover (2006:208) as "the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer activity that participants find so substantial, interesting, and fulfilling...that, in the typical case, they launch themselves on a (leisure) career centered on acquiring and expressing its special skills, knowledge, and experience."

Time use refers to both a theoretical and a methodological perspective on human behavior and human daily life. Methodologically, time use refers to the collection of information about how individuals use **all** of their time in a usual day or week of their lives. Information is gathered for each individual respondent on identifiable activities in a given day or week. Theoretically, time use refers to a perspective on human activity or behavior that sees human life as a series of activities in specific contexts, often with other people present. *Time diary* refers to a specific methodology for studying time use that asks individual respondents to report sequentially in a personal format what they did across a specific day, (usually) as well as where, with whom, and with what other activities were done at the same time (simultaneous or secondary activities). *Time diaries* thus refer to an individual's total time use in a given day (or week, year, or whole lifespan). As noted above, such diaries record the type of activity, along with other aspects of the time period such as spatial context, other people present, and concurrent/simultaneous activities.

Experience sampling refers to a more recent, technology-dependent, methodology for studying time use, one that signals respondents by a pager (or mobile device) at random moments across the day to record what they were doing, where, with whom, and often their psychological state (satisfaction, fatigue, etc.) during the activity.

C. Historical background

Pentland et al.'s (1999:5–8) helpful historical overview of time-use studies cites the US study *How Working Men Spend Their Time* (Bevans 1913) and the UK study *Round about a Pound a Week* (Pember-Reeves 1913) as "the earliest published accounts of time use." Prominent use of diaries was also a feature of farm and urban households studied by the US Department of Agriculture in the 1920s and 1930s (Harms and Gershuny 2014). Among other early milestones in time-use research were the studies in the United States by Lundberg and Komarovsky (1934) and by Sorokin and Berger (1939).

The first comprehensive multinational diary study in 1965 was conceived and coordinated by the Hungarian mathematician and sociologist Alexander Szalai, as described in his pioneering volume *The Use of Time (*1972). Following his example, comparable national time-diary data have been collected in more than 40 countries over the last three decades, including virtually all Eastern and Western European countries. In the United States, the first national diary study was conducted as part of the Szalai project in 1965, and it has been replicated at roughly decade intervals since then (1975, 1985, 1992–1995, 1998–2001). Academic survey firms conducted these periodic national time-diary surveys, which provide a base from which to make trend comparisons with the current comprehensive American Time-Use Survey (ATUS).

That ongoing *ATUS* from the US government's *Bureau of Labor Statistics* has now collected over 150,000 daily diaries continuously across the year since 2003, using *yesterday* diaries based on the recall of what respondents did yesterday. The ATUS employs a Census Bureau sample, with highly detailed activity categories, as described at www.bls/tus.gov and archived at www.atus-x. The ATUS code has expanded its list of activity categories to more than 400, with more than 40 subdivided codes for volunteering and religious activity, as detailed at ATUS.

D. Key issues

1. Alternative ways of measuring time use

(a) Interview questions

There are several approaches to measuring people's use of time and their specific time spent on different activities. The most common, until recently, was to ask respondents directly in the form of *stylized* time-estimate questions, such as "How many hours did you spend working at your job last week?" or "How many days a week do you do voluntary work?" Robinson and Smith (2012) compared several of these stylized national survey questions on formal volunteer activities for the United States in their Table 4.1. These questions generated marked variability in estimated levels of US FV rates – from less than 30% annually to almost 70% of the adult population.

Table 4.1 ATUS hours per week on different activities (age 15+, 2003–2013)

Year	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	Change
N	20,720	13,973	13,038	12,943	12,248	12,723	13,133	13,260	12,479	12,443	11,385	
Paid work	25.85	25.62	25.88	26.23	26.67	26.12	24.71	24.48	24.98	24.74	24.25	-1.6
Work	23.31	23.31	23.49	23.81	24.29	23.63	22.23	21.96	22.43	22.32	21.97	-1.3
Commute	2.54	2.31	2.39	2.42	2.38	2.49	2.48	2.52	2.55	2.42	2.28	-0.3
Education	3.28	3.35	3.04	3.42	2.98	3.30	3.25	3.32	3.31	3.49	3.33	0.0
Classes	2.00	2.06	1.80	2.13	1.79	1.89	1.84	1.94	1.93	1.95	1.80	-0.2
Homework	0.94	0.99	0.98	1.02	0.95	1.11	1.11	1.11	1.05	1.19	1.26	0.3
Family	24.38	24.25	23.84	23.37	23.48	22.76	23.13	22.83	22.48	22.07	22.74	-1.6
Housework	4.29	4.14	4.28	4.27	4.47	4.06	4.19	4.02	4.05	4.20	4.01	-0.3
Cook	3.73	3.61	3.59	3.70	3.62	3.66	3.77	3.92	3.89	3.69	4.01	0.3
Lawn, Etc.	1.38	1.38	1.41	1.38	1.45	1.32	1.39	1.48	1.35	1.28	1.29	-0.1
Manage	0.92	0.97	1.03	0.88	0.99	0.89	0.93	0.87	0.86	0.89	0.91	0.0
Other HW	2.22	2.24	2.16	2.22	2.11	2.12	2.07	2.05	1.96	2.00	2.07	-0.2
Shopping	2.82	2.85	2.85	2.83	2.76	2.67	2.65	2.61	2.59	2.48	2.58	-0.2
Services	2.88	2.87	2.75	2.83	2.72	2.69	2.67	2.61	2.47	2.57	2.65	-0.2
HH Child care	2.97	3.00	2.96	2.87	2.94	2.91	3.00	2.83	2.76	2.83	2.86	-0.1
HH Adult care	0.93	0.95	0.84	0.81	0.78	0.82	0.76	0.73	0.79	0.75	0.85	-0.1
NON-HH Care	1.95	1.92	1.65	1.49	1.40	1.58	1.46	1.49	1.45	1.26	1.35	-0.6
Personal care	73.82	74.03	74.70	74.49	73.96	74.34	74.71	75.01	75.12	75.14	75.39	1.6
Sleep	59.97	59.82	60.37	60.39	60.01	60.22	60.71	60.66	61.00	61.11	61.17	1.2
Eat	8.44	8.71	8.71	8.64	8.65	8.60	8.57	8.72	8.68	8.73	8.59	0.2
Groom	5.41	5.50	5.62	5.47	5.30	5.53	5.43	5.63	5.45	5.29	5.63	0.2
Free Time	40.66	40.74	40.54	40.49	40.90	41.49	42.19	42.36	42.10	42.56	42.29	1.6
Religion	0.97	0.84	0.88	0.84	1.03	1.00	1.02	1.09	1.08	1.05	1.01	0.0
Club, org	0.97	1.03	1.02	0.93	1.11	1.06	1.06	1.07	1.06	0.90	0.99	0.0
Socialize	5.46	5.29	5.23	5.29	5.09	4.97	4.88	4.93	4.90	5.21	5.03	-0.4
Telephone	1.33	1.27	1.24	1.33	1.30	1.48	1.38	1.23	1.09	1.09	1.04	-0.3
Fitness	2.02	2.04	2.02	1.96	2.21	2.06	2.16	2.14	2.13	2.25	2.08	0.1
TV	18.06	18.52	18.05	18.03	18.36	19.41	19.76	19.10	19.26	19.83	19.38	1.3
Other free	11.85	11.75	12.09	12.11	11.80	11.51	11.94	12.80	12.58	12.25	12.76	0.9
Other	1.32	1.00	1.19	1.46	1.38	1.42	1.70	2.43	2.05	1.67	2.18	0.9
Total	168	168	168	168	168	168	168	168	168	168	168	

Nonetheless, these individual stylized questions have the advantage of being simple, direct, relatively inexpensive, and brief to ask. Nevertheless, such time-estimate questions often do not match independent records of actual time spent (e.g., Chase and Godbey 1983; Hadaway, Marler, and Chaves 1993), and when aggregated across activities for a given week add up to more than the 168 hours actually available (Hawes, Talarzyk, and Blackwell 1975; Verbrugge and Gruber-Baldine 1993). By far, the most ambitious and insightful pair of FV and INV volunteering questions were devised for the 2006 European Social Survey (ESS), which were then applied to national probability surveys in 23 Eastern and Western European countries. Respondents were also asked a broad set of well-being questions, as described in the comprehensive analysis of Plagnol and Huppert (2010).

Plagnol and Huppert first established that there was a strong association between FV and INV, so that the two did not substitute for each other and that INV was notably the more prevalent form of volunteering. They further documented that the demographic predictors of INV and FV were prevalent at different rates across the 23 countries, despite cross-national compositional differences. They further found stronger correlations between volunteering and six different types of well-being in countries with higher rates of volunteering, although the relation was strongest in countries with lowest volunteering. They cite other studies that also could not establish the direction of causality, from volunteering to well-being or the reverse, but that the direction could depend on each country's *welfare regime*. Special attention was devoted to the markedly low rates in formerly Soviet countries in that connection.

(b) Direct observation

Other volunteer time measurement methods involve more *observational* approaches, using clocks and stopwatches to quantify anthropologists' field notes (e.g., McSweeney and Freedman 1980). Prominent examples in the US context include Levine's (1997) recording of walking speeds, or time to conduct simple economic transactions at a bank or post office across different cities or countries, and Barker and Wright's (1948) extremely detailed account of just *One Boy's Day*. A related method involves observations on site, as in Hadaway, Marler, and Chaves (1993) head counts of attendees at churches and Barker and Barker's (1961) head counts at various *behavior settings* in small towns. Television rating firms often verify program ratings by *telephone coincidental* surveys, asking those who answer what they were doing and which programs they were watching when the phone rang. Perhaps the most extensive and intensive example of time observation is from Holmes and Bloxham (2009), using observers who *shadow* (follow) respondents and electronically record their media and other daily activities every ten seconds across the day.

(c) Experience sampling

Another holistic approach is the Experience Sampling Method (ESM; Schneider 2006), pioneered by Csikszentmihalyi and his colleagues (Csikszentmihalyi and Larson 1987; Hektner, Schmidt, and Csikssentmihalyi 2007). Using this method, respondents report on their activities at 8–12 random moments during a day when alerted by an electronic paging device or cell phone. A limitation of the ESM technique so far is that it has only been used with convenience samples with limited generalizability. Also, this method is unlikely to achieve high cooperation rates from respondents in more typical survey settings. That is why it has not been used to generate accepted population estimates of time use. This cooperation-rate problem has been largely avoided in time-diary studies, with Robinson and Godbey (1999) and Abraham et al.'s (2006) analyses providing large-scale examples.

2. Time-diary methodology as a preferred approach

In contrast to the foregoing, the time diary is a micro-behavioral technique for collecting self-reports of an individual's daily behavior in an open-ended fashion on an activity-by-activity basis. Individual respondents keep or report these activity accounts for a short, manageable period, such as a day or a week – usually across the full 24 hours of the previous day. In that way, the technique capitalizes on the most attractive measurement properties of the time variable: (a) All 24 hours of daily activity are potentially recorded, including activities in the early morning hours, when few respondents are awake. (b) The 1,440 minutes of the day are equally distributed across respondents, thereby preserving the *zero sum* property of time that allows various trade-offs between activities to be examined – that is, if time on one activity increases, it must be *zero-ed* out by decreases in some other activity. (c) Respondents are allowed to use a time frame and an accounting variable that is highly familiar and understandable to them and accessible to the way they probably store their daily events in memory.

The open-ended nature of the activity reporting means that these activity reports are automatically geared to detecting new and unanticipated activities. For example, in recent decades, new activity codes had to be developed to accommodate aerobic exercises, use of e-mail, texting, tweeting, Facebook, iPods and other new communications technologies, and media.

These largely open-ended diary reports are coded using a basic activity-coding scheme. The simplest and most basic coding scheme was developed for the 1965 Multinational Time Budget Project of Szalai (1972), as shown in outline form in Figure 4.1. Although it has been superseded by the more elaborate activity codes in the ATUS and MTUS data collections described in the next section, the Szalai code has several attractive features. First, it has been tested,

00–49 Nonfree time

00–09 Paid work main job
00 Unemployment
01 (Not used)
02 (Not used)
03 Second job
04 Eating at work
05 Before/after work
06 Breaks
07 Travel/to-from work

10–19 Household work
Food Preparation
08 Meal cleanup
09 Cleaning house
10 Outdoor cleaning
11 Clothes care
12 Car repair
13 Other repairs
14 Plant care, gardening
15 Pet care
16 Other household work

20–29 Child care
17 Baby care
18 Child care
19 Helping/teaching
20 Talking/reading
21 Indoor playing
22 Outdoor playing
23 Medical child care
24 Other child care
25 (Not used)
26 Travel/child care

30–39 Obtaining goods/services
27 Everyday (food) shopping
28 Durable/house shop
29 Personal services
30 Medical appointments
31 Govt/financial services
32 Repair services
33 (Not used)
34 Other services
35 Errands
36 Travel/goods and services

40–49 Personal needs and care
37 Washing, hygiene, etc.
38 Medical care
39 Help and care to others
40 Meals at home
41 Meals out
42 Night sleep
43 Naps/day sleep
44 Dressing/grooming etc.
45 Private, no report (sex)
46 Travel/Personal care

50–99 Free time

50–59 Educational
47 Students classes
48 Other classes
49 Homework
50 Internet (WWW) use
51 Library use
52 Other education
53 Email/IM
54 Computer games
55 Other computer use
56 Travel/education

60–69 Organizational
57 Professional/union
58 Special interest
59 Political/civic
60 Volunteer helping
61 Religious groups
62 Religious practice
63 Fraternal
64 Child/youth/family
65 Other organizations
66 Travel/organizational

70–79 Entertainment/social
67 Sports events
68 Entertainment
69 Movies (not videos)
70 Theater
71 Museums
72 Visiting
73 Parties
74 Bars/lounges
75 Telephone/cell phone
76 Travel/social

80–89 Recreation
77 Active sports
78 Outdoor
79 Walking/hiking
80 Hobbies
81 Domestic crafts
82 Art
83 Music/drama/dance
84 Games
85 Other recreation
86 Travel/recreation

90–99 Communications
87 Radio
88 TV + videos
89 Records/tapes
90 Read books
91 Read magazines, etc.
92 Reading newspaper
93 Conversations (face-to-face)
94 Writing letters
95 Think/relax
96 Travel/communication

Figure 4.1   Outline of the Szalai (1965) two-digit activity code
Source: Compiled by authors.

found to be reliable, and has been used in several countries around the world. Second, and because of this, extensive prior national normative data are available for comparison purposes. Third, it can be easily adapted to include new code categories of interest to researchers who are looking into different scientific questions from various disciplines. The location coding can be aggregated to estimate time spent in travel, outdoors, or at home, all-important parameters for analyzing time-use trends.

When aggregated, time-diary data have been used to provide generalizable national estimates of the full range of alternative daily activities in a society, from *contracted* paid work time for an employer, to the *committed* time for unpaid housework and family care giving, to *personal* care for body and mind, and to all the types of activities that take place in *free* time. The multiple uses and perspectives afforded by time-diary data have led to a recent proliferation of research and literature in this field (Robinson and Harms 2015).

3. Methodological evidence on the accuracy of time diaries

Two important criteria of social-science measurement quality are reliability and validity. Reliability refers to the ability of a measurement instrument to provide consistent results from study to study or under different conditions (telephone vs. mail; open code vs. closed code, etc.). That is, do we get similar results using the same diary approach? Validity refers to the ability of an instrument to provide data that agree with estimates provided by other methods (such as using observation or electronic pagers, as noted above).

(a) Reliability

In two studies, estimates from time diaries were found to produce reliable and replicable results at the aggregate level. For example, Robinson (1977) found a 0.95 correlation between time-use patterns found in the 1965 national time diaries (N = 1,244) and the aggregate figures for the single site of Jackson, Michigan (n = 788). Similar high correspondence was found for the American data and for time-diary data from Canada, both in 1971 and in 1982 (Harvey and Elliot 1983).

Reliability has also been demonstrated using several different diary approaches. Thus, a correlation of .85 was found between time expenditure patterns found in the 1965–1966 US Jackson time study using the *tomorrow approach* (in which respondents filled out their diary for the following day), and time expenditures for a random one-tenth of the sample, who also filled out a *yesterday diary* (a diary for the previous day). This indicates that respondent's yesterday diaries, which can be obtained in a single interview, generate the same basic figures as the more expensive tomorrow diary, which requires another visit by the interviewer. In a smaller replication study in Jackson (MI)

in 1973, an aggregate correlation of .88 was obtained between these same measures (Robinson 1977), another indicator that not much daily activity is missed in either diary approach.

Further support for the reliability of the diaries comes from Gershuny (2003) and Michelson (2006), as well as from the convergent time figures obtained from the telephone, mail-back, and personal interviews in the 1985 national study, and from the overall national results and those obtained in 1986 in Jackson, Michigan, in 1987–1888 in California, and in 1986 and 1992 in Canada (Robinson and Godbey 1999, Appendices A, B, and C). The basic reliability of diary data is further evident in the striking year-to-year stability in Table 4.1.

(b) Validity

Almost all diary studies depend on the self-report method rather than on some form of observation. Thus, questions arise about the accuracy of the diaries. Several studies bear directly on the validity of the time diary, in the sense of there being an independent source or quasi-observer of reported behavior.

The first of these studies involved the low TV viewing figure from the 1965 time diaries relative to standard television rating-service figures. In a small-scale study (Bechtel, Achepohl, and Akers 1972), the television-viewing behavior of a sample of 20 households was monitored over a week's time by means of a video camera. The camera was mounted on top of that set, thus allowing the video camera/microphone to record all the behavior that took place in front of the television screen. The results indicated that both rating-service methods of television exposure produced estimates of viewing that were 20–50% higher than primary or secondary viewing activities as reported in time diaries or observed by the camera (Allen 1968).

Three more general validity studies examined the full range of activities, not just television viewing, and employed larger and more representative samples. A 1973 random sample of 60 residents of Ann Arbor and Jackson, Michigan, kept pagers/beepers for a one-day period and reported their activity whenever the beeper was activated (some 30–40 times across the day). Averaged across all 60 respondents (and across waking hours of the day) the correlation of activity durations from the beeper and from the diaries was .81 for the Ann Arbor sample and .68 for the Jackson sample (Robinson 1985). In a second study, a telephone sample of 249 respondents interviewed as part of a 1973 national panel survey were asked to report their activities for a designated particular *random hour* during the previous day – with no hint from the interviewer about what they had previously reported for that hour in their diary. An overall correlation of .81 was found between the two aggregate sets of data – that is, between the activities reported in the random hours and in the diary entries previously reported for those same random hours (Robinson 1985). In a third

study, Juster (1985) compared the *with whom* reports in the 1975–1976 diaries of respondents with those of their spouses across the same day. Juster found more than 80% agreement between these independently obtained husband and wife diaries about the presence or absence of their spouse during daily activities. In a separate analysis, a .92 correlation was found between time spent on various home energy-related activities and aggregate time-of-day patterns of energy use as measured by household utility meters.

More recently, some preliminary studies using the *shadow technique* have been conducted with student samples. The students shadow (*follow)* someone they know across an 8- to 12-hour period of the waking day, recording all the things each person does during that observation period. The next day the student then asks the shadowed person for an unrehearsed account of the same activities. Although the samples so far have been very small and highly unrepresentative, with some highly variable individual reporting, agreement at the aggregate level on most activities across the day is ± 10%. While some respondents have difficulty recalling their activities, people who overestimate, say housework, seem to be balanced out by those who underestimate housework. In other words, there do not seem to be activities that are systematically overestimated or underestimated, despite these individual errors in recall. Holmes and Bloxham (2009) conducted far more systematic and sophisticated shadow studies of non-student populations.

Methodological studies in other countries further attest to the basic generalizability of time-diary data (e.g., Gershuny 2000; Michelson 2006). Nonetheless, further careful and well-controlled methodological studies need to be conducted to provide more definitive evidence on diary measurement validity. One promising line of development to enhance validity is the application on new smaller technologies, like body cameras, accelerometers and hand-held recorders (Robinson and Harms 2015).

4. US and international patterns of leisure and volunteering

Multinational time-use tables for several (mainly European) countries are reported in Szalai (1972:114) for circa 1965 and in Fisher and Robinson (2011:295–302) for data collected in 1998–2005. Obviously, people spend the largest chunks of their time either sleeping or doing necessary work in their jobs, usually a paid job in modern societies. *Our concern in this chapter is with free time, the temporal site of FV*. Lacking a multinational visual for aggregated data from many nations, Table 4.1 from Robinson (2015) basically updates the 1985 pie-chart display in Robinson and Godbey (1997:125), in displaying 2003–2013 ATUS weekly changes in ATUS hours, organized with work and productive activities at the top, through personal care in the middle, to free-time activities at the bottom.

For example, in an average week, the bottom part of Table 4.1 shows Americans spent about half of their free time watching TV as a primary activity, by far the commonest leisure activity in Table 4.1. Moreover, Table 4.1 does not include the multiple additional hours of secondary activity TV watching, nor for reading and other media activities (IT use, radio, recordings) (Robinson and Godbey 1997:124). Socializing with others outside the home (talking, interacting) takes up roughly another 25% of free time on average, with the remaining time divided between other media, fitness, relaxing, religion, hobby and various other pursuits.

Thus, the first conclusion from Table 4.1 is that *FV consumes less than 5% of the average free time of Americans, and an even smaller part of their average time awake, with another 5+%* spent on INV, coded under family care. But amount of time spent on an activity can be a misleading indicator of either its importance to the individual or its psychological benefits or happiness that result from participation. Sexual activity is routinely rated as the most pleasurable use of time, but consumes relatively little time on average (Hektner, Schmidt, and Csikszentmihalyi 2007:128; Robinson and Godbey 1999:115–116). Sleep is a time-consuming biological necessity, but may not be pleasurable for insomniacs. One's paid work or occupation is a social necessity for most working-age adults, but again it is not pleasurable for many, perhaps most, workers. In general, various forms of leisure result in both more enjoyment and also more positive affect (happy feelings) than work or combined work and leisure (e.g., Hektner, Schmidt, and Csikszentmihalyi 2007:203; Robinson 2014; Robinson and Godbey 1999:374).

Given that the percentage of leisure time, let alone of all waking time, devoted to volunteering is small, how much time is spent on FV in time use studies? FV is mainly labeled as *clubs and organizations* in Table 4.1, which totals about 5% of leisure time use in 2003–2013. More refined codes might show a little additional FV under the present codes for religion, social, other free time, or even work activities, but probably not much more. Instead, Table 4.1 points to the almost larger amount of time devoted to INV in the family care category, labeled as *care to non-household members* (mainly children) in the family care section in the upper part of Table 4.1.

The conclusion about very little free time, let alone waking time, being devoted to FV or IV is also essentially valid for cross-sections of the time of adult populations in other nations (e.g., Fisher and Robinson 2011:207–210; Szalai 1972:114). But in the present ATUS, as in earlier experience-sampling studies, *people report that volunteering is highly satisfying,* coming in third after sexual activity and partying (Robinson 2014, 2015). Hektner, Schmidt, and Csikszentmihalyi (2007:128) in their sample of 107 working adults found that lovemaking generated the highest motivation and also the highest positive affect (happy feelings), compared with many other activities. The far greater

time spent watching TV in the ATUS, for instance, was associated with much lower levels of positive affect, as did working, idling, chores, resting, and hobbies (Robinson 2014).

5. Individual choice of FV rather than other kinds of leisure

The many types of reasons why people start, continue, or stop formal volunteering/FV are described at length in the chapters of Handbook Part IV, so it is not reviewed here. However, few such studies have focused on the differential explanation/prediction of choosing FV as leisure rather than other forms of leisure. The research and theory in Handbook Chapter 5 is the only chapter that directly considers this issue. One general conclusion of that chapter is that, in any society at any time in history since FV began to occur (see Handbook Chapter 1; mainly in the past 10,000 years, when associations arose in horticultural-village societies), some individuals tend to choose FV as a form of leisure because that activity is favored by the socio-cultural norms and values as a proper, high-prestige way to spend some leisure time. And in any society, some individuals are more disposed to follow norms than others, usually the higher prestige and higher socio-economic status individuals.

However, as Handbook Chapter 5 also suggests, various other high-prestige, societally desirable ways of doing proper (appropriate, socio-culturally approved) leisure also usually exist besides FV. In the United States and United Kingdom, high-prestige leisure activities include certain forms of outdoor recreation and sports activity (especially golf, tennis, and skiing in modern societies), certain forms of reading (especially of serious books and newspapers in literate societies), political participation (including voting, political discussion, political campaign activity, attending political meetings, etc.) in democratic societies, religious congregation activity (especially in religious vs. atheistic societies), arts and *high-culture* activity attendance (e.g., ballet, opera, art museums, and classical music concerts), and participation in some games and hobbies (e.g., chess, bridge, and collecting expensive art/crafts). In addition, engaging in sociability with friends, work colleagues, and co-members of one's religious congregation or clubs, is usually a higher-prestige form of leisure than the usual socializing within the home and family, with neighbors, or in bars. Differential explanation among these various higher prestige leisure activities is not well researched or understood.

Another relevant conclusion here from Handbook Chapter 5 is that FV, like some other types of societally approved leisure activities, is more likely for individuals who are high on the Active-Effective Character set of personality traits and attitudes. Such individuals tend to have more energy, more need for achievement, greater sense of personal efficacy (internal locus of control), and tend to seek productive activities for satisfactions in their leisure or free time, rather than more purely enjoyment/expressive and passive leisure. Hence, such

individuals tend to do more FV, more political participation, more high-prestige games and hobbies, more prestigious outdoor recreation and sports (especially competitive sports), and more arts and high-culture activity attendance.

Although altruism may be involved in some FV, especially in Volunteer Service Programs (Handbook Chapter 15) and in philanthropic service programs and associations (Handbook Chapter 17), most individuals also have self-interested motives for volunteering in various other kinds of associations (e.g., occupational associations, self-help groups, social movement associations, conventional political advocacy associations and campaigns, social leisure associations, and even religious congregations – as many such participants seek personal salvation in the afterlife; see Handbook Chapters 30 and 31). Smith (1981) has argued that there is no *pure*, selfless altruism for volunteering, as even the apparently most selfless volunteers get the psychic benefits of high self-esteem and a warm glow feeling (see research on neurochemicals in Handbook Chapter 25) from their volunteering.

6. Leisure choice spillover from, versus compensation for, one's main occupation or work activity

In their attempts to clarify the meanings of the concepts of *spillover* and *compensation*, Kando and Summers (1971:83–86) theorized that work affects leisure in two ways. First, the skills, knowledge, and life-style off the job are so attractive that workers, even when off the job, seek leisure opportunities that permit them to experience the benefits of using their skills and knowledge. We say, here, that work *spills over* into leisure. Alternatively, work may leave people feeling deprived of an important value, such as an opportunity for self-expression or self-actualization, for which they try to compensate by means of corresponding leisure that is different from their work activities.

These notions of spillover and compensation make good common sense but are yet to be convincingly verified by research. The relationship between work and leisure, it turns out, is enormously complicated. After reviewing this literature, Kelly (1987:147–153) concluded that at least four elements must be considered in studying the work–leisure relationship. First, whether they are in the work sphere or the leisure sphere, members of a society have been socialized in the same overarching culture. As they move in and out of their work and leisure activities, they carry with them values that apply to both. They also carry certain ways of thinking and modes of interacting with others. Second, the demands of work and its schedules are bound to affect leisure. As Kelly (1987:152) puts it: "After eight hours of heavy lifting, few steelworkers are interested in three sets of tennis." Third, our monetary resources for leisure are determined by our paychecks. Furthermore, some work roles carry certain leisure expectations, such as belonging to a prestigious country club or meeting at a particular bar after hours. Fourth, skills, modes of communication, and

styles of interaction developed in work or leisure may carry across to the other sphere.

Recent research (e.g., Rodell 2013) on corporate volunteers indicates clearly that volunteering in this context is more likely for employees who find their jobs less meaningful. In general, the more meaningful a volunteer role/task seemed, the more likely corporate employees would volunteer. In a review of research on employee volunteering, there is some additional evidence supporting the compensation hypothesis in regard to volunteering in relation to one's paid job, if any (Rodell, Breitsohl, Schroeder, and Keating 2016). It is unclear whether volunteers in general are compensating for less meaningful jobs.

7. National differences in time use for volunteering and for leisure generally

(a) Historical, societal, and political changes

Robinson and Godbey (1999:285) concluded from international time-use surveys that, since the l960s, people have gained a few hours per week of free time, with the data suggesting that this trend will continue. They observed further that in seven Western countries free time is now greater than work time, though the opposite is true for five Eastern European countries, especially for women.

Historically, female participation in civil society has been severely limited in traditional (agrarian, pre-industrial) societies past and present, compared to their greater participation in the more modern, industrial, and post-industrial societies. Musick and Wilson (2008:365) found that men are more likely to volunteer than women, though the gap between the two sexes is narrower in higher-income countries. They concluded that women in more affluent societies have greater freedom to participate in civil affairs than elsewhere.

Employment is another factor in the rate of volunteering. Musick and Wilson (2008:366) examined volunteer rates among people with and without jobs and found their rates of work and volunteering diverged substantially in low-income countries. That is, people without work volunteered less than those with work. In the more affluent countries the two rates tended to be similar (Plagnol and Huppert 2010).

(b) Demographic differences

Cushman, Veal, and Zuzanek (2005:289–290) also noted that employed women have less free time than men, and that women use less of their free time in sports and more in arts and cultural activities.

The range of leisure activities pursued declines with age. Among the exceptions here are watching television, engaging in certain arts activities, and playing particular sports like golf and bowling, in which older people are more active. Socio-economically, surveys have consistently revealed that the

economically and educationally more affluent are more active than less advantaged people (e.g., Plagnol and Huppert 2010).

8. Volunteering careers

Stebbins (2006:15–17) has suggested the concept of *volunteering careers* or *career volunteering,* pointing out how, for some people (usually a small minority of all volunteers), the commitment to volunteering generally or to being a volunteer in some specific Volunteer Service Program (VSP) or association is a long-term commitment with several steps of career advancement over time. Smith, Stebbins, and Dover (2006:36) define *career volunteering* as follows: "volunteering as serious leisure (as opposed to casual leisure), where career volunteers find (nonwork) careers in the acquisition of special skills, knowledge, or training and, at times, two or three of these, as they relate to a volunteer role or a set of such roles." Thus, career volunteers *in a VSP* may serve under a contract: a formal agreement setting out their duties to the agency or organization benefiting from their services, as well as the obligations of the latter toward the former. Such explicit contracts rarely exist for individual career volunteers *in associations*. However, higher leadership roles in associations usually have consensual contracts, and in larger associations, explicit role definitions for their incumbents (e.g., for a President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer).

Career volunteers, as with other serious leisure participants, are committed to their activities; that is, they have a deep involvement in and psychological attachment to the core activities comprising their volunteering. Such commitment, as an attitude, is born of the many powerful rewards that they experience in the course of pursuing those volunteering activities. The rewards are motivators, providing an impetus for investing time and effort in the volunteer activity, regardless of its short-term costs and benefits (Mannell 1993:128). Although seemingly illogical according to common sense, serious leisure is characterized empirically by an important degree of positive commitment to a pursuit (Stebbins 2012:51–52). This commitment is measured, among other ways, by the sizeable investments of time and energy that career volunteers make in this kind of leisure over the period of many years. Perhaps the best source on career volunteers is Daniels' (1988) *Invisible Careers*.

E. Usable knowledge

Time-diary data provide an unprecedented, detailed, and comprehensive ability to incorporate precise figures on time spent on both formal and informal volunteer activity (FV and INV) in the same reliable and valid instrument, especially when compared to the usual interview approaches to measuring FV or INV separately. Table 4.1 reinforces the finding from Plagnol and Huppert (2010) and

Havens and Schervish (2001) that interview data on INV greatly underestimated the amounts of time spent by individuals on INV.

Hence, one key piece of usable knowledge is methodological: *Time spent on either FV or INV (but especially INV) will usually be determined more accurately by time-diary methods than by self-report survey questions.* Methodological research described in this chapter also suggests that time-diary methods will also be more reliable and valid for determining other kinds of participation by individuals – for instance, the many aspects of the Leisure General Activity Pattern described in Handbook Chapter 5.

In addition, because of the open-ended nature of time-diary methods, new types of leisure and volunteering that emerge in the future are more likely to be identified and incorporated into the same time accounts by the single-diary approach, as contrasted with complex survey interview questions. However, experience-sampling methods can also be valuable for such identification of new types of leisure and volunteering to supplement time-diary reports.

F. Future trends and needed research

Given the special methodological value of time-diary methods, we expect that future researchers studying volunteering will increasingly make use of these methods, especially for the study of INV. The fine-grained data obtained by time diaries permit precise computation of time trends in real time, where interview data are less precise and reliable. Robinson and Smith (2012) provide one recent example of such trend research on INV using time-diary data. The determinants of INV especially need to be studied carefully using time-diary measures of INV.

In regard to future research needed, the major (perhaps unsolvable) obstacle encountered lies in the multinational context (perhaps even more problematic for the current time-estimate interview questions) and the issue of cross-national comparability of what is to be regarded as *true* volunteer or helping behavior. This methodological problem also affects cross-time analyses, as illustrated in the current debate on whether social capital is declining, or just assuming new forms (e.g., Putnam 2000; Smith and Robinson 2017). Nonetheless, convening a group of experienced cross-national collaborators to tackle this question would be most fruitful.

Another important avenue for needed research is the alertness of time-use researchers to new and emerging forms of time use, especially leisure and volunteering activities. If time-use researchers neglect to update their coding categories to include such new forms, these activities will be missed and not considered properly. The updated leisure coding categories included in the list of all activities presented in Figure 4.1 is an example for the past, but such nuanced updating needs to continue routinely for the foreseeable future.

G. Cross-references

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5
Volunteering as Related to Other Leisure Activities

David H. Smith (USA), with Sarah Dury (Belgium), John Mohan (UK), and Robert A. Stebbins (USA)

A. Introduction

Volunteering is done in leisure time and is usually categorized as *serious leisure* by Stebbins (1996), but is sometimes casual leisure. We review here whether volunteering is essentially independent of other leisure activities or is causally associated with some other leisure activities. Volunteering types cluster empirically among themselves in survey data and with other socio-culturally approved leisure activities in a seldom-noticed leisure general activity pattern (LGAP). The existence of the LGAP can be explained mainly by three factors: (1) pressure of social norms (social conformity) regarding approved ways to spend leisure time; (2) social contagion among an individual's close people, influencing the person to engage in other LGAP activities; and (3) the Active-Effective Character (AE-C), as a combination of personality and attitude factors. People high on LGAP are often the *civic core* in modern societies, a small proportion of people doing most of the active leisure/civic activities.

The objective of this chapter is to disentangle how social scientists study individual leisure activities and activity domains of adults all over the world. In recent years, many different forms of leisure participation have been studied as dependent variables (DVs). Broader patterns of relationship among leisure activities, termed *leisure domains*, have not been properly clarified. The LGAP is a subtle but pervasive pattern of statistical clustering among socio-culturally preferred leisure (free time, discretionary time) activities in any society at a certain historical time period. As such, it is a theoretical construct, but one that has received very little scholarly attention – far less than it deserves. This clustering has been present in hundreds of studies, but it has rarely been perceived as the LGAP and as a coherent meta-variable theoretical construct. Existence of the LGAP calls for reinterpretation of every prior empirical study that has

attempted to explain participation in any specific domain or type of individual leisure activity, such as volunteering, political participation, neighboring activity, outdoor recreation, and movie and event attendance.

The LGAP is also important theoretically as a key element in understanding all individual leisure activities in a coherent and systematic manner. Because the LGAP may relate to similar socio-cultural conformity in the realms of work and of personal obligations (self-care, home care, family care), this pattern of coherence has even broader potential implications for understanding human activity across the hours, days, months, and years of human lives in all areas. Yet, research that combines measures from a wide variety of socio-culturally approved leisure activity domains into a single LGAP Index has scarcely begun. Instead, nearly all of prior research has examined a specific form of leisure activity, or a narrow leisure domain (e.g., volunteering, political participation, outdoor recreation), as the DV, without consideration of the larger context of other leisure activities and leisure domains of the same individual.

B. Definitions

The definitions in the Handbook Appendix are accepted in this chapter. The concepts of *leisure time* and *leisure activity* are defined in the Appendix. We define below a few other key terms used in this chapter.

Leisure may be defined as "Un-coerced, contextually framed activity engaged in during free time, which people want to do and, using their abilities and resources, actually do in either a satisfying or a fulfilling way or both" (Stebbins 1996:2). *Leisure activity* refers to activities done as leisure.

Free time is "time away from unpleasant (disagreeable) obligation, with pleasant obligation being essentially leisure." This term is roughly a synonym for *leisure time*.

The *leisure general activity pattern* (LGAP) is defined here by Smith as "the positive and statistically significant inter-correlations of individual participation in most kinds of socio-culturally approved leisure activities in a given society at a certain historical period."

A *leisure activity domain* or *type* is a relatively coherent set of leisure activities of a similar nature and purpose, such as political participation, volunteering-giving, outdoor recreation, friendship activity, engaging in hobbies and games, attending movies-events, or arts-music-culture participation.

C. Historical background

The *leisure general activity pattern* (LGAP) was first identified and named by Smith (1969), although the initial name omitted *leisure* and used the term *syndrome* in place of *pattern*. This early, representative, random, sample survey of 304

adults in eight Massachusetts cities and towns provided data on 23 leisure activities, mainly dealing with volunteering, interpersonal relations, reading books/non-fiction magazines/newspapers, political activities, religious attendance, and going to movies/concerts/sports events. A Principle Components Analysis (PCA) first factor extracted showed the clear presence of the LGAP, with 16 items of the 23 loading .30 or higher on that factor (and all 16 loaded .35 or higher when the PCA was done only on these 16 items). *This clustering is present in hundreds of studies, but that clustering has very rarely been perceived as the LGAP and as a coherent meta-variable theoretical construct, requiring understanding and explanation.*

A few earlier researchers in the mid-20th century noted aspects of the LGAP, but they did not understand its theoretical significance, recognize its breadth of appearance in empirical studies, or give it an appropriate, distinctive label. For instance, Heinila (1959) showed that there was a clustering of various types of leisure and sports participation in his study of Finnish adults. Allardt et al. (1958) as well as Ahtik (1962) noted the "cumulative nature of leisure activities" in their surveys. The national sample research by Proctor (1962:36–37) of US adults found significant evidence that outdoor recreation activities were associated positively with several other types of leisure activity.

Many researchers have continued to see evidence of the LGAP more recently, usually without understanding its theoretical significance, its breadth of inclusiveness in terms of leisure activity types, or the extent to which it is an enduring pattern in human societies. When studied empirically in the past, the LGAP has usually involved only two or three individual leisure activity domains being measured, rather than many. Such prior studies use a variety of labels for the LGAP when they observe it, but very rarely use the *LGAP* label.

In Smith, Macaulay, and Associates (1980:chapter 19), Smith discussed an earlier version of this LGAP concept as part of the General Activity Model. In Smith (1994:255), he reviewed substantial evidence for the existence of the LGAP, referring then to the concept/construct still as the *General Activity Model*. Subsequently, Smith has referred to the positive clustering of socio-culturally approved leisure activities in a society as the *LGAP*, and has seen the General Activity Model as a broader set of ideas, as in Smith, Macaulay, and Associates (1980:chapter 19).

D. Key issues

1. What leisure activities are the usual empirical components of the LGAP?

Leisure researchers sometimes refer to these patterns of positive interrelationship by the term *substitutability*. Hendee and Burdge (1974:157) define leisure activity *substitutability* as "interchangeability of recreational activities in satisfying participants' motives, needs, and preferences." Such substitutability

really means positive covariation (e.g., positive inter-correlations) of individual participation in different leisure activities and leisure domains as an observed empirical pattern.

Substitutability researchers mainly focus on recreation and sports as leisure, not on a broader range of activities, such as those referred to above (in Section C) as part of the LGAP. It is quite clear from time diary research (e.g., Juster and Stafford 1985; Pentland et al. 1999; Robinson and Godbey 1997; Szalai 1972) that leisure time is often spent in other activities than recreation or sports. Television viewing, socializing (interaction with friends), and home communication (conversation) are particularly important in terms of relative time use (Robinson and Godbey 1997:125), followed by reading, hobbies, adult education, and recreation/sports/outdoors.

This positive covariation/inter-correlation of elements (items, domains) of the LGAP is rather small in magnitude (e.g., usually $r = .20–.30$), although usually statistically significant in samples of 200 individuals or more from the general population. This concept of substitutability needs to be broadened to include the positive covariation of *non*-recreational leisure activities, as mentioned above. The idea of substitutability also needs to be rethought in theoretical terms, because it ignores the causal underpinning of the positive covariation.

Too many sociologists and other social scientists fail to see that many important activities of theoretical interest are in fact performed during leisure time and offer direct gratifications consistent with the definition of leisure activity: political participation (e.g., voting in different types/levels of elections, political discussion, contacting government officials, attending a political meeting, working as a volunteer in a political campaign, signing petitions, joining a march or protest event; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995:544); volunteering (e.g., voluntary association participation, service program volunteering, online volunteering, cyber group participation, voluntourism, informal volunteering/helping, informal care of family/kin, charitable giving); mass media consumption (e.g., reading newspapers, magazines, and books; TV watching; watching DVDs or streaming movies; radio listening; CD and tape music listening; listening to audiobooks); social/electronic media use, reading and contributing to blogs online; adult education; religious activity (e.g., attending religious services, helping with such services or the maintenance of a religious building, teaching religion to youth, visiting invalids to perform special religious services); conversation and socializing with family/relatives, interpersonal friendship activity (conversation, socializing, attending events together, social eating and drinking); hobbies; playing cards or other games; playing video games; sexual activity; attendance at high-culture events (e.g., classical music concerts, ballet, opera, plays/theater); performing art or music at home or in other amateur settings; dancing (e.g., ballroom dancing, square dancing, line

dancing, modern dance, ballet); outdoor sports and recreation; exercise; hiking; camping; hunting/fishing; gardening; attendance at movies/sports events/pop concerts; attending auto races or motorcycle races; and so on (Bartko and Eccles 2003; Dury et al. 2016; Godbey 2007; Goodale and Godbey 1988; Kelly 1996; Larson and Kleiber 1993; Leitner and Leitner 2012; Proctor 1962; Robinson and Godbey 1997; Smith and Einolf 2017; Smith and Robinson 2017; Townsend 1973; Wilson 1980).

On the contrary, individual political activities are rarely seen as the voluntary, unpaid, leisure activities they actually are for most such activities and most people. Few people in the general population are paid or coerced to vote, contact officials, attend political meetings, belong to a political association, or discuss politics. There has also been evidence for several decades showing the positive and statistically significant inter-correlations within the domain of individual political activities (Almond and Verba 1963; Verba and Nie 1972:347–352; Verba, Nie, and Kim 1971:328; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995:544).

Verba and Nie (1972:345) analyzed data from 2,549 interviews with a US national adult sample accessed in 1967. They reported (pp. 57–62) that their 13 political participation variables have a statistically significant mean correlation of .25. All 13 load .45 or greater on the first factor obtained in a Principal Components Analysis. Some of these variables can also be seen as measures of association participation, even though politically oriented (membership in political clubs, form a group to work on local problems, active membership in community-problem-solving organizations).

Similar internal coherence has been found for various measures within the domains of association participation, formal volunteering in service programs, informal helping/volunteering, and giving (Bekkers 2005; Bekkers and Wiepking 2011:16–17; Einolf 2011; Hank and Stuck 2008; Hodgkinson 2003; Musick and Wilson 2008:270–275; Plagnol and Huppert 2010; Wilhelm and Bekkers 2010; Wilson 2000; Wilson and Musick 1998). Burr et al. (2005) used US national sample panel data to show that care-giving, which may be seen as obligatory (i.e., not leisure) for close relatives, is also significantly related to formal volunteering.

Einolf (2011:10) reports moderate and significant correlations among nationally aggregated measures of formal volunteering, informal volunteering (helping a stranger), and charitable giving using aggregated data for nations, based on a Gallup World Poll performed on representative samples of adults in 153 nations of the world in 2010. Using data from the European Social Survey for 2006, Plagnol and Huppert (2010) similarly found formal and informal volunteering rates of 23 nations to be positively and significantly correlated, based on representative survey sample interview data aggregated by nation. Such national sample survey research using aggregated data on leisure activities by nations shows the transnational existence of aspects of the LGAP.

When religious activities have been measured in large, representative samples of the population of the United States, such activities also cohere in a religious LGAP. For instance, long ago Stark and Glock (1968:177) showed that key dimensions of religious activity cohered significantly (with the exception of ethical behavior). We have already noted that outdoor recreation measures cohered significantly in a US national sample, also long ago (Proctor 1962:36–37). Subsequent national sample research that has focused on arts-culture activity and on sports-recreation expressive/social leisure has further confirmed such coherence (Smith and Robinson 2017).

Smith suggests referring to the internal coherence of socio-culturally approved leisure activities *within* a given domain (e.g., volunteering, politics, religiosity, recreation-sports, art-music-culture, sociability-socializing) be termed a *micro-LGAP*. Similarly, the internal coherence of socio-culturally approved leisure activities across *different* activity domains may be termed the *macro-LGAP*. However, such internal coherence should *not* be interpreted as indicating that there are no major sub-clusters of activities within either level of LGAP. Much research also shows such sub-clusters exist (e.g., Verba and Nie 1972:347–352).

The fact is, there is both unidimensionality at one empirical level (results of Principle Components Analysis, un-rotated, first factor loadings) and also multi-dimensionality at another empirical level (either oblique or orthogonal rotated factors and their loadings) for LGAP data and various other kinds of socio-behavioral science data (e.g., the study of personality and attitudes). Smith (1982) refers to this common situation in social science as *fundamental intrinsic duality*, roughly analogous to the wave-particle duality in quantum physics.

2. What leisure activities usually do not fit with the LGAP empirically?

Less socio-culturally approved or neutral individual leisure activities in North America and Europe include watching TV, listening to the radio or CDs/tapes, watching DVDs at home, drinking alcohol (especially in excess), resting/relaxing, napping, and thinking/doing nothing. The expectation of the LGAP/General Activity Theory is that being less socio-culturally approved as leisure in modern, post-industrial societies, such less-approved or neutral variables and their domains will not correlate with LGAP as significantly and positively as do the more clearly socio-culturally approved types of leisure activity that are more central to the LGAP in US society. Low positive or even low negative correlations are expected with an LGAP Index or with specific socio-culturally approved leisure activity domains or items. In pre-modern, pre-industrial, and agrarian societies and sub-cultures, where such *passive* leisure is more socio-culturally valued, these activities, when present, may cohere better with the central core of the LGAP (although this is purely speculative).

Socio-culturally neutral or optional leisure activities do not tend to be part of the LGAP positive manifold (set of positive, directionally aligned correlations), according to the LGAP theory (e.g., television viewing or resting/napping). The research by Chambré (1987:84–85), using a US national sample of the elderly, is one of very few national sample survey studies that show that these kinds of neutral/optional leisure activities do not correlate positively with more socio-culturally approved leisure activities. She found that "watching television, listening to the radio, sitting and thinking, and doing nothing" were "negatively associated with the rest of the [LGAP] items."

These four items are distinctive by being more *passive and/or solitary in nature*. The other 11 items include a wide range of LGAP activities, such as social interactions with neighbors or friends, recreation, hobbies, going to movies, reading, and walking or exercise. These LGAP items correlated negatively with the four *neutral/optional* leisure activities. In fact, given the negative correlations, these passive/solitary activities may be seen as at least mildly disapproved.

Some more *clearly disapproved (and sometimes illegal)* leisure activities in modern, Western, and even traditional societies likely include using illicit drugs, excessive alcohol use, excessive gambling, use of sex workers, recreational vandalism, and the like. Clearly *dis*approved leisure activities in any society and historical time period are expected to correlate negatively with specific socio-culturally valued leisure activity domains and with an LGAP Index, according to Smith's General Activity Theory (Smith 1980, 1983; Smith and Einolf 2017).

No published studies could be found that show the correlations of seriously *dis*approved (deviant) leisure activities with more approved LGAP activity measures. Leisure activities that are more clearly disapproved in a society (e.g., illicit drug use, use of sex workers, excessive gambling, getting drunk, dog-fight and cock-fight attendance, or recreational vandalism in America) are hypothesized to have significant, often substantial, negative correlations with socio-culturally approved LGAP variables. Overall, the results of Chambré give strong support to the LGAP with a broad range of leisure activity measures (each of which is based on a single interview item). Her results also show that less-approved or neutral leisure activities do *not* cohere with the LGAP measures, as predicted by General Activity Theory.

3. How widespread is the empirical evidence for the LGAP in contemporary societies and nations?

Many researchers have reported evidence for parts of the LGAP more recently without seeing the whole picture, from the present perspective. Most such studies have focused only on two or three of the following elements of the hypothesized LGAP. These elements include such leisure activities as formal program volunteering, informal helping/volunteering, association participation, giving money or objects, political activity, and religious participation

(Bekkers 2004:chapter 5, 2005; Chambré, Dekker 2004; Dekker, Koopmans, and van den Broek, 1997; Dury et al. 2016; Hodgkinson 2003; Kawachi and Kim 2006; Mannarini, Legittimo, and Talo 2008; Michel 2007; Musick and Wilson 2008:chapter 12; Nishide and Yamauchi 2005; Parboteeah, Cullen, and Lim 2004; Reed and Selbee 2001; Scheufele and Shah 2000; Townsend 1973; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995:chapter 12; Wilhelm and Bekkers 2010; Wilson 2000; Wilson and Musick 1998).

Research bearing on the LGAP is widely scattered and uses highly variable terminology. Thus, it is very difficult to do a thorough review of the relevant research literature. The studies cited above mainly were done on samples of adults in the United States. However, many studies also show evidence of aspects of the LGAP in other nations: Canada (Reed and Selbee 2001); United Kingdom (Fahmy 2003); Australia (Alexander et al. 2010); Netherlands (Bekkers 2004); Belgium (Dury et al. 2016; Hustinx et al. 2012); Sweden (Fröding, Elander, and Eriksson, 2012); Japan (Nishide and Yamauchi 2005; Taniguchi 2010), and Russia (Smith 2015), for example. There is also substantial evidence of the LGAP in multi-national research in Europe (Badescu and Nelle 2007:170–171; Dekker, Koopmans, and van den Broek 1997; Hank and Stuck 2008; Kohli, Hank, and Künemund 2009).

Smith and Einolf (2012, 2017) and Smith and Robinson (2017), using Principal Components [factor] Analysis or PCA, have recently shown that there is very convincing and consistent evidence for the existence of the LGAP in a total of five national US representative samples over about 35 years, nearly to the present.

(a) Smith and Einolf (2012, 2017) studied the LGAP for two representative national samples of the United States in different years. First, they used survey data from the 1995 wave of the MacArthur Foundation's Midlife in the United States (MIDUS) study. The measures of LGAP used were the following: (a) hours per month of formal service program volunteering; (b) frequency of attending association meetings; (c) hours per month spent assisting others (informal volunteering); (d) frequency of social contact with neighbors, friends, and family; (e) hours per month spent on emotional support activity for close people (as in d, but also with spouse); and (f) religious activity, combining frequency of religious service attendance and attendance at religious meetings.

Unlike most other studies cited above, a Principal Components [Factor] Analysis was performed, finding that a single, first, un-rotated factor of LGAP emerged. This factor included all six of the LGAP measures, each with loadings of .40 or greater on the factor. The PCA also showed that a measure of time spent doing household chores (*not* leisure, but an obligatory home-care chore) was moderately included in the General Activity factor, with a loading of .38. This result confirms the suggestion of Hank and Stuck (2008) that an underlying *productive activity dimension* may be present. This is a strong empirical

confirmation of a broad LGAP in national representative sample survey data for the United States. These 1995 results highlight that when people are engaged in one type of socio-culturally approved leisure activity, they are also more likely to be active in other types, confirming the LGAP theory.

(b) Smith and Einolf (2017) also analyzed the General Social Survey data for 2002, with a representative national sample of adults in the United States. The LGAP leisure activity measures used were the following: (a) a factor-derived index of formal volunteering, (b) a factor-derived index of informal volunteering, (c) a factor-derived index of religious participation, and (d) and a factor-derived index of Internet use. Unlike the prior studies factor analyzing LGAP variables, this research used more reliable indices, rather than single items. All four of the LGAP-relevant indices loaded .43 or greater on the first PCA factor extracted, confirming even more strongly the existence of the LGAP. Unusually, this research included Internet use, which was not included in earlier studies, because historically non-existent then.

Further, the PCA included a factor-derived index of TV-watching and relaxing/napping, as a neutral, less social-approved, leisure activity. This index loaded a weak .06 with the LGAP Index, as General Activity Theory predicts. This is perhaps the first study to use PCA on LGAP items/indices and to include a neutral leisure item or index, confirming that it is not empirically a part of the LGAP in this data set. An item measuring the number of hours worked (for pay) last week was also included. Hours worked had only a weak, positive, factor loading of .20 with the LGAP indices. The size and direction of that finding gives insignificant but interesting support for the *productive activity* suggestion by Hank and Stuck (2008) of the core of the LGAP.

(c) A third, national, from the United States, representative sample set of data on the LGAP was also analyzed by Smith and Einolf (2017). Called a "National Study of Community Involvement," these data were collected largely in the first half of 1973 in approximately one-hour interviews with a national, representative, urban sample of adult US citizens ($N = 2,622$) residing in 42 cities and towns of 10 metropolitan areas of the contiguous 48 states. The completion rate of intended interviews was .76.

As part of the interview, there were some 40 questions that inquired about the respondent's community participation and other leisure activity. LGAP indices were created for each of five leisure activity domains, based on factor analyses of the items in each domain: voluntary association participation, political participation, neighboring, recreational activity, and friendship activity. The five activity domain indices together were then subjected to PCA, and the first factor examined.

All five LGAP domain indices loaded .30 or higher and in the same direction on this first factor, again confirming the existence of the LGAP in national sample US data, but this time back in the early 1970s. This research, like the

prior research, is stronger confirmation of the LGAP by using reasonably reliable indices of the LGAP domains, rather than single, less reliable, survey items. Cronbach's alpha ranged from .57 to .73, with greater reliability for the indices with more items.

(d) Smith and Robinson (2017) analyzed two different US national representative sample data sets to seek the LGAP through PCA factor analysis of relevant, socio-culturally approved, survey leisure items. LGAP-related items from the General Social Survey for 1993 were subjected to PCA, as in the prior studies above. The first PCA factor again was clearly the LGAP, with 10 socio-culturally approved leisure items loading .30 or higher in the same direction: attend sports events, visit art museums and galleries, attend musical events, see movies, do art activities, dancing, perform theater, do sports, voting, and camping. Gardening and hunting/fishing were near misses, with loadings of .28 and .29. In a purified PCA on just the LGAP items, all 12 of the above items loaded .30 or higher.

Like the research in #b above, the initial PCA also included some likely neutral leisure activities in terms of social approval. Three different items about TV viewing had very weak (and in one case negative at −.16) loadings on the first LGAP factor. Use of a Video-Cassette Recorder (listening to music, as passive leisure) had a significant *negative* loading of −.45. Hence, this analysis further confirms the General Activity Theory hypothesis that neutral or negative, mainly passive and unproductive, leisure activities will *not* load positively and significantly on the LGAP first factor from PCA.

(e) Smith and Robinson (2017) also analyzed US national representative sample data from the 2008 Survey of Public Participation in the Arts. Following the approach used above, a PCA was performed on nine LGAP items: volunteering, community activity, voting, attending movies, attending sports events, doing sports, doing outdoor recreation, exercising, and gardening. The first PCA factor was clearly LGAP, with all nine items loading .41 or higher on the LGAP. Auto racing and hunting/fishing were omitted from the final LGAP PCA, having been weaker but positive in an initial PCA. The latter findings suggest that these two forms of leisure activity are less socially approved than the final, nine LGAP items.

(f) Hodgkinson (2003:46–47) reported data from the 1999–2002 wave of the European Values Surveys/World Values Surveys from 48 counties (with data reported separately for East and West Germany and for Britain and Northern Ireland) on all inhabited continents except Australia. These results gave extensive multi-national support to the existence of the LGAP *using nationally aggregated data*, although neither inter-correlations nor factor analyses were reported. Her Table 3.2 shows that more volunteering is systematically and significantly associated with attending religious services, being a member of a voluntary organization, having signed or being willing to sign a petition, and discussing politics frequently. Future analyses of these EVS/WVS

data are likely to show the hypothesized, statistically significant, LGAP inter-correlations among these items and a strong, LGAP, unrotated, first PCA factor. Such research needs to be done to test further the LGAP and General Activity Theory.

(g) Using data on over 27,000 people in representative samples from 11 European nations, only Hank and Stuck (2008) seem to be aware of the generality and importance of the LGAP – which they refer to as *linked productive activities*. Their sophisticated data analysis gives the strongest multi-national support to the existence of the LGAP using *data on individuals as the level of analysis*, *rather than national aggregate data from individuals*. Their data came from the 2004 Survey of Health, Aging and Retirement in Europe (SHARE). The central focus was on determining whether three aspects of the LGAP (though they did not use this term) were related in terms of substitution (*crowding out*) or complementarity (*spillover*, or an underlying common determinant). The three LGAP aspects were single-item measures of volunteer work (*done voluntary or charity work* in past month), informal helping/volunteering (*provided help to family, friends or neighbors* outside the household), and informal care (*cared for a sick or disabled adult* outside the household). These were all seen as *productive activities*.

Their results were unequivocal. A complementary relationship was found among volunteer work, informal helping, and informal care in each country "independent of the general level of participation in a country" (Hank and Stuck 2008:1289). In each of the 11 nations, bivariate associations between all pairs of LGAP variables were *strong*. *Most importantly, multivariate probit models showed that these associations between pairs of LGAP activities were clearly present even with many control variables taken into account.* Hank and Stuck (2008:1286–1287) conclude:

> In all models, we find a strongly positive and highly significant correlation between the [LGAP] dependent variable and *other productive* [LGAP] *activities*. That is, even if other individual characteristics [demographics, employment, education, health, and country] are controlled for, there is evidence for an increase in the probability to be active in one domain with parallel productive [LGAP] engagement in other domains. This relationship holds in similar ways across various countries or regional clusters.

Such findings seem to have no known parallel in the published literature relevant to LGAP (but see also Dury et al. 2016). The multivariate analyses by Hank and Stuck (2008) make it clear that *the LGAP is not an artifact of social background variables, including socio-economic status*. This finding confirms Smith's Conformity Hypothesis and disconfirms Wilson's Social Resources Hypothesis as underlying the LGAP (see Section D, 3, [1] above). The very large sample, roughly representative for 11 Western European nations, lends strength to these results, supporting the existence of the LGAP for the limited set of three related variables.

However, the research in #a–#e above extends the range of LGAP beyond *productive activities* to other socio-culturally approved activities, like friendship activity, neighboring activity, and recreational activities, which seem more *expressive or consummatory*, rather than productive. Much earlier, Butler and Gleason (1985) suggested the Productive Activity Hypothesis, as an interpretation of successful aging. In this hypothesis, older persons who are engaged in a variety of productive activities *beyond* gainful employment, such as the LGAP activities, live longer, are healthier, and more satisfied with their lives.

4. What explains the existence of the LGAP and the empirical patterns usually observed?

I. Overview of Smith's General Activity Theory

Smith (1980, 1983) presented two earlier, extensive discussions of the General Activity Model. Most recently, Smith (in Smith and Einolf 2017) has summarized General Activity/LGAP Theory briefly, as follows, quoted here with permission of the authors:

> Many types of socio-culturally approved leisure activities in any society at any historical time period are correlated positively among themselves for various theoretical reasons:
>
> *(A) Social pressure (social conformity) hypothesis:.*
>
> (a)　In any society or culture, members are socialized into how to spend their sleep time, work time, and leisure time *correctly* or *properly*, according to local customs.
>
> (b)　As a result, in any given society at any historical time period, each society/ culture specifies a set of positive, active, and usually productive and/or satisfying activities that its members should engage in during their leisure time.
>
> (c)　These prescribed leisure activities are termed *socio-culturally approved leisure activities,* or more briefly, *LGAP activities.*
>
> (d)　Socio-culturally approved leisure/LGAP activities in a given society tend to co-vary positively as individual behaviors. That is, they tend to be positively and significantly inter-correlated, once their directions are properly aligned (i.e., so that a high number means a higher participation level).
>
> (e)　This positive co-variation of LGAP activities results from shared socialization and social control processes in any society, both of which push many individuals toward engaging mainly in LGAP activities.
>
> *(B) Social contagion (LGAP momentum hypothesis).*
>
> (f)　Participation in one or more LGAP activities, especially several, tends to lead to further participation in such activities, rather than in neutral or negative (disapproved) leisure.

(g) LGAP activities promote other LGAP activities for various reasons, but most centrally because such activities are integrative: LGAP activities by an individual affirm the normative and value system of the society, in turn leading to positive feedback from others and little or no negative feedback (i.e., social control and negative sanctioning).

(h) LGAP activities also promote other LGAP activities by increasing the likelihood of encountering others, especially close people, who will ask and encourage the individual to engage in such LGAP activities.

(C) Active-Effective Character/Active-Prosocial Character hypothesis:.

(i) In addition, both selected personality traits and attitude variables lead some persons in any society to be especially active in socio-culturally approved leisure activities (cf. Smith, Stebbins, and Grotz 2016: Chapter 30).

(j) The set of relevant personality traits and attitude variables conducive to high levels of general activity in socio-culturally approved leisure activities is termed the *Active-Effective Character* (A-EC) or more recently, the *Active-Prosocial Character* (cf. Smith, Stebbins, and Grotz 2016: Chapter 30).

(k) In many contemporary nations/societies, various measures of volunteering (e.g., association participation, volunteer service program participation, board-policy volunteering) thus tend to be positively and significantly inter-correlated with charitable giving, political participation, friendship activity, neighboring activity, outdoor recreation, and so forth.

(l) These positively correlated and socio-culturally approved leisure activities are labeled collectively as the Leisure General Activity Pattern or LGAP.

(m) However, such other socio-culturally approved leisure activities (as the LGAP) do not usually *cause* higher levels of association participation and volunteering. Instead, all types of positive/productive leisure activity in the LGAP set tend to be caused by other underlying variables, as suggested above.

(n) Key psychological variables/dispositions that foster high general activity and LGAP are listed in Smith (1980, 1983), and also in Smith, Stebbins, and Grotz (2016: Chapters 30 and 31).

(o) A few pieces of research on behavioral genetics, mentioned in Handbook Chapter 25 (Section D, 8, b), suggest that aspects of the LGAP (labeled "civic engagement" in one study; Dawes et al. 2015) are substantially heritable (genetically based).

Smith and Einolf (2017) conclude: "In sum, there are three key, underlying explanations for the LGAP, according to Smith's General Activity Theory (Smith 1980, 1983):

(A) Pressure of social norms in a society (or other socio-cultural system) regarding the approved (proper, correct) way for individuals to spend leisure time.

(B) Social contagion among an individual's close people, influencing the person to engage in other LGAP activities (LGAP Momentum), once he or she is established as socially integrated and societally conforming in general (not an outsider/deviant).

(C) High levels on the A-EC as a combination of personality and attitude factors that motivates individuals to be civically and pro-socially engaged in their society, with this complex of psychological dispositions varying among individuals within and across societies."

II. Detailed Explanations of the Three Roots of LGAP

(A) Pressure of social norms (Social conformity hypothesis). The present General Activity Theory argues that people in any human society (anywhere and anytime) are generally socialized and directly influenced to participate in socio-culturally approved activities in virtually all aspects of time use and human life. The culture and social structure of each society prescribe the preferred ways of doing nearly any activity. *Social pressure* may be broadly defined to include socialization, imitation and following significant others as models, conformity to norms, obedience to authorities, accepting direct social influence from others, and responsiveness to social control activities by others.

Social pressure in all societies influences most adults to engage in socio-culturally approved *work* activities. What is acceptable work in a society varies greatly by age, gender, and the level of societal complexity (Nolan and Lenski 2006:chapter 4; Turner 2003), among other factors. In developed nations (with high per capita income, and a highly educated population), such work activities would include being active in an acceptable (non-criminal) paid occupation or in unpaid homemaking (e.g., a spouse not in the paid work/labor force), as contrasted with receiving welfare payments, receiving unemployment compensation, or being incarcerated in a residential institution (prison, mental hospital). However, in developed nations, retirement (no paid work) is also acceptable for older persons, as is being disabled and receiving disability income for people of all ages, to a lesser extent.

Social pressure in all societies influences nearly all normally functioning (i.e., healthy, non-retarded) adults to engage in socio-culturally approved *personal obligatory* activities. The latter category includes self-care, family-care, and home-care (including yard maintenance) activities. Such activities are promoted rather than letting adults ignore personal cleanliness and appropriate dress/appearance, ignore child care, spouse care, and other family care, or ignore minimal care for one's dwelling (inside and outside) and its immediate physical surroundings (yard, grounds).

Such personal obligation activities occupy significant amounts of time in the daily time budgets of nearly all adults (Gershuny 2000; Robinson and

Godbey 1997; Szalai 1972). For instance, Szalai (1972:114) reported that total housework, household care, child care, and personal needs activities across 16 nations had a median of over 6 hours per day (omitting sleep, as passivity/inactivity) in time use data. Robinson and Godbey (1997:107, 113, 115) found the same 6 hours for these personal obligation activities (again omitting sleep) for adult Americans in 1985 [my computation from summary data on household care and personal care, subtracting 8 hours for sleep]. Social scientists pay little theoretical attention to such obligatory personal activities, however, except in the context of studying disabilities or women's roles, more recently.

Given the relatively low absolute levels of LGAP domain index correlations, the effects of LGAP are not likely to be large. But such effects seem to be very consistent, pervasive, and have substantial theoretical importance. Now that the existence of the LGAP is indisputable from the present data, as with much prior data, we need future research and theory that delves into the origins of this phenomenon.

The preferred present theoretical argument for the roots of the LGAP is the *Social Conformity Hypothesis* (or, alternatively labeled, the *Normative Hypothesis*). This Hypothesis argues that human societies socialize and use social influence and social control processes on people to encourage most normal adults to perform *leisure* activity roles that are preferred or acceptable in the given society (or sub-culture). These socialization and social influence/control processes lead most people in any society to perform productive, usually paid (for adult males, and increasingly for adult females), *work* roles that are preferred or acceptable in the given society (or sub-culture). The same is true for socialization and social influence/control processes that lead to performing socio-culturally approved *personal obligation* activities in a given society and sub-culture (self-care, home-care, and family-care activities).

(B) Social contagion hypothesis (LGAP momentum). One major alternative to the present Social Conformity Hypothesis for observed aspects of the LGAP is Wilson and Musick's (1998) *Social Resources Hypothesis*. These authors were concerned with explaining volunteering specifically, but argued that various other forms of social capital could be seen as social resources that facilitated and thus explained such volunteering. In their later book (Musick and Wilson 2008:267), these authors (in reverse order) provide more recent evidence that volunteering is significantly related to various measures of social resources: (a) informal social networks ("friendships and regular contacts with neighbors and kin residing outside the household"), (b) formal social networks ("memberships in 'secondary' associations, such as clubs, political parties…"), and (c) church attendance (membership in religious congregations). Musick and Wilson (2008:460) consequently argue that "participation breeds participation." These data generally support the existence of the LGAP. Musick and

Wilson also adduce recruitment effects and social integration effects as partial explanations for their social resource findings, but do not fully explain the LGAP.

Insofar as Musick and Wilson argue for social integration as a partial cause of the LGAP, they are agreeing with the Social Conformity Hypothesis discussed in the prior sub-section. But when they argue (p. 460) that "participation breeds participation," and note the influence of recruitment on participation, they are referring to what we term the Social Contagion Hypothesis. This Hypothesis is *partially* based on socially integrated individuals, who are involved in one or more LGAP activities initially, also being recruited by close people and other peers to get involved in other LGAP activities. However, such individuals may also engage in other LGAP activities because of self-initiated cognitive dissonance/consistency motivations. For instance, once involved in one type of volunteering (or political activity, or some other initial LGAP domain) and satisfied with such activity, an individual may engage in one or more other types of volunteering out of cognitive consistency motivation. For instance, if an individual becomes a service program volunteer, he or she may also join an association and become active, or vice versa, feeling that both types of leisure are psychologically compatible.

Further, the Social Contagion Hypothesis argues that there are social structural and cultural influences on engagement in additional LGAP activity *domains* once the person gets involved in the first domain or other domains. For instance, activity in politics can lead to a socio-cultural reputation for LGAP activity that results in corresponding expectations by others that one will get involved in other LGAP domains such as volunteering, friendship, or neighboring.

(C) The Active-Effective Character (Active-Prosocial Character).   Hank and Stuck (2008:1289) state that their finding of highly significant correlations of the error terms of all three multivariate probit equations (dealing separately with volunteer work, informal helping, and informal care) in an analysis of data on 27,000 plus individuals in 11 Western European nations

> indicates the presence of unobserved joint determinants of all three [productive leisure] activities. We interpret this finding as further evidence for the existence of a *general motivation to be active . . .*, which appears to be independent of a specific domain of activity and significant for the individual's decision about his or her productive [leisure] engagement, even when relevant individual resources, such as education or health, are controlled for.
>
> (Emphasis added)

The A-EC construct is a leading candidate for such a general *motivation to be active* (Smith 1975:258, 1980:466–485, 1983:85–90, 1994:255). The initial

version of the Active-Effective Character Hypothesis grew out of an attempt by Smith (1966) to theorize the *ideal participant* in voluntary associations, from the theoretical perspective of personality and social structure fit. Literature reviews on who participates in such associations and why they do so led to further development of the hypothesis by Smith (1975:258, 1980:466–485, 1983:85–90, 1994:255). Smith changed the label from *ideal participant* to *active participant*, and still later to the A-EC. Smith later expanded the scope of relevance of the A-E Character construct from association participation to the whole of the LGAP.

Character is used here as a term referring to the total pattern of relatively enduring psychological dispositions of a person, roughly in the sociological sense initiated by Gerth and Mills (1964). Character is thus far broader than the concept of personality or self. This theoretical construct of *character* involves several types and levels of trans-situational relevance of psychological dispositions, including personality traits, values, perceived socio-cultural system expectations, personal expectations, general and specific attitudes, and activity intentions.

Examples of personality traits included are efficacy (internal locus of control), emotional stability (low neuroticism), high self-esteem (ego strength; effective ego defense, effective ego expression), assertiveness (high extraversion), stimulation need/curiosity (high openness to new experience), prominence need, warmth/intimacy need (high agreeableness), morality, flexibility, energy/activation, deliberateness (high conscientiousness), practicality, and self-actualization need. Note that these include all five of the *Big Five* personality traits (Digman 1990). Space constraints here prevent describing the various attitude variables included (but see Smith 1983).

Given the breadth and complexity of the A-EC as a theoretical construct, it is not surprising that empirical evidence supporting its relevance is fragmentary and incomplete. Most elements of the model have been supported empirically for one or more types of leisure activities, but invariably in different studies. Townsend (1973) found that, among a small sample of American college freshmen, indices of general positive attitudes toward different domains of approved leisure activities were significantly correlated with their respective indices of association activity, political activity, media exposure, and interpersonal activity. In Smith, Reddy, and Baldwin (1972), chapters 12 and 13 review research on attitudes and personality factors, respectively, that influence association participation, confirming various aspects of the A-EC model. Several later literature reviews support the relevance of the A-EC model as a whole to various types of leisure activities, especially political activity, association participation, volunteering, sports, outdoor recreation, religious activity, mass media consumption, and giving (Bekkers and Wiepking 2011; Smith 1975:258, 1980:466–485, 1983:85–90, 1994:255; Smith, Macaulay, and Associates 1980:chapters 4, 5, 8, 10, 12, 17, 19; Smith and Theberge 1987; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995).

This A-EC Hypothesis gives an empirical foundation to the observation by Burr et al. (2005:S255) "that in the population of older persons there may be a class of individuals who could be characterized as 'super helpers' or 'doers.'" The present A-EC Hypothesis extends that suggestion to the entire population at any age and to all kinds of socio-culturally approved activities, not just helping activities. Some evidence noted earlier (Dawes et al. 2015) suggests that aspects of the LGAP are genetically based, and this might occur because of the heritability of the A-EC, but this is just a hypothesis.

The time use phenomenon of "the more, the more" noted by Robinson and Godbey (1997:299–301) is also relevant to the concept of some people as *doers*. From time use data on a national sample of Americans collected in 1985, they conclude, "Those most active in productive [meaning paid jobs or home-making] work also seem to be most active in free time, paradoxical as that may seem."

The Canadian national sample survey research reported by Reed and Selbee (2001) on the *Civic Core* is also directly relevant. They show that a small minority of the adult population, termed the *Civic Core*, performs the majority of voluntary civic activity (such as volunteering hours, number of association types participated in, and amount given to charity). Although those authors do not refer to either the LGAP or the A-EC, their findings are consistent with a subset of the Canadian adult population being quite high on the A-EC and hence becoming the Civic core as a result. Direct testing of this hypothesis by Smith is needed.

In another paper based on the same Canadian survey data, Reed and Selbee (2003:102–103) identify a *distinctive ethos* (values, perceptions, beliefs) that characterizes "people who manifest a higher or more generalized level of prosociality" (p. 102), even when socio-demographic variables were controlled (p. 103). They argue that this coherent ethos "is indicative of something more than just sociality – of a syndrome of generosity mixed with civic engagement and concern for the common good." To the present authors, this again sounds like the A-EC with a different label, emphasizing values rather than personality traits.

Using data from three waves (2007–2010) of a national survey of adults in England and Wales, Mohan and Bulloch (2012) replicated the Canadian results of Reed and Selbee (2001). They defined, as did Reed and Selbee, a threshold for membership of the civic core on any one dimension of pro-social behavior, namely being one of the smallest subset of the population that accounted for two-thirds of the total effort contributed. Thus, 7.5% of the population accounted for two-thirds of the total number of hours volunteered, while 10% of the population was responsible for two-thirds of total charitable donations. Combining dimensions of behavior, it was found that around three-tenths of the adult population accounted for at least four-fifths of money given to charity in the preceding four weeks, the hours spent volunteering through

formal organizational structures, and numbers of types of association in which individuals participated. Importantly from the perspective of policy, the civic core tends to share distinctive characteristics.

People whose commitment to these pro-social (LGAP) voluntary activities qualifies them for membership in the civic core tend to be high in several types of dominant statuses (see Handbook Chapter 28), especially managerial and professional occupations, to be more likely to possess high levels of formal education, are likely to be aged 45–64 years, more actively practicing a religion, and more likely to be long-term residents (at least ten years) in their neighborhoods. Furthermore, geographical covariates available in the survey data were used to show that those in the civic core were more likely to be found in the most prosperous neighborhoods in England and Wales, reflecting processes of residential socio-economic segregation. Unsurprisingly, therefore, given that the great majority of voluntary organizations in England and Wales are active at the neighborhood level (see Handbook Chapters 32, 50, and 51), the two distributions – of voluntary organizations, and of the civic core – overlap with and reinforce one another.

Peterson (1993; Peterson and Kern 1996) coined the term *cultural omnivore* to refer to people who enjoyed participation in a broad range of arts, music, and other high status cultural activities, rather than specializing in only one or a few types of such participation. Cultural omnivores are examples of the LGAP approach in one domain, similar in the cultural participation leisure domain to the Civic Core identified by Reed and Selbee (2001) in the volunteering/civic leisure activity domain.

Hustinx et al. (2012) expanded the scope of Peterson's cultural omnivore concept to the *civic omnivore* concept, "characterized by a *blended civic taste pattern*" that involves a wide variety of types of participation, traditional and new – really the LGAP with a different label, from our perspective here. Studying the leisure activities of Dutch and Belgian university students, the authors measured separately the following types of LGAP activities (in their Table 1): formal volunteering outside the university and separately, inside the university; informal volunteering; donating money to charity; online participation/volunteering; conventional political participation, and separately unconventional (protest, activism) participation, and political consumerism (boycott participation).

While they failed to do a PCA factor analysis on the results, the authors performed a multivariate Latent Class Analysis. One of the five classes of respondents that resulted was labeled *civic omnivore*s (about 17% of the sample), because they participated most frequently in 22 of 25 specific types of leisure (LGAP) activities measured (in their Table 2). Another class of respondents was basically unengaged (least engaged) in most types of activities, with the three other classes engaged in different purposive categories of participation.

An additional logistic regression analysis on the civic omnivores explained about 21% of the variance in their omnivore leisure participation using a country variable (more for Belgians than the Dutch), gender (more for males), having volunteering models in their family, being encouraged to volunteer, more generalized trust, more nonmaterial/pro-social (vs. selfish) values, and more use of television for entertainment. Also significant were the influences of various close people who suggested the instrumental or, separately, the social benefits of volunteering.

Additional evidence for the A-EC Hypothesis comes from Scheufele and Shah (2000). They have suggested that aspects of the LGAP may result from a set of personality traits they term the *Strong Personality*. This concept is similar to, but much narrower than, the A-EC concept, suggested much earlier by Smith (1980:466–485, 1983:85–90, 1994:255). Various independent inventions of this same concept speak to the need for more theory and research bearing on its utility and value, and more visibility of the A-E C concept in the research literature.

Yang, Gong, and Huo (2011) analyzed longitudinal, national, US sample data on helping and social capital. They proposed the concept of a *proactive personality* to understand and predict who would be most likely to have high civic engagement (p. 108).

Proactive personalities, they argue, tend to have greater *personality strength* – "an amalgam of self-confidence and opinion leadership." The personality strength concept was borrowed from the earlier research of Noell-Neumann (1999). In her research in Germany, she showed that people with high personality strength were more engaged in their communities. Yang et al. (2011:table 3) also showed a small but statistically significant effect of personality strength on civic participation, controlling for some attitude variables. Thus, there is empirical evidence for the influence of the A-EC on the LGAP of individuals, as hypothesized by General Activity Theory.

Verba and Nie (1972:194), in their national sample study of participation in America, similarly derived a sense of the A-EC, and gave this tendency the label *participation proneness*. Participation prone citizens are people "who for personality or other reasons" tend to become active in associations, in political campaigns, political discussions, and the like.

Smith (2016b) recently found very powerful confirmation of the *existence* of the A-EC in national sample survey research in Russia. With data from 2,000 adult respondents to a survey interview, Principal Components factor analysis showed that 14 personality trait items all loaded .43 or higher on the A-EC first factor extracted. These items were designed to measure such traits as extraversion, agreeableness, openness to new experience, conscientiousness (from the Big Five), efficacy, optimism, altruism, and energy. When combined into an index weighting these equally, the Cronbach alpha reliability was a very

high .85. In a Stepwise OLS Multiple Regression Equation, the Active-Effective Character Index was added third of 15 significant predictors of the LGAP Index, and had a Beta weight of .16, statistically significant below the .000 level, as part of the explanation of 46% of the variance in LGAP. This finding strongly confirms Smith's theory about the A-EC personality influences on the LGAP. No one has ever shown this before.

As part of General Activity Theory, this A-EC complex of psychological dispositions is hypothesized to also be socio-culturally preferred in developed, modern and post-modern societies. The fact that such societies tend to produce a higher percentage of people with an A-EC as a *modal personality,* or more broadly a *modal character* (Inglehart 1997; Inkeles 1997:chapter 1) helps account in part for the large increase in certain forms of leisure activity such as association participation and political participation in such societies relative to less developed societies.

Smith (1980, 1983, 1994) has argued that intelligence, especially verbal-linguistic and social-interpersonal intelligences (Gardner, 2011), are also important aspects of psychology that favor the LGAP. Because such intelligences and formal educational attainment are closely correlated and indeed causally linked, the linkage of intelligence with the LGAP is often embedded in the positive correlations of formal education measures with LGAP measures. Such correlation does not indicate causation *per se.* But without higher intelligence, succeeding at higher education is not possible, hence, there is some causality involved in terms of selection effects.

5. How does the level of societal complexity/development affect the presence of the LGAP?

General Activity Theory predicts that the LGAP will be found in human societies of every level of complexity, from nomadic hunting-gathering bands, to horticultural-village societies, to agrarian-developed agriculture societies (pre-industrial societies), to industrial societies, to post-modern, service and information societies (Nolan and Lenski 2006). Research has indicated that leisure activities have been present in all societies, although the variety is far greater in more complex societies (Brown 1991:140; Kelly 1996:chapter 8). However, the present authors know of no quantitative empirical research on the LGAP in any pre-industrial/agrarian, let alone preliterate, societies. Goodale and Godbey (1988) review the historical development of leisure, but their essentially qualitative research does not permit determining if the LGAP was present in earlier societies and cultures.

6. How can one measure the LGAP in an index for individuals?

Researchers who study various types of individual participation in leisure activity domains tend to do so assuming that each domain can be understood in

isolation from other leisure activity domains. Empirical evidence from many studies indicates that this is rarely the case. Most socio-culturally approved individual leisure activity domains measured by independent survey items tend to cohere empirically in the LGAP.

In order to measure the LGAP, an index must be constructed, combining relevant, socio-culturally approved, leisure activity data for various domains using a substantial sample of individuals (preferably 200 respondents, at least, for adequate reliability). It is vital for an LGAP Index to be combined from measures of a *variety* of different leisure domains, to the extent feasible.

Lacking such variety of domain measures, one can use different measures within the same domain as a stopgap or default option. For instance, some studies reviewed here combine different measures of philanthropic activity – informal volunteering, formal volunteering in associations and/or in service programs, and giving to charities. Other studies combine various subtypes of political participation into a single index – voting, writing officials, signing a petition, attending a political meeting, engaging in political discussion, and so on.

The leisure activity items should focus on participation in the type of leisure versus non-participation (or use a brief spectrum of general terms, such as *none, some, much participation*), *not* the specific amount of time involved. Prior research by Smith and Robinson (2017) indicates that the former approach yields better LGAP results, probably in part because time use data generally refer to a single day.

To begin constructing an LGAP Index, the researcher needs to identify a wide range of socio-culturally approved, neutral, and disapproved leisure activities at the present time in a given society or smaller socio-cultural system. The best way to do this is to use a representative panel of raters (individuals) to assess the degree of cultural approval-disapproval of a fairly large and representative set of leisure activities (e.g., N = 50). For each potential LGAP item, a Likert scale can be used for responses by the raters (e.g., strongly approved, approved somewhat, neutral, disapproved somewhat, strongly disapproved in the society). The scores by raters can be averaged, and the more approved items on average can be used in seeking an LGAP Index. Socially neutral and also stigmatized/negative leisure activity measures should also be included in the study, but *not* in the final LGAP Index. A simpler, less expensive, but less valid approach is to use the judgments of the researcher or of a few colleagues regarding socio-cultural approval levels and directions.

Appropriate data should be gathered, usually by interviews of a representative sample of respondents, and then prepared for statistical analysis using a computer program package (e.g., SPSS). The next step is to align the low-high directions for each leisure item so that a high score on any such item indicates higher participation. Then any missing data for any item should be set to the mean for that item, using SPSS.

Using the directionally aligned items, a Principal Components Analysis (PCA) can be performed using SPSS. The first factor (component) extracted *without* rotation to simple structure should be examined. Those leisure activity items with a factor loading of .30 or above on the first factor represent the LGAP in the specific data examined. *Only* these items should be combined into the LGAP Index. It is preferable to have at least five such items, and 8–10 is even better, for achieving higher index/scale reliability.

The next step in constructing an LGAP Index is to compute the *standard score (z-score)* for each item for all respondents. SPSS can also compute a correlation matrix for all these items, and the average correlation can be calculated. The greater is the number and percentage of statistically significant and positive correlations (e.g., at the .05 level one-tailed), the stronger is the LGAP in one's data.

Then the final Index is constructed by taking the average of the standard scores for all the high-loading items from the PCA, using SPSS. The Alpha reliability of the Index can also be computed using SPSS. An Alpha of .60 or higher is good; one of .80 or higher is excellent.

The LGAP manifests itself empirically in positive and statistically significant inter-correlations (a positive manifold) among such leisure activity single-item measures (with directions aligned for high activity), and also among all relevant, multi-item indices with appropriate reliability and validity (directions aligned). From the computations above, the size of the average correlation among one's LGAP items is shown. The size of the Alpha reliability coefficient is another measure of the degree of statistical coherence of the LGAP in one's data.

7. Using an LGAP Index, what is the best way to assess statistically the empirical importance of the LGAP in explaining various leisure activity types/domains?

Statistically, one can predict a composite LGAP Index of several leisure time activity domains as a DV by computing *first order* multiple regression equations with relevant independent variables (IVs). Predicted scores can then be created from the initial regression equation for each respondent as a summary LGAP explanatory variable. The latter variable will represent the best current attempt to predict the dependent multi-domain LGAP Index with available IV predictors of a general sort (i.e., not leisure domain-specific).

These LGAP predicted scores can then be used in a *second order* regression equation with the other IVs as $N + 1$ predictors (where N = original number of predictors and 1 = additional predicted score as a predictor). In these second order regressions, all *specific* leisure domains (or activity measures) of interest should be used as DVs, one at a time, such as associational participation or political activity. Domain-specific IVs can also be added to the second order

regression equation. For instance, one can add measures of attitudes toward volunteering as predictors when examining volunteering as the DV.

In the results of any second order regression equation, it is expected that the prior LGAP predicted score generally will be statistically significant and positive if one is predicting a domain that is part of the LGAP as a DV. Other statistically significant predictors will represent domain-specific results of interest, over and above the predictors incorporated into the LGAP predictor scores from the first order regression equation. These latter significant predictors will show how the specific leisure activity domain differs from the larger LGAP in terms of prediction and explanation.

This general *two-order regression* procedure can be repeated for all specific activity domains of interest as DVs, or for more specific activity items/measures that are parts of such domains as separate DVs. The procedure can also be applied to other aspects of individual activity than leisure where a general factor is demonstrable as a predictor and explanatory variable.

Relying on ordinary least squares (OLS) regression analysis, the presently suggested version of two-order regression analysis is *not* the same as *two-stage least squares* (2SLS) regression analysis (Wooldridge 2005).

8. How are elements of the LGAP misused in explaining socio-political participation/leisure as types of dependent variables?

Many researchers, including the first author (Smith 1966, 1975, 1994), Musick and Wilson (2008), and Taniguchi (2010), have misused measures of socio-political participation/leisure as IVs to explain and predict volunteering or other dependent participation variables. The present chapter shows that such leisure/civic participation IVs, most of which are socio-culturally approved leisure activities, are NOT conceptually independent of the participation DVs. Hence, it is not correct procedure to use LGAP components/activities simply as IVs. Instead, the much more complicated statistical procedure in Section D, #8 above, should properly be used.

9. What are the implications of the LGAP for interpretation of prior research on various leisure activity types/domains?

Because all prior research on socio-political participation DVs, as socio-culturally approved leisure activities, omits consideration of the impact of the LGAP, no such prior research study draws accurate conclusions. This is especially true when LGAP variables/domains have been used as predictors of another such variable/domain as a DV. Hence, where possible, all prior research data still available needs to be reanalyzed using the procedure suggested in Section #8, if feasible. *The above conclusion has potentially significant, possibly substantial, implications for all prior research on all kinds of leisure items and leisure domains as DVs, including volunteering, civic and political participation.*

10. Why has the LGAP been ignored for so long by socio-behavioral scientists?

The LGAP has long been ignored for several likely reasons:

(a) The LGAP effect is small, even though pervasive, and most researchers have either not noticed the LGAP or felt it was trivial.

(b) Properly analyzing data to take account of the LGAP is tedious, and most prior researchers have either not understood how to do this or have not cared to take the necessary trouble to do it properly.

(c) Up until the present, there has been no standard terminology for the LGAP, so that one cannot easily search social science article/book databases for relevant research using well-established keywords.

(d) The LGAP likely has various personality/psychological determinants (i.e., the A-EC), and most sociologists are uncomfortable with such variables and psychological explanations for participation of various types.

(e) Although not treated here, the LGAP likely also has some genetic/biological influences relating to energy/activation and to general sociality/conformity (Smith 2016a), and again, most sociologists are uncomfortable with such variables and explanations for explaining participation of various types.

E. Usable knowledge

The practical implications of the present results are far-reaching. Among other implications, all prior research on particular leisure activity domains or specific measures within such domains that has ignored the presence of the LGAP (an almost universal circumstance) may be misleading and inaccurate, in part at least. A more appropriate approach to analyzing specific leisure activity domains, such as voluntary association participation or friendship activity, has been described briefly above. Where possible, such analyses should be re-done, using an approximation of the presently suggested statistical approach. Similarly, future research on any aspect of the LGAP should take into account the broader LGAP, both theoretically and empirically.

F. Future trends and needed research

General Activity Theory makes no specific predictions about future trends in the prevalence of the LGAP. There is no empirical research on trends in LGAP for any nation, so that approach permits no reliable statements about future LGAP trends either. As an educated guess by the first author, LGAP is at least likely to remain steady in its prevalence, rather than declining or rising sharply in the next 25 years.

As to needed research, the existence of the LGAP seems clearly demonstrated in many nations, although more research is needed to demonstrate the LGAP in agrarian/pre-industrial and earlier, preliterate, horticultural societies. However, all the various hypotheses about the *individual origins of the LGAP* need to be tested. These should include testing hypotheses about the existence of (A) social pressure and social conformity as key influences on the individual engaging in socio-culturally approved leisure, but also (B) various general personal preferences (favorable general and specific attitudes) for (a) more physical activity in leisure time, (b) more mentally challenging activity in leisure time, (c) more productive activity in leisure time, (d) more con-social (collective vs. isolated) activity in leisure time, (e) more pro-social (socially beneficial) activity in leisure time, and (f) more emotionally involving and personally committed activity in leisure time.

Alternative hypotheses about the societal origins and nature of the LGAP should also be pursued. It will be especially important to derive contrasting sub-hypotheses from the Social Resources Hypothesis and the Social Conformity Hypothesis in order to do differential testing of these. Most, but not all, of the present empirical results could be seen as confirming both of these, although some research favors the Social Conformity Hypothesis.

Future research should measure the LGAP whenever any specific, socio-culturally valued, individual leisure activity, such as volunteering or political activity, is the object of explanation, analyzing the results as suggested in Section D, 8 above. The fullest possible range of leisure activity domains should be studied for potential LGAP involvement: political participation (e.g., voting in different types/levels of elections, political discussion, contacting government officials, attending a political meeting, working as a volunteer in a political campaign, signing petitions, joining a march or protest event; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995:51); volunteering (e.g., voluntary association participation, service program volunteering, online volunteering, cyber group participation, voluntourism, informal volunteering/helping, charitable giving); mass media consumption (e.g., reading newspapers, magazines, and books; listening to audiobooks); social/electronic media use; reading and contributing to blogs online; adult education (especially when done for enjoyment, not occupational advancement); religious activity (e.g., attending religious services, helping with such services or the maintenance of a religious building, teaching religion to youth, visiting invalids to perform special religious services); conversation and socializing with family/relatives; interpersonal friendship activity (conversation, socializing, attending events together, social eating and drinking); hobbies; playing cards or other games; sexual activity; attendance at high-culture events (e.g., classical music concerts, ballet, opera, plays/theater); performing art or music at home or in other amateur settings; dancing (e.g., ballroom dancing, square dancing, line dancing, modern dance, ballet);

outdoor sports and recreation; exercise; hiking; camping; hunting/fishing; gardening; attendance at movies/sports events/pop concerts; recreational travel and tourism; and so forth. Some aspects of religious activity (especially church attendance, and helping in worship services or Sunday school) seem to fit the LGAP; some do not (prayer, meditation), especially the less active and more solitary aspects of religiosity.

Neutral and less socio-culturally approved individual leisure activities need to be studied also, to investigate their empirical relationships to the LGAP: watching TV, watching DVDs and steaming movies at home, listening to the radio or CDs, playing video games (popular with youth, but much less so for adults), recreational shopping, drinking alcohol (e.g., by oneself, with family, with friends, in a bar or pub), resting/relaxing, napping, thinking/doing nothing.

Some *clearly disapproved leisure activities* in many societies, like using illegal recreational drugs, non-marital sexual activity among married people, excessive alcohol use/getting drunk, excessive gambling, use of sex workers, recreational vandalism, attending cock-fighting or dog-fighting events, watching bare-knuckle fighting, and the like need to be included in LGAP research as well. Clearly *dis*approved leisure activities in any society are expected to correlate negatively and significantly with the socio-culturally valued leisure activity measures that comprise the LGAP. Measuring such variables as the above will permit differential testing of the socio-cultural approval hypothesis put forth here, as contrasted with alternative explanations of the LGAP, such as physical activity level preferences, productive leisure preferences, and the like.

The social preference structure for leisure activities likely varies markedly when considering children (age 2–12 years), youth (age 13–19 years), and various age categories of adults. This is especially true for young adults versus mature adults versus the retired and elderly. Hence, the composition of the LGAP can be expected to differ among broad age categories and also by sex, socio-economic status, health/illness status (healthy vs. ill/injured vs. disabled vs. invalids and the institutionalized). Naturally, there will also be variations by nation, world region, economic development status, extent of civil liberties, ethnic-religious subcultures, and so forth (see Hank 2011).

For newly emergent domains of leisure activity in the past couple of decades, like Internet surfing, sending personal emails, texting, tweeting, using social media like Facebook, and playing computer games, the fit with the LGAP is less clear and requires future empirical inquiry. But most of these are likely to be socio-culturally approved and hence part of the LGAP, given the general positive attitudes toward computers, mobile phones, and their use in the United States. These activities and others in the contemporary world of leisure have been analyzed according to the Serious Leisure Perspective, today a formal, grounded theory (see Introduction to the *Handbook* and www.seriousleisure .net).

The degree of public preference for different leisure activities (i.e., their degree of socio-cultural approval-disapproval on a continuum) should be addressed directly by panels of representative raters or by surveys of the general public. Such leisure preferences are likely to change over time in societies (Agrikoliansky 2001; Bauman 1999; Inglehart 1997), especially if (a) there are major long-term changes in the social structure of a society (e.g., changes in economic development level or in basic political structure), or (b) there are major technological changes (e.g., widespread use of personal computers, the Internet, social media, cell phones).

Specific leisure activity domains may change in their constituent activities over the long term. Goodale and Godbey (1988) review the history and evolution of leisure. Similarly, new activity domains like leisure computer use (surfing the Web) and social/electronic media use (texting, tweeting/Twitter, Facebook, etc.) may arise, and existing domains may decline in importance or even vanish from the LGAP in a given society. Although popular in pre-industrial societies, attending public hangings, attending bare-knuckle boxing events, and attending dog-fighting/cock-fighting are rare leisure activities for people in industrial and post-modern societies. Social and political participation by youth has changed in recent decades in post-industrial, service-information societies. Youth tend to be less attracted to the main earlier modes for actively participating in social and political life (Inglehart 1997). Online volunteering has become much more common (Hustinx et al. 2012; Handbook Chapter 13).

Multi-national surveys should be re-analyzed or performed anew to examine the existence and nature of the LGAP in different societies. It will also be important to determine the approximate importance of the LGAP as an IV (i.e., as a predictor score) for explaining variance in the various leisure activity domains in different nations and at different periods of history going forward. For instance, the LGAP may be more important in explaining association participation or volunteering in service programs than in explaining friendship or neighboring activity.

Much more future research is needed to determine the roots of the LGAP, in terms of both individuals and societies. The Social Conformity Hypothesis and the Social Resources Hypothesis are both consistent explanations of most of the empirical LGAP results reported here. Other alternative explanations also need to be investigated, particularly the Social Contagion Hypothesis, the Active-Effective Character Hypothesis, and the Productive Activity Hypothesis, among others. The role of behavioral genetics as a basis for the LGAP merits a great deal more exploration. A full explanation of the LGAP may involve two or more of these in combination.

G. Cross-references

Chapters 2, 3, and 4.

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6
Associations and Social Capital

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A. Introduction

Associations provide institutionalized opportunities for social exchange and the strengthening of pro-social attitudes and social skills. Social capital – such as trust, norms, and networks – is a by-product of associational involvement. In trustful relationships transaction costs are decreased for all participants because fewer resources are required for compliance. In this way, social capital provides an attractive solution to the collective-good dilemma. The causal relation between associational involvement and social capital is mainly explained by learning processes. Positive effects are especially expected from *bridging social capital* based on involvement in heterogeneous networks that reinforce tolerance, openness, and outer-directedness. *Bonding social capital* in homogenous networks strengthens feelings of exclusivity and inner-directedness. Increasingly, attention is drawn to feasible *dark sides* of and to modes of *negative social capital*.

Besides, the expectation that social capital will have *pro-social* functions implies an implicit ideological baggage that undermines its utility as an analytical concept. Empirical evidence about the impact of associational involvement on participants is scarce but suggests significant self-selection effects. Various parts of the world vary widely in levels and modes of associational involvement, with very high levels of associational involvement in the United States and North-Western Europe. Outside these areas associational engagement frequently is a necessity imposed by economic hardship. Due to its principally voluntary character, the use of associational involvement for policy purposes is limited. Yet civil society organizations have played central roles in regime transformations in many countries in the developing world. Associational involvement is changing rapidly and it may become more difficult to solve collective-good problems as adherents of social capital anticipate.

People join sports clubs to play sport, unions to defend their interests, cultural societies to discuss novels, or local organizations to meet their neighbors. Important as these activities are for their own sake, associational involvement has long been regarded to have more far-reaching consequences for society. Since associations provide institutionalized opportunities for social exchange and social networks, they are expected to be highly relevant for the development of pro-social attitudes and norms of reciprocity (mainly trust and civic norms), the advancement of social skills, and the likelihood of political mobilization. Consequently, associations and associational involvement are crucial for solving collective-good problems efficiently and without coercion, especially in democratic societies. The concept of *social capital* has been introduced to refer to norms, networks, and pro-social attitudes.[1] By strengthening social capital, associational involvement directly and indirectly contributes to almost every aspect of our lives: "social capital makes us smarter, healthier, safer, richer, and better able to govern a just and stable democracy" (Putnam 2000:290).

Following the observations of American society by Alexis de Tocqueville ([1840] 1990: Second Book), in the early 19th century many authors presumed that voluntary associations were of crucial importance for collective decision-making. Participating in the activities of these organizations keeps people in touch with each other on a regular basis and potentially brings them in contact with those from different walks of life. As a consequence, participants usually develop skills and competences to collaborate as well as mutual trust and pro-social norms. In this way, social capital results in a general decrease of transaction costs for all participants because, in trustful relationships, fewer resources are required to guarantee compliance than in other contacts. In societies where social capital is widely available, people will be much more willing to contribute to the production of collective goods than in societies where trust and networks are less developed and will have access to a broader array of (non-redundant) information.

Especially because only a few of these associations explicitly aim at improving skills and norms, these benevolent consequences are a *by-product* or an *externality* of associational involvement (cf. Putnam 1993:176). Evans and Boyte (1992) point to associations as *free spaces*, providing people with the opportunity to develop the deliberative skills and the attitudes of democratic citizens. Various authors, however, argue that these *by-products* can be detrimental for society when social capital makes it easier to attain criminal or non-democratic goals. In general, social capital is seen as a *by-product* of associational involvement – an expectation directing attention toward more general features of associations and associational involvement, instead of the peculiarities of specific organizations, networks, or social exchanges.

B. Definitions

This chapter accepts the general definitions in the Handbook Appendix.

Some special definitions are also needed. Social capital is, first of all, a form of capital; that is, a resource characterized by "a potential capacity to produce profits and to reproduce itself in identical or expanded form" (Bourdieu 1986:241). Secondly, social capital is distinguished from other modes of capital such as financial capital or human capital by its relational nature: the *potential capacity* for profits and reproduction is restricted to shared experiences and collaborations. Bourdieu (1986:243) argued that social capital is "made up of social obligations ('connections')," which become relevant in relations between individuals within specific groups. Coleman summarized the common elements of the various definitions of social capital more generally: "They all consist of some aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure" (1990:302).

By focusing on its pragmatic effects, social capital is *defined by its functions*. According to Putnam, social capital refers to "features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions" (1993:167). Portes presents an even more general functional definition of social capital as the "ability to secure benefits through membership in networks and other social structures" (1998:8). Since the exact form of social capital is irrelevant as long as the functions are performed, the concept can be adapted to many different situations and specific needs (van Deth 2003).

A first function of associational involvement is provided by the neo-Tocquevillean emphasis on the socialization of citizens for civic and political participation and support for democracy (Putnam 1993). Second, others would emphasize public and quasi-public functions of associations in providing important social welfare services and support (Salamon 2003). Third, associational involvement offers people a venue, relatively autonomous from both state and market, from which distinct, often marginalized, groups represent their interests in contentious public debates and mobilize challenges to state or corporate actions (Cohen and Arato 1992; Foley and Edwards 1996). Fourth, associational involvement builds mobilization capacity by producing social and cultural resources (Edwards, Foley, and Diani 2001). Finally, associational involvement enables communicative action by demonstrating in the practice of their groups and organizational activities the very kinds of social relations people hope to see writ large by broad patterns of social transformation (Evans and Boyte 1992; Polletta 2005). What some writers (e.g., Oldenburg 1999) have called *third places* – that is, venues where people regularly gather outside of home and work – also serve this role.

Two conceptual distinctions are made here to study social capital further. First, virtually all approaches start with a distinction between structural aspects

(i.e., connections or embeddedness in networks) and cultural aspects (i.e., obligations, or social norms and values, and particularly trust), which enable efficient cooperation. Most authors will include both aspects in their conceptualization, though some place a stronger emphasis on one of them (Paldam 2000). Whereas economically and sociologically oriented approaches prefer a focus on relational and structural aspects (cf. Granovetter 1973; Lin 2001), political science approaches usually stress cultural aspects, especially trust (cf. Fukuyama 1995; Uslaner 2002). In this way, cultural approaches focus mainly on trust and the link through various regime types to social, economic, and political outcomes (Norris 2012). Network analysts in particular have adopted versions of the social capital concept more in keeping with the social structural versions enunciated by Coleman, Bourdieu, and Lin in that they emphasize individual and organizational social ties in predicting individual advancement or collective action (e.g., Burt 2005).

A second conceptual distinction concerns the question of whether social capital is an individual property – that is, a property of individuals to be found in networks of individual citizens – or a collective good (or collective property) that requires special measures when people are to be excluded from their *consumption*. The latter variant depicts social capital as networked access to resources available to individuals or groups through a web of relationships. Since the most interesting aspect of social capital lies in its *combination* of individual and social resources, Esser (2008) stresses the need to distinguish clearly between *relational capital* (resources of an individual actor) and *system capital* (performance of an entire network). This distinction has important consequences: "Actors can invest in relational capital by means of 'individual' actions [...], whereas they cannot invest individually in system capital, because that is a case of 'collective' action" (Esser 2008:47). Esser's idea of *system capital* is very similar to the much more widely used concept *civil society*, which refers to the set of voluntary associations in a society (aggregated or macro-level). Civil society can be understood as "dynamic webs of interrelated nongovernmental institutions" (Keane 1998:6).

C. Historical background

The term *social capital* has been seen as having various meanings at least since the 19th century. Use of the term to connote the idea that specific resources can be used to facilitate cooperation started with Hanifan's (1916) analyses of the functioning of a rural school district in West Virginia. Scholars from various disciplines independently coined the expression in the middle decades of the 20th century. But it was the work of James Coleman (1988, 1990) on sociological theory in the late 1980s and the work of Pierre Bourdieu and Robert Putnam (following Marxist and Structural-Functionalist approaches respectively) that brought social capital to prominence in both the scholarly and public domains.

Whereas Bourdieu (1986) was mainly interested in exploring the reproduction of social inequality by looking at transfers of resources among families and social groups, Putnam (1993, 1995) explored the opportunities for social integration under different circumstances (Siisiäinen 2000). His claim that a decline in voluntary association membership is a main cause of social and political stalemate in the United States (Putnam 2000) contributed strongly to the revival of Tocquevillean approaches (Stolle and Hooghe 2005). A third branch of social capital research originated with social network analysts working out ways to measure one's position within a network and how that position affects access to resources. This approach explains outcomes like status attainment in a career, or the pace of advancement within a given firm (Lin 2001; Lin and Erickson 2008), but has been scaling-up and applying relational approaches to collective action (Diani and McAdam 2003). Finally, several authors have presented *institutional* approaches to social capital (Rothstein and Stolle 2008; Stolle and Hooghe 2003). These approaches dispute the presumed direction of the causal relationship and stress the relevance of constitutional and political contexts for associational involvement (Offe 1999; Serageldin and Grootaert 2000; Sztompka 1998; Woolcock and Narayan 2000).

D. Key issues

The idea that social cooperation and cohesion can be improved efficiently without coercion or special measures by government is very appealing. For Putnam (1993), *making democracy work* does not require particular political efforts, but rather it is an unintended consequence of involvement in sports clubs, cultural associations, and interest groups. This line of argument (and the broader set of issues accompanying it) attracted attention from hundreds of scholars and politicians. Indeed, over the course of roughly two decades (1988–2008), social capital went from relative obscurity to a routinized concept in everyday social science discourse and research (Woolcock 2010). Restricting the discussions here to the impact of associational involvement on social capital, the key issues are the following:

1. How can we depict the relationships between associations and social capital? What theories or models of associational involvement and social capital exist?

At the individual level, associational involvement is assumed to offer opportunities (1) to learn social skills, (2) to meet other people and get access to networks, and (3) to develop pro-social norms and values, especially trust. Although these opportunities are not equally available in every association, the exact aims, goals, or character of the association is irrelevant. Instead, institutionalized aspects of associations are of crucial importance: contacts offered on

a regular basis enable continuous learning processes and the development of trust and norms of reciprocity. In this way, networks provided by associations are different from social contacts with relatives, friends, or neighbors, which usually do not offer institutionalized contacts and are, therefore, less likely to develop social skills and pro-social norms. At the macro-level, the availability of a dense and active civil society offers easy access to all kinds of networks. However, especially for advanced welfare states, a *crowding-out* effect could have exactly the opposite result when people withdraw from associational involvement exactly because civil society functions well (van Oorschot and Arts 2005).

The causal relation between associational involvement and social capital is mainly explained by learning processes under specific conditions. Neo-Tocquevillean approaches in particular rely on the idea that direct contacts with other people will almost automatically result in improved skills and personal trust (the *contact hypothesis*; Stolle and Harell 2013). Yet even if the direct consequences of associational involvement for individual skills and attitudes are theoretically founded, it usually remains unclear how these orientations result in broader, pro-social attitudes. General ideas such as a *spill-over* effect (accumulated personal trust will eventually strengthen social and political confidence) at the individual level and a *rain-maker* effect (everybody gains from a trustful environment) seem plausible, but usually lack a well-developed theoretical basis and direct empirical confirmation (Uslaner 2002:chapter 5).

2. Which features of associations are relevant for strengthening social capital?

A second key issue moves the discussions about the relevance of structural aspects of organizations further and stresses the importance of *the nature of the contacts offered.* Associational involvement will have different consequences for social capital depending on whether (1) the relationships are horizontal or hierarchical, and (2) whether the norms and values encountered are homogenous or heterogeneous. The terms *bonding* and *bridging* social capital are widely used in the literature to cover associations that offer combinations of these aspects (Coffé and Geys 2007).[2] *Bonding social capital* consists of exclusive ties of solidarity between *people like us* and is restricted to enabling people to *get by*. *Bridging social capital* is based on trust and reciprocal connections between people with different social backgrounds (Putnam 2000). Whereas bonding social capital strengthens feelings of exclusivity and inner-directedness, bridging social capital is expected to reinforce tolerance, openness, and outer-directedness. For that reason, bridging modes of social capital are considered to be much more important for pro-social norms than bonding social capital, and the consequences of associational involvement for social capital strongly depend on this distinction (Stolle 1998; Stolle and Rochon 1998). In addition to the

nature of the contacts, several other association features – size, resources, networks, professionalization – seem to be relevant for social capital (Maloney and Rossteutscher 2007). Warren (2001) in particular developed a detailed scheme to classify association aspects with respect to their impact on social capital.

Empirical evidence about the impact of association features on the skills and attitudes of participants is scarce and mainly restricted to interviews with activists and volunteers. Several scholars have especially challenged the notion that face-to-face contacts are required to create social capital in voluntary associations (cf. Freitag 2003; Wollebæk and Selle 2007). Using information about a large number of associations with extensive interviews with activists, Maloney and van Deth (2010b:240) conclude that "associations do not generate democratic orientations among active citizens [to] anywhere near the extent to which the social capital/neo-Tocquevillean thesis suggests." However, the importance of associations "lies not in socializing individual active members but in institutionalizing social capital" (Wollebæk and Strømsnes 2008:250). This seems especially true for devalued or marginalized social groups, which create and perpetuate alternative institutions to build capacity to resist and oppose a hegemonic mainstream.

3. Who gets involved?

Joining associations does not, of course, depend only on features of associations – individual preferences (attitudes), resources, and personality traits seem to be highly relevant as well.[3] It appears to be especially determined by *social homophily*; that is, by the fact that people tend to prefer contacts with friends who are similar to them. Mouw (2006:99) shows that "when the problem of endogenous friendship choice is taken into account [...] the resulting estimates of social capital effects are modest in size." Comparing activists, volunteers, and average citizens in various European countries, Maloney and van Deth (2010b:239) reach a similar conclusion and reject mono-causal explanations. The growing availability of panel data in this area will enable a further disentanglement of selection, adaption, and socialization effects (Hooghe and Quintelier 2013).

4. Does context matter?

The exact functioning of social capital depends not only on features of associations and the personality traits and attitudes of individual citizens but also on the wider social, economic, and political context (Dudwick et al. 2006). On a global scale, consistent patterns of associational involvement and social capital seem to persist (Freitag and Bühlmann 2009; Rossteutscher 2008). These variations and patterns are related to structural differences between countries (Schofer and Longhofer 2011; , and Shen 2002). A closer look, however, shows remarkable distinctions between various parts of the world and within Europe.

European countries differ widely in the levels and modes of associational involvement, with very high levels of associational involvement in North-Western Europe and much lower levels in Southern and Eastern Europe (Adam 2008; Dekker, Koopmans, and van den Broek 1997; Gesthuizen et al. 2013; Morales and Geurts 2007; Mascherini, Vidoni, and Manca 2011; Morales 2009; van Deth and Kreuter 1997; van Deth, Montero, and Westholm 2007; Van Ingen and Kalmijn 2010). These substantial inter-country differences in Europe mainly stem from income inequality and economic factors (Ferragina 2012). Migration has stimulated renewed interest in the opportunities for associational involvement and for social cohesion and integration (Fennema and Tilly 2005; Morales and Giugni 2011; Strömblad and Adman 2010).

Comparing associational engagement and social capital among Western and ex-communist countries in Eastern and Central Europe, a wide and non-decreasing gap appears (Letki and Evans 2005, Pichler and Wallace 2007). This gap has been attributed to differences in the socio-political contexts and to the historical legacies of the communist regime (Aasland, Grødeland, and Pleines 2012; Kaminska 2010; Lasinska 2013; Rose, Mishler, and Haerpfer 1998). Three major orientations help explain the weakness of civil society in the post-communist national contexts: (1) a sense of distrust of any kind of public organization, (2) a general satisfaction with one's own personal networks, accompanied by deteriorating relations within society overall, and (3) disappointment with post-communist institutional developments (Howard 2003). Associational engagement seems to be a necessity imposed by economic hardship, rather than an indicator of civic engagement (Rose-Ackerman 2001), whereas forced volunteering during Soviet times might have dampened people's intrinsic motivation for associational involvement (Plagnol and Huppert 2010).

The welfare state in the United States has been less universalistic and less robust and has provided a thinner social safety net than its counterparts in Western Europe (Alesina, Glaeser, and Sacerdote 2001). Thus, voluntary associations play a larger social welfare role in the United States than in Europe. The apparent decline in civic engagement and social trust in the United States in several recent decades have inspired great concern (Putnam 2000). The greater social welfare role of associations in the United States in conjunction with a now 30-year trend of welfare state retrenchment, increasing economic insecurity among middle-class Americans, and markedly increased economic inequality (Neckerman 2004) makes the *crowding-out* hypothesis seem implausible. Crowding-out also seems implausible to explain increases over the last several decades in youth sports leagues (Lemann 1996), given that the state's steady retreat from more and more communal endeavors leaves a growing gap to be filled by parental donations and involvement.

The idea of a strong causal link between voluntary association participation and trust has found limited support from empirical research. Though some analysts have argued that social diversity diminishes social trust (Putnam 2007), Rothstein and Uslaner (2005) found that patterns of social and economic inequality explained cross-national variations in generalized social trust. Moreover, Uslaner (2011) found that the lack of generalized trust in socially diverse parts of the United States is attributable to long-standing patterns of residential segregation and not to social diversity per se. Other research has found a clear inverse relationship between economic inequality and social trust among the states of the United States (Wilkinson and Pickett 2009).

The role of civic participation in shaping socio-economic outcomes in developing countries is, not surprisingly, as varied as the countries themselves. Building on the initial work of Knack and Keefer (1997), Easterly, Ritzen, and Woolcock (2006) show that *good institutions* were indeed reliable predictors of economic performance but were more likely to emerge in socially cohesive societies (see Edwards 2011:chapters 10–15). Beyond providing broad descriptive accounts of who does and does not participate in countries ranging from India and China to those in Latin America and the Middle East, these analyses share a common focus in seeking to understand the particular historical and political dynamics shaping state–society relations (Evans 1996; Tsai 2007). Virtually every country in the developing world has experienced some form of wholesale institutional transformation during the last 25 years, whether because of rapid implosion or explosion of economic growth, civil war and its aftermath, or a transition from autocracy to democracy. In each case, civil society organizations have played central roles, whether in promoting change itself (see Anderson 2011, on the so-called Arab spring), in mediating communal conflict accompanying change (see Varshney 2002 on India), or in consolidating hard-won advances in human rights and the rule of law (see Peerenboom 2007, on China).

5. Does associational involvement have negative impacts on society?

The concept of social capital has been invented to deal with problems of social collaboration efficiently. Almost by definition, the outcomes are expected to be beneficial – or at least less unpleasant and less disagreeable than the use of formal rules, force, or violence to obtain similar goals. Yet associational involvement does not necessarily result in benign forms of social capital and the consequences of social capital are not always positive for society or for specific social groups (Encarnación 2003; Foley and Edwards 1997; Levi 1996). These feasible *dark sides* of associational involvement and social capital (over-involvement, reproducing social inequality, conformist biases, exclusion, etc.) and modes of *negative social capital* (incivility, distrust, old-boys networks, protection of vested interests, closed shops, anti-social attitudes, corruption, etc.; Smith 2012) suggest a fifth key issue.[4]

Since associational involvement enhances social capital generally, this mechanism benefits any association or social network, regardless of its criminal, destructive, harmful, or nondemocratic character. Frequently mentioned examples of *uncivil society* are associations that aim primarily at social exclusion or harm to non-members, such as the Mafia, Skinheads, the Ku Klux Klan, the Serbian Resistance Movement (SPOT), the Slovak National Movement, or the Nation of Islam (Levi 1996; Smith with Eng and Albertson 2016; van Deth and Zmerli 2010; see also Handbook Chapter 53). Furthermore, *dark sides* of social capital are most likely to be observed in bonding, inward-looking, and isolated social networks (Li, Savage, and Pickles 2003; Paxton 2002).

While these approaches focus on potential undesirable effects of associational involvement, a different perspective is based on the acknowledgment that some associations produce *negative* modes of social capital, because the associations as such are anti-social, exclusive, or nondemocratic: "Negative associational capital involves negative mental states or activities in suppression of voluntary associations by nonmembers, whether on behalf of some government, corporation, formal nonprofit, informal group or by individuals" (Smith 2012). People involved in these associations show "a substantial, net, level of *dis*trust and *non*-cooperativeness" (Smith 2012; emphasis in original).

Empirical research corroborates the potentially *dark sides* and *negative modes* of social capital as a consequence of associational involvement under specific conditions (van Deth 2010). An obvious example of *negative social capital* in the Central and East European context is the issue of low social trust and pervasive corruption (Karklins 2002). Corrupt networks at both the top levels of government and at the grassroots limit access to public resources to a relatively small group of people who are affiliated with the network. In many cases these networks actually date from the communist period (Rose-Ackerman 2001; Sandholtz and Taagepera 2005). Not surprisingly, low levels of trust in public institutions are the product of ordinary people's frustration with a corrupt system.

6. How are associational involvement and social capital related to public policy?

With its strong emphasis at the revival of civic life and its doubts about the prospects of state intervention, social capital became a very attractive alternative to conventional policy approaches in the 1990s. Organizations such as the World Bank and the OECD (as well as several national governments) started programs based on social capital (see Bebbington et al. 2006), while politicians as different as Bill Clinton, Tony Blair, and Gerhard Schröder showed interest in a *Third Way*. Yet a principal complication of using associational involvement for policy purposes is its principally voluntary character. For that reason, many policies focus on building networks for some immediate cause (housing,

pollution, etc.), presuming that social capital will be obtained as a *by-product* or *externality* (Halpern 2005). Sirianni and Friedland (2001) discuss a nation-wide network of US federal, policy-mandate, citizen advisory boards, watershed management commissions, and the like, which form a substantial portion of the local infrastructure of environmentalism in the United States. The expansion of similar local venues – like neighborhood watch associations or advisory boards – has been incentivized by federal crime control legislation promoting community policing or emergency preparedness.

Government interventions with associational involvement are not always benevolent or beneficial. In Central and Eastern Europe, many associations tend to be sponsored from abroad and, consequently, are top-down with only weak connections to local communities and the motivations of the local people to participate in them. These interventions contrast with the bottom-up, grassroots-style associations that characterize civil society in the Western world (Petrova 2011; Wallace, Pichler, and Haerpfer 2012). In addition, a couple of ex-communist countries have undertaken significant efforts to criminalize pro-democracy NGOs, on the one hand, and to promote a government-friendly civil society, on the other (Silitski 2007). Some of the major associations in the Eastern Europe/CIS region are still sponsored by the state or used by powerful politicians to achieve their personal goals and were *privatized* by their managers and used as tax shelters (Rose-Ackerman 2001; Sampson 2002).

7. How to deal with the ideological nature of associational involvement and social capital?

Debates about social capital have had a strong normative flavor from the very beginning. Putnam's diagnoses of the decline of American civil society and Bourdieu's concern with inequality in France were based on sincere worries about social cohesion and social reproduction, respectively. The *Western* bias in these approaches has been criticized convincingly (Sampson 2002). The gullible expectation that social capital will have only *pro-social* functions loads the notion of social capital with an implicit ideological baggage that undermines its utility as an objective analytical concept (Edwards and Foley 1998; Fine 2003).

Fine (2010) provides a frontal attack on the ideological nature of social capital, based especially on his depiction of the neo-Tocquevillean approaches as being part of a *neo-liberal* or *capitalist* response to *failures* of the modern state. In his view, pleadings for associational involvement, volunteering, and civic behavior are instrumental to concealing the weaknesses of the state to regulate capitalism effectively. Associational involvement produces a *new spirit of capitalism* based on an *ideology of activism,* which ignores the political economy completely. It sets forth a vision of an a-political (or at least non-partisan) version of social capital and civil society to solve collective problems cooperatively and without conflict. Any solution to national problems that advocates such

an a-political, non-conflictual approach is speaking from the vantage point of a dominating mainstream (neo-liberal, corporate capitalist) perspective.

8. How are relationships between associational involvement and social capital changing?

Conventional modes of associational involvement, such as membership, seem to have declined over decades (Putnam 2000). However, many researchers have challenged Putnam's decline thesis with other empirical data and types of analyses, both in the United States and especially for other developed nations (Smith and Robinson 2016). A simple decline thesis, therefore, is not generally valid – gradual changes in the nature of associational membership seem to be more important. Professionalization of leadership is driving out volunteer membership and leadership as the natural basis of many associations, threatening the Tocquevillean idea of associations as *schools of democracy* (Maloney 2012; Skocpol 2004). However, national empirical data on associations in the USA, analyzed by Walker, McCarthy, and Baumgartner (2011), firmly contradict the Skocpol (2004) hypothesis.

In addition, changing demands and expectations, and the retreat of the state, are modifying the ways associational involvement and social capital are related. In a recent analysis, Geys (2012) found evidence for a "temporal instability in the engagement-values relation" and a weakening of the relationship between generalized trust and *connected* associations. All these findings suggest that associational involvement is changing and, consequently, that it may become more difficult to solve collective-good problems on the basis of trust and reciprocity.

The gradual decline of conventional modes of associational involvement in some nations and by some measures also implies challenges for new modes of problem solving and networking. Firstly, professionalized, supporter-based, memberless organizations can be much more effective (and powerful) than internally democratic, membership-based associations and so preserve the interests of their members efficiently (Jordan and Maloney 1997). Secondly, the rise of new social media – especially Facebook and Twitter – offers opportunities for networking and social capital unthinkable until recently. Although the impacts of these digital technologies are highly debated, reliable empirical evidence on their consequences is still scarce and ambivalent, with advocates of skeptical and optimistic interpretations still fighting (Bimber, Stohl, and Flanagin 2008; Boulianne 2009).

E. Usable knowledge

As an aspect of social capital, associational involvement facilitates cooperation and contributes to common solutions not based on coercion. The British government has based a number of social, educational, and health policies on these arguments (Halpern 2005), and the same applies to the development of a local

infrastructure of environmentalism in the United States (Sirianni and Friedland 2001). As mentioned, both the World Bank and the OECD have developed extensive support programs aiming to strengthen networks and associations at the community level. Under specific conditions, associational involvement and the existence of a vibrant civil society are able to mitigate corruption and to strengthen democracy (Grimes 2012). This last example shows that the usable knowledge in this area can also be negative: even in cases where associational involvement does not have positive consequences itself, it can help to alleviate negative social and societal developments.

F. Future trends and needed research

Associations provide institutionalized opportunities for social exchange and are expected to strengthen pro-social attitudes and norms of reciprocity. Social capital is a *by-product* of associational involvement and is usually defined by its functions. Whereas cultural approaches mainly focus on trust, social-structural versions emphasize individual and organizational ties. Empirical evidence about the impact of associational features on the skills and attitudes of participants is scarce but suggests significant self-selection effects. Various parts of the world vary widely in the levels and modes of associational involvement with very high levels of associational involvement in the United States and North-Western Europe. Due to its principally voluntary character, the use of associational involvement for policy purposes is limited. Yet civil society organizations have played central roles in regime transformations in many countries in the developing world. Debates about social capital and associational involvement are usually based on presumed benevolent or beneficial consequences, but increasingly attention is drawn to feasible *dark sides* of associational involvement and social capital and to modes of *negative social capital*. Associational involvement is changing rapidly and it may become more difficult to solve collective-good problems on the basis of trust and reciprocity as the early adherents of social capital anticipated.

Various questions about the relationships between associational involvement and social capital are still unanswered: How to deal with reciprocal relationships? What explains the genesis of social capital in associations? Many of these discussions would gain if a solution could be found for one of the main puzzles: How to explain the inconsistent micro-macro results? Empirical analyses reveal that associational involvement has a clear impact on trust and pro-social norms at the aggregate or macro-level, but this relationship is only fairly weak at the individual level (Meulemann 2008; van Deth 2008; Wollebæk and Selle 2012). A second challenge is provided by the Western bias in the conceptualization of social capital. Since social capital depends on the social, political, and historical contexts, it may take a different form in non-Western democracies

(Sampson 2002) or authoritarian societies. Until now, no equivalent concepts have been presented to deal with this problem. Thirdly, it is necessary to explore, both theoretically and empirically, the actual outcomes, successes and failings, of international development programs specifically designed to support the emerging civil society of associations and social capital in developing democracies. The slow pace of democratic progress in some of these countries indicates that a more nuanced approach to understanding the impacts of social capital and civic engagement may need to be developed in order to produce a qualitative change.

G. Cross-references

Chapters 2, 9, 23, 25–31, 45, 46, 52, and 53.

Notes

1. Easy access to much of the literature is provided by Social Capital Gateway (SCG; www .socialcapitalgateway.org/).
2. Others have also argued that a subset of bridging ties should be given a separate designation as "linking social capital."
3. For the debate about the mobilization and personal benefits and incentives for involvement, see Handbook Part IV "Influences on Starting, Continuing, and Stopping Association Participation and Volunteering," and especially Handbook Chapter 52, "Volunteering Impacts on Volunteers and Association Members."
4. The term "bad social capital" is avoided here. Social capital can be put to socially beneficial or destructive purposes, but in itself it is neither good nor bad.

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7
Associations and Social Networks

Vincent Chua (Singapore) and Bonnie H. Erickson (Canada)

A. Introduction

This chapter underscores the reciprocal relationship between social networks and associations. While much is known about how individual social capital, defined here as the valuable resources in a personal network, is related to the advancement of individual careers, much less is known about how individual social capital, especially social network involvement, is related to participation in voluntary associations. This brief chapter reviews some literature on the latter and argues that social network involvement and participation in voluntary associations are reciprocally related: the more connected a person is, the more likely he/she is to join an association. Yet once joining an association, he/she is likely to forge friendships with fellow members, becoming even more connected than before. Thus, access to social capital as social networks can increase a person's participation in associations, because well-connected people get more invitations to join associations. And joining an association may expand a person's circle and increase his/her social network involvement. The chapter ends by proposing new areas for research, focusing especially on longitudinal research, issues of reciprocal causality, and non-Western contexts.

The chapter reviews the bidirectional relationship between social capital/networks and associations. It first asks whether access to such social capital increases participation in associations. It then switches to consider whether participation in associations increases access to social capital/networks. It proposes that both directions matter, but that more research is required to establish the precise nature of the reciprocal causality. Social capital is integrally related to social networks, hence the chapter title.

B. Definitions

We accept the general definitions in the Handbook Appendix. While the term *social capital* has many interpretations, we focus on individual social capital

defined as the valuable resources embedded in personal (social) networks (Lin 2001). Social capital in this sense is the extent to which a person knows others in a variety of social positions associated with different kinds of resources. Much of the research on social capital focuses on knowing people in a wide range of occupations, but other social positions such as gender and/or race are also important (Erickson 2004; McDonald, Lin, and Ao 2009). Knowing people in a variety of occupations and other status positions pays off in many ways, including success in the labor market (Chua 2014; Erickson 2001; Knoke 2012; Lin 2001), political activism (Tindall and Cormier 2008), a wide range of knowledge (Erickson 1996) and psychological mastery (Erickson 2009). All these outcomes are valuable to individual life chances, including occupational success, political efficacy and activism, and better health. Since advantaged people are more active in associations, and associations are a powerful source of social capital (Chua 2013; Erickson 2004), associational life represents an important mechanism through which powerful groups store up social capital.

C. Historical background

The first important contribution to the study of the reciprocal relationship between social capital and association activity is the seminal article by Booth and Babchuk (1973), which found that social networks are the most common route to joining associations. Three-quarters of the time, respondents reported, they joined a group entirely or primarily because of the influence of a friend or acquaintance. Next, McPherson and Smith-Lovin (1987) began to examine the implications of associations for networks. People like to associate with people like themselves (the *homophily principle*). When friends recruit friends into an association, the members of an association are more like each other than a random sample of the population.

Once in an association, the homophily principle continues to operate: people select close friends who are even more like them than the average member is. Homophilous choices are especially frequent in larger associations because of the larger number of similar others. Next, McPherson, Popielarz, and Drobnic (1992) advanced the study of the effects of networks on joining associations. Though their network data was limited to close ties, they were able to show that people with larger networks were more likely to join a new association, because they know more people who might recruit them. The more close ties a person has in an association, the more likely he/she is to become attached to it and stay. By contrast, the more close ties a person has outside an association, the more likely it is that he/she will be tempted away by other recruitment attempts and leave. The authors argue that networks and association participation co-evolve, but acknowledge that lack of longitudinal data prevented testing these dynamics, a problem persisting to this day.

D. Key issues

1. Does access to social capital/networks increase participation in voluntary associations?

Participation in voluntary associations is strongly related to individual social capital in the sense of knowing a wide range of people, as has been shown in research for several different nations (Son 2013). Knowing people from a wide range of occupations (e.g. physician, lawyer, teacher, bus driver) significantly increases a person's political participation in the Netherlands (Bekkers, Völker, van der Gaag, and Flap 2008). In addition, for both men and women, diversity of contacts with males bolsters individual civic engagement (e.g. engaging in formal meetings to talk about community, education, welfare, consumerism and environment) in Japan (Miyata, Ikeda, and Kobayashi 2008). In Canada, there is a strong correlation between the diversity in a person's network and the number of different kinds of associations a person belongs to (Erickson 2004).

While the direction of causality is not clear, social capital seems very likely to be a source of voluntary association activity and volunteering. People usually join an association through their networks, and being asked to volunteer is a critical first step in participation (Bryant et al. 2003). As well, people who are more integrated, such as the middle class, the married, those with children and friends, are more likely to volunteer than those who are isolated (Musick and Wilson 2008). Put another way, people with various *dominant statuses* in a society are more likely to volunteer than are people with more subordinate statuses (see Handbook Chapter 34).

Networks rich in social capital may increase motivation to join associations because they expand cultural capital in many ways including knowledge of various things (Erickson 1996) that can be pursued in associations. Further, social capital may make a person an attractive target for recruitment efforts. Assuming that voluntary associations have a mission of some kind, they may wish to be highly selective of prospective members (Schlozman, Verba, and Brady 1999). Elite clubs are a case in point: these are places for networking between similar members; often a screening process determines membership (Kadushin 1995).

The effect of social capital is not limited to elite groups. Most voluntary associations rely heavily on personal resources and the vital contributions of members to survive (Bagetta, Han, and Andrews 2013). Thus, most associations are keen to recruit new members who may contribute their social capital to the group.

2. Does participation in voluntary associations generate more social capital/networks for individuals?

Voluntary association activity is a powerful source of social capital. When a person joins an association, the probabilities of meeting new friends and contacts

increases significantly (Kalmijn and Flap 2001; Prouteau and Wolff 2008). Members of an association share some kind of common interest that is important to them, but at the same time may differ in their occupations and other social positions, making it easy to form ties to people different from oneself.

The extent to which associations generate social capital varies with the kind of association, the networking resources of the person, and how the person joined the association. An association cannot add much to network diversity if the association is homogenous, as many are (Miller and Smith-Lovin 1987). Large associations are likely to include many people similar to the focal person, who can follow the homophily principle and make new ties with similar others instead of adding to diversity (Miller and Smith-Lovin 1987). Associations with high levels of member activities give members more chances to get to know each other. Smaller, more active, and more socially mixed groups are the best source of diversity. Since different kinds of associations recruit from different demographic categories, the richest of all sources of social capital is membership in multiple kinds of associations (Erickson 2004).

Associations provide potential social capital, but taking advantage of the potential is easier (a) if the new member joins through a friend or acquaintance (who can introduce the new member to association activities and people) and (b) if the new member has networking skills honed in an already diverse network (Erickson 2009). Organizations are "not merely places…where nodes and ties happen to exist." Rather, they "constitute sets of institutional rules, norms and practices" that affect how people interact with other members and the kinds of relationships they forge (Small 2009:v). The activities designed by organizational leaders create a context for friendships to form: when childcare organizations make it mandatory for parents to help organize excursions, parents invariably meet other parents (Small 2009). When associations are themselves linked with other associations, members in both get a chance to meet one another. In short, institutional links foster individual links (Small 2009).

While studies of the effects of associational activity on personal networks generally consider a Western context, there is growing research in Asia and Europe. In China and Taiwan, voluntary associations are a major source of routine job information (Son 2013). Among urban Chinese in the Mainland, party membership significantly increases access to social capital (Bian 2008). In Singapore, voluntary associations are a source of access to all kinds of social capital: ties to well-educated persons, ties to the wealthy, ties to males, ties to members of the dominant ethnic group, ties to non-kin and weak ties (Chua 2013). Clearly, in both East and West, social participation is a robust predictor of access to individual social capital. Using national sample survey data in France, Prouteau and Wolff (2008) showed in a regression analysis that active volunteering in an association increased the probability of making new friends.

E. Usable knowledge

As do the home and workplace, associations constitute a third locus of daily activity, including religious congregations. The norms governing associational life typically center upon community building and a culture of egalitarianism (Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsburg 2012), both of which are conducive for the formation of social capital. Voluntary associations are exemplars of a kind of democracy, where members of different ranks and roles get to meet, however causally or formally. These encounters facilitate flows of information and influence that may turn out to be especially advantageous for lower ranking members (Lin 2001).

Hence, one practical application of the research reviewed in this chapter is to see joining and participating in new associations as a way to build individual social capital. Such capital can be useful to nearly any individual for various personal goals, including but not limited to finding a better job.

F. Future trends and needed research

What trends do scholars see in the contributions of associations to social capital? Putnam (2000) argues that association activity is declining and thus social capital is declining with it. However, much research suggests that this trend may be limited to the United States and may not even hold there (Smith and Robinson 2016). Skocpol, Cobb, and Klofstad (2005) also see decline because of the rise in types of associations that do not contribute to network diversity: homogeneous associations devoted to the narrow interests of special groups, especially narrow occupational groups; associations with mostly inactive members who just join up and write checks; associations run top-down by professionals, instead of associations with active local branches run by the members democratically and actively. Again the truth of these arguments is not yet clear. For example, the day care center studied by Small (2009) was a top-down group, but the professionals in charge used their leverage to make parents be active and meet each other. The lack of systematic research over time means that trends are hard to assess and causality is even harder.

Social networks and voluntary association activity seem to be reciprocally related. While being part of the Rotary Club in America and elsewhere opens up opportunities for making new friends, a person's membership in that club is limited by his/her prior contacts who may be club members. In other words, the factors of time, networks, and association participation must be disentangled, and this calls for longitudinal research (Erickson 2004).

There also is a need to disentangle aspects of substantive content. Granted that associations and networks are coevolutionary, what kinds of associational activity go with what kinds of social capital? The "bewildering array of different

kinds of groups" (McPherson and Ranger-Moore 1991:37) presents a formidable challenge, but we cannot assume that there are singular forms of association and social capital. To illustrate, occupation-based associations cannot add much to occupational variety in one's network, but may add to gender or race variety; ethnic associations do not add to ethnic variety, but may add to gender or occupational variety.

Overall, we know relatively little about the linkages between social networks and associations. Three areas calling for systematic study are: (1) the concern with causality, (2) the identification of specific mechanisms linking different kinds of social networks with different kinds of association, and (3) the interrelationship between social networks and associations in non-Western contexts.

G. Cross-references

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8
Hybrid Associations and Blurred Sector Boundaries

David Billis (UK)

A. Introduction

This chapter, in keeping with the objectives of the Handbook, focuses on membership associations. However, in so doing, it offers a different perspective on several fundamental issues by utilizing an emerging theory of organizational hybridity. This reveals three interdependent *sectors* (third, public, and private), each of which overwhelmingly consists of organizations that share common principles. Yet each sector also contains *hybrids*: organizations that have also absorbed significant features of their neighboring sectors. Despite this, hybrids nevertheless retain their prime adherence to the principles, *the rules of the game*, of one sector. This prime sector accountability becomes particularly problematic in turbulent times; but awareness of the nature of hybridity, and ways of controlling and managing it, is essential for organizational maintenance, change, and even survival.

And what of associations? The analysis adopts a decision-making approach to the nature of ownership and membership and concludes that the core organizational principles of the association provide the raison d'être for the entire, *normal*, third sector. They represent the heartland, organizationally, numerically, and historically of this sector. Thus the majority of paid-staff nonprofits probably fall within this normal sector, albeit as minority occupants. Analogies are hazardous, but perhaps akin to the relationship between the comparatively few high-profile, professional football/*soccer* teams and the vast number of unpaid voluntary clubs and groups that play to the same rules provide the historic origins of most of the larger clubs, and arguably respond to several similar needs such as belonging, community, and passion.

This chapter follows the same general format of the book. However, there is as yet no substantial body of research and literature. Consequently there is a somewhat different emphasis than in subsequent chapters: This is inevitably more of a research account, which draws substantially on my own systematic work in this area over more than 30 years.

B. Definitions

This chapter accepts the set of general definitions in the Handbook Appendix.

To assist clarity of presentation, this section defines some of the key terms central to this chapter on hybridity. Where there are significant differences from the definitions offered in the Appendix, these will be noted, while trying to avoid unnecessary detail not essential to the main theme. Most of these working definitions will be fleshed out in the body of the chapter.

The sector and ideal types

Sectors can be regarded as collections of formal organizations that have different ways of responding to social need. This is reflected in the distinctive *rules of the game* or *principles* (sometimes called organizational logic) of organizations within the sector (market forces, collective choice, unique mission). (For more extensive discussion of sectors, see Handbook Chapter 3.)

Organizations also possess five *core elements* (ownership, governance, operational priorities, human resources, and other resources).

The sector concept is an *ideal type* (Weber and Parsons 1964). It must be sufficiently close to empirical reality to be useful in policy and practice. The term *third sector*, despite valid objections (Handbook Chapter 3), is adopted here as the least misleading and least culturally embedded term to describe the more encompassing hybrid approach adopted in this chapter.

Hybrid organizations

Hybrids are formal organizations that have significant characteristics of more than one sector (public, private, and nonprofit). Hybrids may be:

Organic – growing over time, or
Enacted – established immediately as a hybrid.

In addition, they may also be

Shallow – the impact of other sectors is limited on their organizational principles and elements, or
Entrenched – core principles and elements of public and/or private sectors have become embedded in the association.

Principal owners

Principal Owners are those people that can in effect close the organization down, transfer it to another sector, or make other fundamental boundary and mission changes.

The prime sector approach

The key hypothesis of the *prime sector approach* is that despite hybridity, organizations will have primary adherence to the principles of one sector.

C. Historical background

The notion of *sector* remains a powerful analytical and practical tool for policy and practice. The sector concept arose in the mid-1960s and gained wider attention in the 1970s (Smith 2016; see also Handbook Chapter 3). Yet, despite this power, sector boundaries have long been described as *blurred* or *messy*. Surprisingly, attempts to take a more conceptual approach to sector boundaries have been sporadic and isolated. Only toward the end of the last century did the study of hybridity and hybrid organizations began to engage scholars in several countries.

In fact, the burgeoning nonprofit literature, in its concern with sector tensions and contradictions, had hinted at the eventual arrival of hybridity as a concept. Typical comments included accusations that some nonprofits were perhaps *for profits in disguise* and others were *agents of government policy*. In addition to the studies of organizational problems and tensions, there was a valuable body of research concerned with the distinctive features of the sector, for example (Kramer 1981; Lohmann 1992; D. Smith 2000; Van Til 1988). However, much of the literature did refer to the criticality of associational characteristics and this important thread was never lost (D. Smith 1997; J. Smith, Rochester, and Hedley 1995), even if often overshadowed in public and academic arenas by the paid staff nonprofits.

Nevertheless, even in 1990, there were only slim pickings for nonprofit researchers worried about sector hybridity. For more substantial fare, it was necessary to search in the longer established public administration literature. There, over several decades can be found important, albeit intermittent literature (Bozeman 1987; Koppell 2003; Lan and Rainey 1992; Musolph and Seidman 1980; Perry and Rainey 1988; Rainey et al. 1976; Skelcher 2005). The public administration approach to hybridity is primarily occupied with the private sector, its most powerful and invasive neighbor.

In the past decade or so, there has been accelerated interest in hybridity by scholars with interests in different aspects, for example Cornforth and Spear (2010) and S. Smith (2010) on governance. They are also taking different theoretical approaches. At this stage, it is possible only to note some of the emerging configurations. Thus, a substantial interest in hybridity is found within the social enterprise movement, which has hybridity built into its title (Aiken 2010; Czischke 2012; Defourny 2001; Defourny and Nyssens 2012; Evers and Laville 2004; Mullins and Pawson 2010; Nyssens et al. 2006; Pestoff 1998). The political sociology approach of Evers (1995) leads to doubts about the clear-cut nature

of the third sector as a *sector* and argues that all third sector organizations are hybrids. Brandsen et al. (2005) suggest that the third sector does exist as a sector or domain and is characterized by hybridity.

D. Key issues

This section discusses five issues: associations as the core ideal type for the sector, ownership and membership, prime accountability, paid staff, and organizational change.

1. What is the core of the third sector?

In order to answer this question, which is a key research and practice issue, an approach is developed which first briefly explores the nature of sectors and their interrelationships. A starting point is to define a sector as a collection of formal organizations (Appendix) that represent a distinct organizational approach to the resolution of human need. That is to say, by (a) the market as represented by the private sector, (b) collective choice as represented by the public sector, and (c) group-defined as represented by independent, mission-driven groups (See discussion in Warren 2001:109–110.)

Formal organizations can usefully be analyzed utilizing the five elements detailed in Table 8.1 (ownership, governance, operational priorities, human resources, other resources). The three sectors each have distinctive principles similar to *institutional logics* (Thornton and Ocasio 2013). Formal organizations are underpinned by the powerful concept of *organizational accountability*. Individuals and groups have the authority to carry out specific duties and can be held to account if they fail to carry out those duties. In associations, such notions can feel uncomfortable, since they often constitute an environment dominated by face-to-face relationships and driven by members sharing a broadly common mission. It may be preferable, in some cases, to utilize the less bureaucratic sounding word *responsibility*. Nevertheless, working relationships can get too cozy and taken-for-granted. Changes in the internal and external environment can pass almost unnoticed, until the point at which problems can transmute into a crisis.

Table 8.1 presents ideal models of the sectors and, following a broad Weberian approach, such ideal types rarely exist. In reality, organizations within any sector will vary in the degree to which they meet the model.

For associations, their legitimate and enduring role in our social fabric rests on the core principles of the ideal model: the existence of a membership; some elected system of governance; demonstrable commitment and response to a distinctive mission; work based on volunteering; and other resources under the control of the association. This integrated, unique chain of principles enables the association to operate with genuine independence; to serve the needs of its

Table 8.1   Ideal-type sectors and accountability

Core Elements	Private sector principles	Public sector Principles	Association principles
1. Ownership	Shareholders	Citizens	Members
2. Governance	Share ownership	Public elections	Private elections
3. Operational priorities	Market forces and individual choice	Public service and collective choice	Commitment about distinctive mission
4. Distinctive human resources	Paid employees in managerially controlled *Firm*	Paid public servants in legally backed *Bureau*	Members and volunteers in *Association*
5. Distinctive other resources	Sales, fees	Taxes	Dues, donations, legacies

own members or others which it wishes to help, and to exercise its voice when and where it wishes; and to have a competitive advantage in the provision of some services (Billis and Glennerster 1998).

This is not just a theoretical argument, but is supported by both the scale of associations and their history. For example, in the United Kingdom, it has been calculated that "in 2010 no less than two thirds of the total number of 900,000 UK civil society organizations were unincorporated" (NCVO 2012). These are organizations, which do not have legal structures, and are set up as an agreement between a group of people who come together for a reason other than to make a profit (e.g., a voluntary group or sports club). And, just over 50% of the UK active voluntary organizations were defined as *micro,* with an annual income of less than GBP 10,000. Consequently, they most likely do not employ a full-time member of staff. A further 32% were classified as small, with an annual income of less than GBP 100,000. These figures provide a reminder of the vast scale of tiny and small inhabitants of the sector (cf. D. Smith 2000:chapter 2).

The historical case for the ideal model of the third sector is also robust. Many third sector organizations, including some of its most prominent representatives, have their origins in the desire of one, or a few people, to respond to social need. This is true also of "pioneering social enterprises, which informally invent new responses to social demands, often relying on volunteering in the first place" (Defourny and Nyssens 2012:12).

2. Who owns nonprofits? Principal owners/members in associations

It is widely argued in the literature that nonprofits do not have owners. Heavily influenced by economists (primarily concerned with for-profit firms), discussions of ownership have concentrated on two criteria: the possession of residual decision rights and the allocation of residual returns/income or assets. Not

only does this not ring true for the third sector, but its utility has also been questioned with respect to the public sector (Wamsley and Zald 1976).

Although in Table 8.1 ownership has been retained as a key building block, I shall redefine it just in terms of decision-making accountability. Thus, in organizations it is possible to differentiate between (a) people who may constitute the formal/legal ownership, many of whom may be inactive, (b) the *active owners,* for example, those who do vote at board meetings, and government elections, and (c) the *principal owners*, those that can close the organization down, transfer it to another sector (Weisbrod 1998), or who can change the fundamental boundary and mission of the organization. Of course, legal definitions are the final arbiter, but the organizational path to those final decisions may well have been predetermined.

In membership associations, often small and grassroots, the concept of ownership (rather like that of accountability) is unlikely to be a topic of daily conversation. But in its redefined version, which emphasizes decision-making, ownership is quietly omnipresent in the form of associational members. Even in the heyday of the egalitarian, democratic, kibbutz communes when all major decisions were taken weekly supposedly by the entire membership, the three levels of decision-making could be discerned. There were a few members who hardly appeared at these meetings, and the majority of members were certainly *active*. Even so, there was always a small group whose opinions carried greater weight by virtue of their personal characteristics which might include powers of persuasion, professional experience, past and present track record in elected posts, and the general acceptance perhaps of their role in representing a significant group of members (veterans, youngsters, ideological and political preference, and so on).[1] These *principal owners/members* are what Putnam (2000) calls *machers*, a Yiddish word to describe "people who make things happen in the community" (page 93). Given the sometimes-assertive style of a *macher* (Hemming 2011:115) compared with the often-consensual nature of decision-making in many associations, it is probably better to see them as a form of *macher-lite*. Yet, while all this is a far cry from Michels (1962*) iron law of oligarchy*, it serves to temper over-idealistic views of associational governance and decision-making (Knoke 1990:12–16).

Reframing the nature of ownership, and freeing it from its economic, market-based definition, enables it to be used as a generic term covering all three sectors. In this new usage, associations do have owners: they are the members and serve as a key building block in the ideal model (Table 8.1). In the hybrid association, the position is more complex.

3. Why is understanding hybridity important for associations? The concept of prime sector accountability

The particular theory of hybridity summarized in this section derives from the inadequacy of traditional organizational theory when faced with the problems
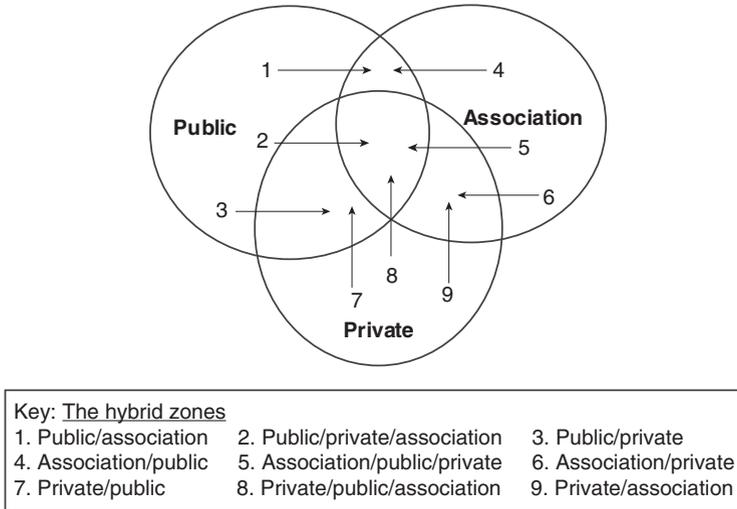
Figure 8.1   The three sectors and their hybrid zones

encountered in associations. These inadequacies were first exposed at a work-shop with directors of voluntary organizations (Billis 1979). It became clear that the widely used generic models of management with their clear-cut division between paid employees and governance structures did not ring true in the associational setting. A partial Venn diagram was used as an explanatory tool. In later years, the anthropological work of Edmund Leach (1976) on boundaries was adopted for work in the nonprofit sector. Over several decades of trial and error, a triple Venn diagram and theory of the sectors and their boundaries was developed. The research path can be tracked in Billis (2010) and the diagram is represented in Figure 8.1.

Figure 8.1 illustrates both the ideal models of the sectors and their nine hybrid *zones*. In building this model, what I have called a *prime sector approach* has been adopted. The essence of the argument runs as follows. Organizations have primary adherence to the basic principles of one sector. Despite this, some may adopt significant aspects of the principles and elements of adjacent sectors and become hybrids. They may successfully and beneficially manage the competing sector logics for long periods of time. Indeed, in favorable circumstances (economic, political, social) sector identity may be unproblematic. But, internal and external factors may result in increasing intensity of hybridity and the competing sector principles become intolerable. Market, collective choice and distinctive mission collide in a destructive, irreconcilable mess.

Figure 8.1 demonstrates that every sector has three types of proactive hybrid relationships with its neighbors. Thus, in the case of associations, the decision to accept or develop significant non-distinctive resources, such as government

grants and contracts, or the sale of goods and services, lies in the hands of the principal owners of the association. These actions may signal a move into either zone 4, 5, or 6. The move into hybridity is often, but not necessarily, accompanied by the appointment or increase in the number of paid staff (see following section).

4. What then is the place of paid staff?

The starting ideal model of the association has no, or little, room for paid staff. Indeed the domination of paid staff in many nonprofits is such that it is tempting to see such organizations as a distinct sector from that of the association (as earlier suggested by D. Smith 1991). The role of paid staff is not a new challenge for the association model. More than a century ago, Michels's 1911 study of political parties presented a powerful indictment of the *special interests* of the *body of employees* which "involves a necessary conflict with the interests of the collectivity" (Michels 1962:53).

Certainly, paid staff may have different motivations and expectations from those of volunteer leaders and members. Paid staff bring with them additional legal obligations for the association and a new, often foreign, lexicon of approaches typical of the private and public sectors. Included are concepts such as salaries, career progression, pensions, managers, staff appraisal, working hours, and so on. Paid staff, unlike volunteers, are dependent on their organization for their livelihood. Not surprisingly, especially in the early days of their arrival, association members and paid staff may indeed see each other as aliens from another planet rather than comrades in arms.

Hybridity theory offers a path whereby, under certain conditions, volunteers, members, and paid staff might all be seen as part of the same mission-driven enterprise. It might prove neither necessary nor useful to cast paid staff adrift from a unitary definition of the sector. This will require taking into account the amended definition of ownership and rethinking the position of paid staff and members in hybrid associations. My argument is that in nonprofits, paid staff may also be part of the active membership. In common with other active members, paid staff may demonstrate their genuine commitment to organizational purposes through their freely given and un-coerced contributions to the operation and governance of the organization (Billis 2010:62).

There is research to support this hypothesis. An important comparative study of incentives in the public and private sectors (Burgess and Ratto 2003) argues that if the welfare of the clients is the sole goal of the organization itself, workers will internalize the objectives of the organization. Setting financial rewards based on performance may actually be counterproductive, in that it may send the signal that the relationship between the paid workers and the organization is a pure market relationship. From more recent research, it appears that

(as perhaps might be expected), "the intrinsic motivation of public and non-profit employees may, though similar in multiple aspects, not be identical" (Lee and Wilkins 2001). In line with the ideal model, it seems that "participation in volunteering is positively associated with nonprofit employment, while the intention to serve the public and public interests increases the likelihood of public sector employment" (p. 53). To these comments can be added the findings of the work of Bacchiega and Borzaga (2001), who suggest, in their analysis of social enterprises, that "incentives for workers are not based exclusively on monetary rewards; rather, they derive mainly from workers' involvement in shaping and sharing the organization's goals and mission" (p. 274).

There is sufficient research and anecdotal evidence to suggest that decoupling paid-staff-led associations from the main associational territory has its downside, since staff are highly likely to internalize the mission and goals of the association. Apart from anything else, such decoupling would lead to further fragmentation of an already fragmented area of study, without first exploring whether mission and staff interests can be sufficiently aligned to regard all or some of them as members.

There are undoubtedly problems, particularly when the incursion of paid staff is so great that it requires substantial quantities of non-typical resources, such as government contracts and/or sales of services and products to support the meaning operational staff infrastructure. To do justice to the issue, it is most usefully considered within the context of change discussed in the following section.

5. Change: Hybridity and mission drift

There are a number of reasons to expect that associations will be less susceptible to exogenous forces toward hybridity than other inhabitants of the broader nonprofit sector. For example, in their succinct analysis of organizational change in associations, Minkoff and Powell (2006:591–611) conclude that:

> Small, minimalist nonprofits, especially those that are volunteer supported, may fly below the radar screen of external influences, and they are so deeply engaged in day-to-day survival that they are possibly shielded from or unaware of many external pressures. (p. 608)

And, in another study, Rochester and Torry (2010:130) argue that in the case of faith-based associations at the local level, their non-negotiable theological principles provide a *significant barrier* to hybridization.

Despite this, there remain specific challenges facing the association. Overwhelmingly dependent on volunteers for its work and governance, resource pressures can contribute to a slide into a hybrid zone (see Figure 8.1). Thus, the same essay by Minkoff and Powell (2006) also provides several cases of

organizational sliding into hybridity and the consequent impact on mission. For example, how opening a for-profit grocery store to generate revenue changed the "whole nature of the organization without [us] really knowing it" (p. 592). (See also Handbook Chapter 40.)

Research supports the widespread experience of practitioners regarding the nature of a familiar first step on the slippery hybridity slope: "the initial decision to employ the first paid staff member…was a decisive milestone in the history of each of the associations we studied" (Kreutzer and Jager 2011:645). Even so, this milestone might, but not necessarily, indicate the beginnings of a sliding into "shallow hybridity" (Billis 2010:58–59). The impact might depend on the nature of the staff employed. Accordingly, the appointment of non-member, paid, qualified professionals, as in the case of the Kreutzer and Jager case studies, is likely to have a significant impact. It can highlight the difference between associational principles and that of the hierarchical structures of medium and large professionally staff organizations, familiar in the public and private sectors. In addition, it appears from their case studies that the paid staff were expected to take on major operational roles.

On the other hand, when the first paid staff undertake supporting roles and are also members of the association, then the impact on mission and operations of the association might be less dramatic.

A further distinct state of hybridity can occur when associations either consciously or through inertia increase their reliance on non-typical sources of revenue such as government grants and trading. These types of resources may reach the point where they represent a flow of income, which results in the eventual establishment of a structure of managerial levels of paid staff. That is to say, first-line managers are themselves managed by managers and so on up to the director. At that point, hybridity becomes *entrenched* in the association. Maintenance of the structure itself becomes a major task for the association.

It is this type of entrenched hybridity that causes (with some justification) the most *angst* among those concerned with the preservation of core associational principles. It is this stage also when the concepts of prime sector adherence and the identity of principal owners will be particularly useful. Fundamental questions of organizational identity may arise (see the following section).

E. Usable knowledge

1. The associational core

For association leaders, the theory of hybridity presents the association as an organization with distinctive principles of governance and operation, which underpin its strengths. It provides a map highlighting where these principles are particularly susceptible to the pressures toward shallow or entrenched hybridity.

For public policy-makers, the creation of hybrid multi-sector institutional forms is an attractive proposition. Particularly so, if the resource savings and democratic ideals, seemingly related with grassroots community groups and volunteering, can be harnessed in tandem with entrepreneurial trading and (modest) public money. The associational baby can be thrown out with the (hybrid) bath water. It is essential for public policy-makers to understand hybridity.

2. Hybridity and principal owners/decision-makers in associations

Emphasizing the role of the principal decision-makers facilitates reflection on key questions, such as: Who really make the most important decisions in the association? What is the role of members and volunteers in the decision-making process? To what extent do current arrangements of governance and decision-making reflect the mission and needs of the association?

3. Prime sector accountability

Figure 8.1 presents a map of the hybrid zones adjacent to associations. It enables and encourages members and leaders to consider the potential longer-term impact of their decisions. For example, a book club that accepted the use of accommodation from a private health company found that it now had to work within external time and membership constraints. To what extent were they becoming an arm of the company's leisure services, rather than a self-governing, membership-owned association?

4. Paid staff, members, and mission drift

This chapter draws on a problem-driven, collaborative methodology intended to develop usable knowledge (Billis 1984). One of the fundamental problems for associations is the place, if any, of paid staff, allied with the vexed question of mission drift (see Handbook Chapter 40). The analysis of principal owners, members, and role of paid staff presented earlier is intended to confront these real, fundamental, and complex problems. It explores the conundrum of whether the roles of *member* and *volunteer* (Ellis Paine et al. 2010) can be reconciled with the contractual expectations of a paid staff. It raises for discussion the conditions under which paid staff associations might usefully be seen as hybrid members of the broader association sector.

F. Future trends and needed research

Sector hybridity is likely to receive increasing scholarly attention in the future, and similarly the phenomenon itself will likely become more frequent and obvious in various societies/nations. The following broad suggestions for basic,

applied, and policy research are made in the light of the key issues discussed earlier.

1. Basic research

The development of better theories and concepts of hybridity, and their relevance for increasing ranges of associational situations, both nationally and internationally.

Analysis of the implications of the core role of associations as presented here for current paradigms of third sector research: for example, *nonprofits*, *NGOs*, *civil society organizations*, *voluntary organizations*, and *social enterprises*.

Further study of the concept of *ownership* and *membership* in associations.

2. Applied research

Problem-driven international case studies in the applicability of the models and concepts. In particular qualitative studies analyzing the following:

The pressures on associations toward hybridity, the nature of the bulwarks against hybridity. Are there potential benefits?

The role of principal owners in mission drift and strategic organizational change;

The role of paid staff at different levels and settings as potential *members* and *owners*.

3. Policy research

Examining the impact of public policy in possibly increasing shallow and entrenched hybridity in associations:

Examining the relationship between public policy and transparent accountability when associations become involved in new government-funded hybrid organizational arrangements.

G. Cross-references

Chapters 2, 3, 10, 11, 35–37, and 46

Note

1. I am drawing on research undertaken in 1966–1970 and 1977 (see Billis 1977).

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Part II
Special Types of Volunteering

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9
Informal, Unorganized Volunteering

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A. Introduction

Informal volunteering, or helping individuals in a way not coordinated by an organization, is the most common type of human helping behavior but one of the least studied. The psychological motives for informal volunteering are similar to those for formal volunteering, but income and socio-economic status do not affect informal volunteering. Informal volunteering is common in both wealthy and poor countries, and welfare state service provision does not crowd out informal volunteering. Little is known about the individual and social benefits of informal volunteering, and the state of knowledge is not yet complete enough to inform policy. However, using existing informal helping networks can make development and other projects more effective. Future research should collect better data on informal volunteering, particularly longitudinal and comparative data.

B. Definitions

This chapter accepts the set of definitions in the Handbook Appendix. *Informal volunteering* is defined as unpaid, voluntary work/volunteering not coordinated by an organization or institution. It is evident in helping individuals living outside one's household, informal political participation, informal religious activity, and membership in informal mutual assistance groups is relevant. Surveys have measured person-to-person helping activities, including providing child care, cooking meals, doing household repairs, giving directions, listening to a friend's problems, and offering advice.

  Much informal volunteering is reciprocal, with people taking turns helping one another through time, or with members of informal groups helping each other. Most informal volunteerism is directed at people one knows and only rarely at strangers (Amato 1990). Informal volunteering is often not completely voluntary, since it occurs in social groups with strong norms of reciprocity and

mutual assistance. When members of these groups refuse to help others, they risk losing status and friendships. They may even be ostracized from the group.

No consensus exists on typology or classification of informal helping behaviors. Some even refuse to regard these behaviors as volunteering (Musick and Wilson 2008). One paper used factor analysis to classify informal volunteerism into two types, person-oriented and task-oriented helping. Person-oriented informal volunteering includes helping a homeless or hungry person, child or teen, disabled person, or immigrant. It includes helping one's neighborhood, bringing together people of one's ethnic background, advancing the rights of a minority group, babysitting without pay, and helping someone move. Task-oriented informal volunteering includes taking care of animals or pets, housework, yard work, shopping or driving to appointments, helping with a business, making food, and doing home renovations (Finkelstein and Brannick 2007). Another factor analytic article reported a distinction between helping strangers and helping people known personally (Einolf 2008).

C. Historical background and theoretical perspectives

Three perspectives – social capital, social networks, and evolutionary theory – help explain why people participate in informal volunteering. Informal volunteering may be seen as a type of social capital, since it helps establish the networks, norms, and trust that facilitate cooperation among individuals (Putnam 2000; see also Handbook Chapter 6). Social networks theory examines how individuals help others, expecting that they will later receive help in return (direct reciprocity; see Handbook Chapter 7). Or how they help members of a group, expecting that other group members, not necessarily the person receiving help, will later reciprocate (indirect reciprocity; Ekeh 1974). Evolutionary biology explains the existence of informal volunteering by the survival value it provided for our hominid ancestors. It also helps explain some features of informal volunteering, such as the tendency to help family more than friends, acquaintances, or strangers.

Informal volunteering predates the earliest formal voluntary associations, being present in all human societies (Gouldner 1960; Haidt and Joseph 2004; Komter 2005; Malinowski 1922; Mauss 1990; Smith 1997). This suggests that informal volunteering is partially instinctive (as aspect of behavior genetics) among human beings, not learned behavior present only in some cultures (Haidt 2001, 2003; see also Handbook Chapter 25). Informal helping even predates the evolution of modern humans, with evolutionary biologists considering it an important aspect of humans' evolution as social animals (De Waal 1996; Sober and Wilson 1998).

Informal volunteering, compared with formal volunteering or state assistance, has historically been the most important way that people received

assistance when they needed it. In preindustrial Europe, individuals in local communities provided for each other's needs through traditional forms of mutual assistance. With industrialization and urbanization in the 19th century, these traditional networks broke down being progressively and partially replaced by formal voluntary and mutual aid associations (Egerton and Mullan 2008; Finlayson 1994; Owen 1965). These formal voluntary networks did not provide perfectly for human needs. So by the turn of the 20th century, most European societies began developing welfare states. The nonprofit sector lived on, identifying gaps in service and new needs (Finlayson 1994) and partnering with the state to provide services more effectively (Kendall 2003; Kendall and Knapp 1996; Lewis 1995). Informal volunteerism seems to have become less important as societies industrialized, continuing to exist in the form of small favors, but no longer essential for survival.

D. Key issues

The key issues in understanding informal volunteering include measuring it accurately, discerning its causes, determining its relationship to formal volunteering and governmentally provided services, and measuring whether it benefits volunteers themselves and society in general. The key practical questions about informal volunteering are whether and how governments and nonprofits should encourage informal volunteering, and whether and how institutions can use existing networks of informal volunteering to build participation in formal programs.

1. Measuring informal volunteering

Whereas many surveys measure participation in formal volunteering, only a few ask about informal volunteering, and these exist almost exclusively in industrialized countries. Only three recent cross-national surveys produce informal volunteering information: the 2004 wave of the Eurobarometer, the 2001 wave of the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), and the 2010 Gallup World Giving Index (WGI). The 2004 Eurobarometer surveyed 29 countries in Europe, and the ISSP surveyed 27 countries, most being highly industrialized countries in Europe or former British colonies. The Gallup WGI included only one question on informal volunteering, and detailed information on its methodology is unavailable. Still, it does have a broad coverage (153 countries).

Surveys tend to underestimate the prevalence of informal volunteering, since the commonplace nature of informal volunteering leads people to fail to recall it. A study in the United States found that people reported almost three times as much informal volunteering in time diaries as they did in surveys (Havens and Schervish 2001). Whereas time diary studies have the most accurate measures of

informal volunteering, these exist in only some countries. Moreover, methodological differences make cross-country comparisons difficult.

Informal volunteering is more common than formal volunteering. Time diary studies in the United States (Havens and Schervish 2001), the United Kingdom (Windebank 2008), and France (Windebank 2008) show that people spend more time on informal volunteering than formal volunteering. The WGI found that more people reported having helped a stranger in the last month (an average of 45% across countries) than having done formal volunteering (20%). In the 2004 Eurobarometer study, participation in informal volunteering ranged from 56 to 92%, while participation in formal volunteering ranged from 10 to 51%. In the 2001 International Social Survey Program, 65.7% of respondents had helped someone with housework during the past year, 78.9% had consoled a depressed person, and 35.6% had helped someone find a job. A study of informal volunteering in southern Africa (Wilkinson-Maposa and Fowler 2009) shows that such volunteering is the most common type among poor people in that region.

The gap between informal and formal volunteering seems even higher in non-industrialized countries. These countries lack the high rates of formal volunteering found in industrialized countries, but have similar rates of informal volunteering. In the WGI, formal volunteering correlated positively and significantly with gross domestic product (GDP), but informal volunteering had no significant correlation. The top ten for formal volunteering in the WGI were all industrialized nations, but for informal volunteering both industrialized and developing countries composed the top 10. These countries, in order, were Liberia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Canada, Kuwait, Guyana, the United States, Kenya, and Australia, with Colombia and New Zealand tied for tenth place. Interestingly, these 11 countries include four highly developed, stable democracies (Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand), and five countries that have had experience with violent conflict (Liberia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Kuwait, and Colombia). This suggests two conditions that may encourage assistance to strangers: generosity stemming from peace and prosperity and mutual assistance given in reaction to violence and hardship.

Country-specific studies of informal volunteering are rare outside the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia, but some do exist for Mexico, the Philippines, Russia, Kazakhstan, and southern Africa. In Mexico, a nationally representative study found two-thirds of adults engaging in some form of volunteering. It was about evenly split between formal and informal volunteering (Butcher 2010). A focus-group study of volunteering in the Philippines (Fernan 2002) revealed that respondents spent an average of five hours per week in formal volunteering and 8.2 hours per week in informal volunteering. Respondents defined informal volunteering to include some activities familiar to respondents in industrialized countries, such as participating in

community clean-ups (37%), helping someone in non-emergency situations (33%), counseling (33%), and helping someone in an emergency situation (30%). Respondents also defined informal volunteering to include praying for someone, which 41% did in a typical week, and lending money (33%).

A nationally representative survey in Russia (Mersianova and Yakobson 2009) found that 50% of respondents received assistance from individuals they knew personally, including family (85%), friends and acquaintances (65%), neighbors (30%), co-workers (28%), members of ethnic groups (3%), people in similar circumstances (14%), and their parish (9%). The most common type of volunteering was informal, reported by 13% of respondents, followed by volunteering through work (4%), for a housing committee (3%), with social movements (2%), and for a religious organization (1%) (Mersianova and Korneeva 2011). Common types of informal volunteering are helping with household chores, received by 24% of respondents, occasional help with shopping, cleaning, and child care (19%), regular child care (10%), providing special information (10%), resolving family conflicts (7%), help finding medical assistance (7%), and helping someone find employment (6%). As in the Philippines, a common form of helping was short-term loans of small amounts of money (28%) or longer loans of large amounts (12%).

A large-scale survey (1,200 respondents) in Kazakhstan found 55% of the respondents provided assistance to the individuals they knew personally. The most common type of volunteering (82%) was financial, emotional, and resource assistance to the family, friends, neighbors, and co-workers. 95% of the respondents do not consider the assistance to social network members as volunteering (BRIF Centralnaya Asiya 2002).

In southern Africa, formal and informal volunteering exist in a situation of some conflict, with informal volunteering representing traditional society and formal volunteering operating as a less popular and largely state-sanctioned activity. Before the colonial period, "traditional cultural beliefs and practices encouraged collective responsibility, solidarity, and reciprocity." Here people relied extensively upon traditional networks for support (Patel et al. 2007:13). Colonialism redirected, interfered with, and broke up these traditional practices. After independence, many countries established formal volunteering programs through youth service movements. But by the 1980s these had declined, as the victims of poor administration, corruption, and nepotism. Despite negative interference from colonial rulers and post-colonial governments, informal volunteering remains powerful in southern Africa. In Botswana, for example, informal volunteering includes organizing weddings and burials, cooperating on farming and home construction, providing emotional support, and participating in community clean-ups. These are usually organized by a community leader or village headman and involve informal roles and flexible time commitment (Patel et al. 2007:22).

Little survey data exists on informal helping in Africa, and in any of the waves of the Afrobarometer study, no questions are asked about informal helping. Nonetheless, Pelser, Burton, and Gondwe (2004) conducted a nationally representative survey in Malawi. It revealed that helping neighbors was common not only in rural areas, where traditional structures still existed, but also in urban neighborhoods, where one might expect traditional social arrangements to be disrupted. They found that 98.4% of survey respondents knew the name of their next door neighbors, 91.5% would let their neighbors look after their house while away, and 87.6% would let their neighbors watch their children for an evening.

Salamon, Sokolowski, and Haddock (2011) used Johns Hopkins Project data to estimate the global numbers of formal and informal volunteers, and their economic value (see Handbook Chapter 51, Section D, #6). Quoting from Handbook Chapter 51: "The results indicate about 971 million people volunteer in a typical year worldwide (p. 22), with 36% being formal volunteers and 64% being informal volunteers." Such findings are consistent with other multi-national research results reviewed above (see also Handbook Chapter 51).

To sum up, informal volunteering is usually much more common than formal volunteering, but its prevalence is often underestimated on surveys (see Handbook Chapter 51). Its commonplace and episodic/occasional nature make people fail to recall it. Hence, time diary methodology provides much better estimates of informal volunteering than do survey interview questions (Havens and Schervish 2001; see also Handbook Chapter 4). Informal volunteering does not vary as much by country as formal volunteering. Nor does it correlate with the country's level of economic development the way formal volunteering does. More time diary studies and more studies in developing nations are needed to enhance understanding of the prevalence and nature of informal volunteering outside the industrialized world.

2. Correlates of informal volunteering

Turning to empirical work on informal volunteering, researchers have examined the relationship between informal volunteering and demographic variables (gender, age, race, and ethnicity), childhood experiences, socio-economic status, resources, motivations and values, and social capital and family structure.

Concerning demographics, studies in Great Britain (Egerton and Mullan 2008), Australia (Hook 2004), Sweden (Gundelach, Frietag, and Stadelmann-Steffen 2010), and Europe (Einolf 2011; Hank and Stuck 2008) find that women do more informal volunteering than men. Qualitative studies have argued that informal helping are more common among marginalized racial and ethnic groups, such as African-Americans in the United States (Chatters et al. 2002; Lee, Campbell, and Millar 1991; Rozario 2006) and indigenous people and non-English-speaking immigrants in Australia (Kerr et al. 2001). There

has been, however, little survey research on race, ethnicity, and informal volunteering. One US survey found that African-Americans were no more likely than whites to engage in informal volunteering, but that blacks did volunteer more hours. Asian-Americans' and Latinos' informal volunteering behavior resembled whites' (Einolf 2011). Another US study found that 41% of African-Americans 45 and older engaged in informal volunteering, as opposed to only 36% of whites (Rozario 2006).

Only two studies have examined the role of childhood experiences. A Canadian study found that people active in religious organizations in their youth were more likely to be informal volunteers as adults (Jones 2000). A US study found children who were active in a religious organization, went door-to-door to raise money, did volunteer work, belonged to a youth group, participated in organized sports, and participated in student government, were more inclined toward informal volunteer work as adults. The association between these childhood experiences and adult informal volunteering was strong even among people 50 and older, indicating that childhood experiences may have effects that persist over the life course (Perks and Haan 2011).

Whereas many studies show that people of high socio-economic status are more likely to engage in formal volunteering, the literature is divided on the relationship between socio-economic status and informal volunteering. Some studies find that people with low income and education are more likely to engage in informal volunteering, including studies in the United Kingdom (Egerton and Mullan 2008; Li, Pickles, and Savage 2005; Williams 2004) and Sweden (Henning and Lieberg 1996). But an analysis of Swiss data found no correlation between education and informal volunteering, and a positive relationship between occupational prestige and informal volunteering (Gundelach, Frietag, and Stadelmann-Steffen 2010). Cramm and Nieboer (2015), studying an elderly Dutch sample, found more informal volunteering for the more educated, which is a rare result.

Informal volunteering requires good health and free time. In the United States and Europe, informal volunteering correlates positively with health (Einolf 2011), and Swiss data show that as health problems develop informal volunteering declines in old age (Gundelach, Frietag, and Stadelmann-Steffen 2010). Cramm and Nieboer (2015), studying an elderly Dutch sample (70 years+), found in their panel data that declining physical health/physical functioning over two years led to a decline in informal volunteering. People working part time or not at all do more informal volunteering than those working full time (Gundelach, Frietag, and Stadelmann-Steffen 2010).

The same psychological traits that motivate formal volunteering also motivate informal volunteering. These include empathic concern (Einolf 2008; Finkelstein and Brannick 2007); the six motivations of Clary and colleagues' (1998) "Volunteer Functions Inventory" (Finkelstein and Brannick 2007); scope

of one's moral obligations (Einolf 2010); and role identity, moral obliga-
tion, and generative concern, which has to do with helping younger people
(Finkelstein and Brannick 2007).

Turning to social capital, people reporting more frequent social contact with
others and higher levels of trust also engage in more informal volunteering
(Einolf 2011). Children can bring people into networks of mutual assistance,
where one study found that people with school-aged children engage in more
informal volunteering (Gundelach, Frietag, and Stadelmann-Steffen 2010).

Smith and Mersianova (2016) studied informal volunteering using a two-item
index with data from a random sample of 2,000 adult Russians. They tested
a very wide range of potential explanatory variables, based on Smith's com-
prehensive S-Theory of human pro-social behavior (see Handbook Chapters 2
and 31). Using an OLS multiple regression they were able to explain an unusu-
ally high 50.8% of the variance in informal volunteering. The most important
statistically significant predictors (0.05 level or below, two-tailed), in declining
order of beta weight size, were intention to volunteer more in the future, higher
level of active-pro-social personality (a 14-item index with alpha = 0.85), more
personal goals of helping locally, more personal goals of helping various types
of individuals (e.g., friends, neighbors, strangers), seeing volunteering as more
important to oneself, lower social anxiety, parents volunteered more, more
problems with depression and anxiety, asked to volunteer by more types of
people, work part-time (if employed), participated in more high school clubs,
and higher in empathy. An index of socio-economic status was not significant,
nor was formal education, but higher job prestige was weakly significant (0.05
level, with beta weight = 0.04). Thus, more psychological variables dominated
as significant predictors of informal volunteering in these Russian data. (See
Handbook Chapter 31 for similar results on formal volunteering in Russia.)

In summary, informal volunteering resembles formal volunteering in its
positive relationship with childhood experiences, health, free time, pro-social
personality traits, trust, empathy, pro-social goals and intentions, social net-
works (especially being asked to volunteer more), and the presence of children
in the household. Unlike formal volunteering, for which gender composition
varies across countries, informal volunteering is more common among women.
It may also be more common among racial and ethnic minorities. Unlike formal
volunteering, informal volunteering does not correlate positively with income
and education, and in some studies is actually more common among people of
lower socio-economic status.

3. Informal volunteering and the welfare state

Informal volunteering might have either a complementary or a competing
relationship with formal volunteering and governmentally provided social
services. At the individual level, people only have a limited amount of

time, so time spent in formal volunteering might preclude spending time in informal helping. On the other hand, many individual traits and characteristics predict both formal and informal volunteering. Thus the two behaviors may have a positive relationship. Plagnol and Huppert (2010) used national sample survey data on 23 European nations to show that formal and informal volunteering were significantly and positively related to each other, not competing with each other, at the level of national aggregate data. Governmental provision of services through welfare-state policies might *crowd out* informal helping, making it unnecessary. On the other hand, governmental provision for basic human needs might create prosperity and security, conditions that foster individual relationships and the *crowding in* of informal volunteering.

At the individual level, empirical studies from a number of countries show that the same people who do formal volunteer work tend also to do informal volunteer work. Much of this research is cross-sectional, including studies in Canada (Rajulton, Ravenera, and Beaujot 2007), Denmark (Henriksen, Koch-Neilsen, and Rosdahl 2008), the United States (Burr et al. 2005; Einolf 2011; Hinterlong 2008), and Europe (Einolf 2011; Hank and Stuck 2008). Using path analysis on panel data from the United States, Wilson and Musick (1997) found that formal volunteering encouraged informal volunteering, but not the reverse. Informal volunteering also correlates with charitable giving, voluntary association participation, and political activity (Einolf 2011), and with civic participation, socializing with friends and family, and participation in sports and recreation with friends (Rajulton, Ravenera, and Beaujot 2007). These findings support Smith's Leisure General Activity Pattern/LGAP (see Handbook Chapter 5).

At the level of society, several have examined whether governmental assistance crowds in or crowds out informal volunteering. Studies of service provision to the elderly in France and Israel (Litwin and Attias-Donfut 2009) found no evidence for the crowding-out hypothesis: as elderly people age and develop health problems, government agencies provide more support while family, friends, and neighbors maintain their assistance. Two European studies, using cross-sectional, national-level data, also found no evidence for the crowding out hypothesis (Kääriäinen and Lehtonen 2006; Van der Meer, Scheepers, and te Grotenhuis 2009). An analysis of the 26 Swiss cantons – they are culturally similar but have widely varying welfare policies – found no relationship between type of welfare services and informal volunteering (Gundelach, Frietag, and Stadelmann-Steffen 2010). Finally, an analysis of data from the Eurobarometer, WGI, and International Social Survey Programme surveys showed a positive relationship at the country level between informal volunteering and both formal volunteering and state spending on social-welfare programs (Einolf 2012).

Studies of informal volunteering in the former Soviet Union reveal that personal networks play an important role, because of failures in the formerly powerful state sector and an emerging, weak, and poorly understood nonprofit sector. Under the Soviet regime people received comprehensive social and economic assistance from the government. Though citizens still expect such service today, governments have cut budgets for essential public services, among them health care, transportation, and free public housing, due in part to pressure from international development institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Without a developed nonprofit sector to fill gaps, citizens have turned to traditional networks of family, neighbors, clan members, and coworkers (Nezhina and Ibrayeva 2012). These informal networks root in pre-Soviet peasant village gatherings, clan affiliations, and neighborhood councils (Abylkhozhin 2007; Kara-Murza 2005). During the Soviet period, people formed informal networks to trade favors and exchange scarce commodities, a practice viewed then and now as corrupt, illegal, and repulsive (Ledeneva 2009). But people also formed, and continue to form, positive social-support networks, based not on narrow self-interest but on loyalty, friendship, and trust.

A recent survey (Nezhina and Ibrayeva 2012) found that most people considered government the best place to seek help in both Russia (66%) and Kazhazkstan (44%), followed by family and friends (49%/42%), with nongovernmental associations a distant third (23%/13%). In Kazhakhstan, the senior members of the group dictate the norms and control charitable behavior of group members, who are expected to provide financial, emotional, and resource assistance to those who are in need. If a member refuses to provide a support, it usually causes ostracism and social isolation and sometimes *moral terror*. In Uzbekistan, community councils (*mahalla*) govern informal volunteering to help families gather the harvest, build a house, or prepare for wedding or funeral (Powell 2009).

4. Benefits of informal volunteering

As non-market productive activity, informal volunteering should be considered in the generation of aggregate income measures, as recommended by Stiglitz, Sen, and Fitoussi (2009). Attempts to assign monetary value to informal volunteering labor are very rare, though Egerton and Mullan (2008) compute a monetary value for informal volunteering in the United Kingdom, and Ironmonger (2000) conducts the same exercise in Australia. Both studies found that informal volunteering contributes more value to the economy than formal volunteering and that women contribute much more value than men.

As a type of social capital, informal volunteering would seem to have positive effects on society, though no research has tested this hypothesis. At the individual level, studies seeking evidence of benefits of informal volunteerism for

volunteers have shown mixed results. On the positive side, two studies show positive correlations between informal volunteering and good health. One used a sample of elderly people in Sweden (Jegermalm 2009), the other used a sample of members of religious congregations in the United States (Krause 2009). A French study found that informal volunteering correlated negatively with depression, but not as much as formal volunteering (Wahrendorf et al. 2008). Nevertheless, a study of American teenage members of the Presbyterian Church found no relationship between informal volunteering and mental and physical health, while formal volunteering and helping out within the family did correlate with good health (Schwartz et al. 2009). Similarly, research on American retirees revealed that good health correlated with formal volunteering, but not with informal volunteering (Moen and Fields 2002).

These inconsistent results may indicate that some other factors mediate the relationship between informal volunteering and positive outcomes. In a study of the psychological benefits of informal volunteering, Windsor, Antsey, and Rodgers (2008) found that moderate amounts of both formal and informal volunteering correlated positively with good emotional affect and life satisfaction among the elderly, but that spending over 800 hours per year helping others had a negative correlation. One study of American elderly populations found that informal volunteering improved life satisfaction for women, but not for men (Antonucci et al. 1994). Another study of elderly people in the United States found that informal volunteering benefited white women and black men, but not white men or black women (McIntosh and Danigelis 1995).

All of these studies are cross-sectional, making causality difficult to determine. Informal volunteering might cause one to be healthy and happy, or healthy, happy people might be more inclined to become informal volunteers, or both. Reciprocal causality may also have a suppressive effect, as unhappy or unhealthy people might seek out volunteer opportunities as a way of coping. A US study used a three wave, eight-year longitudinal data set and sophisticated statistical methods to better establish causal relationships (Li and Ferraro 2005). The authors found that formal volunteering helped prevent depression, but informal volunteering had no effect. They also found that formal volunteering encouraged informal helping, but not vice versa. They concluded that depressed people sought out formal volunteering as a coping mechanism, but depression did not lead individuals to seek out informal volunteering.

Five other longitudinal studies found that a mix of productive activities in old age predicted positive health and emotional outcomes. However, three of these studies included informal volunteering in a composite variable that included other productive activities, making it impossible to isolate the effect of informal volunteering from other actions (Ayalon 2008; Baker et al. 2005; Hinterlong 2008). Two other studies focused on widows, finding that

informal volunteering helped protect them from depression and helped with the grieving process (Brown et al. 2008; Li 2007).

5. Informal volunteering and public policy

Governments and nonprofit organizations are increasingly realizing the importance of social capital in development and making use of existing informal support networks in establishing development projects. Most research on social capital and development has looked at formal voluntary associations, finding strong evidence that voluntary participation correlates with the success of particular projects and economic development in general (Khan, Rifaqat, and Kazmi 2007). Only a few studies have examined the role of informal local helping networks in implementing their own interventions. These include a Heifer Project International program in rural Tanzania (De Hann 2001), agricultural extension projects in rural Mali (Reid and Salmen 2002), a project encouraging the adoption of new fertilizer technology in rural Tanzania (Isham 2002), World Bank programs for indigenous people in Latin America (Uquillas and Nieuwkoop 2003), and rural development in Bangladesh (Mondal 2000) and Pakistan (Khan, Rifaqat, and Kazmi 2007). Nearly all these studies found that making use of existing helping networks assisted the project in being successful and had good outcomes for participants. Microcredit programs such as the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh have also used informal helping networks as a basis for recruiting participants. While some authors criticize these programs for having negative outcomes for women (Goetz and Gupta 1996; Parmar 2003), they have been successful in alleviating poverty.

Several other studies have found that using informal volunteering networks may contribute to the success of public programs in industrialized countries. Biglan and Hinds (2009) found that community psychology programs in the United States have successfully used existing non-kin support networks to help implement programs designed to reduce negative youth behaviors, such as alcohol, drug, and tobacco use. Budde and Schene (2004) analyzed the use of informal social support networks in the United States to prevent violence and help victims of violence. Jupp (2008) found that informal volunteerism networks contributed to the success of community groups in public housing projects in England.

The above programs used existing informal volunteering networks to start formal programs, but did not try to increase informal volunteering itself. Williams (2004) argues that groups that want to reach poor people should encourage informal volunteering, not formal volunteering, as informal volunteering is the one type of volunteering poor and marginalized people are likely to engage in. Nonetheless, there has been so little research on initiatives to encourage informal volunteering that it is not yet possible to make

recommendations as to whether governments or nonprofits should encourage it or how they could most effectively do so.

E. Usable knowledge

Given how little is known about informal volunteering, including a lack of consensus on how to define and measure informal volunteering, practitioners and policy-makers should be careful in applying scientific knowledge to the subject. With this warning in mind, the current research demonstrates that informal volunteering seems to be more common than formal volunteering. At the country level, informal volunteering does not vary as much as formal volunteering and does not correlate with the country's level of economic development the way that formal volunteering does. Informal volunteering does correlate positively both with formal volunteering and with government provision of social welfare services, indicating that these institutionalized forms of helping may create environments conducive to more informal, person to person helping.

Like formal volunteering, informal volunteering is a type of pro-social behavior and correlates with pro-social activity in childhood, resources of health and free time, trust and social networks, and pro-social personality traits, intentions, goals, and self-image. Unlike formal volunteering, informal volunteering does not correlate with status position, so that whites, males, highly educated people, and high-income people are not more likely to engage in informal volunteering. Some research shows negative correlations with these status markers, while other research shows no correlation.

The most useful finding for policy-makers in government and nonprofit organizations has to do with the role of informal volunteering networks as a source of recruitment for more formal projects. In rural development projects, microcredit banks, and social service projects among poor populations living in industrialized nations, informal volunteering networks have proven to be an efficient way to recruit and motivate participants in formal projects. Few poor people in industrialized countries already do formal volunteering, but many do informal volunteering, so projects that look for informal volunteers play to the existing strengths of poor people.

F. Future trends and needed research

There is no known reason why informal volunteering should significantly decline globally in the future. Informal volunteering does not really compete much with formal volunteering; rather, both are part of the leisure general activity pattern (LGAP), with much relevant supporting data reviewed in Handbook Chapter 5 and also some data reviewed above.

Given the scarcity of published studies on informal volunteering, virtually every topic covered in this chapter requires more research. Existing studies focus mainly on the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Europe; there is very little research on the rest of the world, and almost no cross-national comparative survey research. The more extensive research in Russia is thus an exception. Before such cross-national research can occur, researchers would need to agree upon a definition of informal volunteering, a typology to classify informal volunteering behaviors, and effective ways to measure them. Also needed is more research on the causes and correlates of informal volunteering, and more longitudinal research on the effects of informal volunteering on volunteers.

Perhaps the most striking gap in the literature on informal volunteerism is our lack of knowledge on the role it plays in society. There has been, during the last two decades, an immense amount of research on social capital, but almost all of it focuses on formal volunteering, political activity, and membership in formal voluntary associations. Social networks researchers study informal volunteering, but their studies often do not distinguish actual helping behaviors from potential sources of help, or helping behaviors from purely social interactions.

Finally, theorists of informal volunteering, social networks, and social capital should move beyond simplistic rational choice models that assume people cooperate only out of self-interest. Recent research in psychology, comparative primatology, and evolutionary biology suggests that helping others is an instinctive act, the legacy of hundreds of millions of years of primate evolution in social groups. People are more likely to help family members or people from whom they can expect direct or indirect reciprocity, but people also help total strangers in situations where they do not expect a return of the favor, out of empathy, moral duty, or because it feels good to help others. An evolutionary perspective provides tools that can help researchers generate hypotheses about how the motives for helping and the amount of help offered vary among persons and situations.

G. Cross-references

Chapters 5, 14, 30, and 31.

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10
Stipended Transnational Volunteering

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A. Introduction

This chapter explores the ever-evolving forms of stipended transnational volunteering (STV). When transnational volunteering is stipended or mandatory, it can be considered a hybrid between employment, volunteering, and/or compulsory service. This chapter provides a brief historical background, as well as contemporary trends of STV. The section on usable knowledge focuses on the provision of stipends and other financial supports to transnational volunteers, as well as how their rationale has become increasingly affected by the outcomes and priorities of donors or development projects. The section on future trends also discusses the slowly growing movement toward more South–North and South–South transnational volunteer placements. This chapter also explores research needed to better understand the differences between stipended volunteering for development cooperation and volunteering for intercultural understanding and global citizenship.

A key difference from other types of volunteering is the usually long-term nature of STV, which tends to range from four months up to two or more years (allowing for renewal of formal commitments). Due to this more lengthy time commitment and hence the lack of opportunity for volunteers to earn a separate income, transnational volunteer programs often need to support volunteers with stipends, scholarships, or other financial support such as medical insurance, housing, or incentives like tuition waivers on completion. In addition, some sending countries use transnational volunteer service programs as alternatives to military obligations or as conditions for individuals to receive unemployment benefits, college credit, or other benefits, which by most definitions would not be counted as volunteering (Ascoli and Cnaan 1997; Brown 1999; Carson 1999; Handy et al. 2000). This reflects a parallel issue with

stipended national volunteer service covered in Handbook Chapter 11. Likewise, to the degree that volunteer service is compulsory or mandatory, it may be considered a hybrid between work obligation and volunteering.

In most other respects, transnational volunteering generally follows the definition of formal volunteering presented in the Appendix of this Handbook, including (1) formal commitment via an organization, (2) the intended beneficiary is someone other than the volunteer or his/her family, and (3) the action is deliberate and planned (non-spontaneous) in nature (Handy et al. 2000).

Although the focus of this chapter is on transnational volunteering, it will not provide an overview of volunteer tourism or travel volunteering, which is covered in Handbook Chapter 12 and tends to be of short duration. The definition of short-term transnational volunteerism varies, but there is growing consensus that volunteers serving for four months or less are considered short term (Beckers and Sieveking 2001; Engle and Engle 2003). Short-term volunteers are much less likely to receive stipends, and volunteers often carry the costs or fund-raise for the volunteer experience (McMillon, Cutchins, and Geissinger 2009). Although the motivations of short-term volunteers are sometimes called into question (Söderman and Snead 2008), lack of compensation and free will are not typically issues of major concern.

B. Definitions

The definitions in the Handbook Appendix are accepted here generally. In addition, we define below the following special terms used in this chapter.

1. Hybrid volunteering

By definition, hybrid forms of volunteering include any substantial deviation from the definitional requirements outlined in the Appendix of this Handbook (see also Billis 2010). The definitional requirements of non-remuneration (or low remuneration; the *net cost* approach to defining a volunteer, as in Handy et al. 2000) and free choice are particularly relevant to this chapter. As one example, because volunteer service is sometimes a formal alternative to military service, which is mandatory, most scholars do not consider such roles to be a true form of volunteering. Likewise, because many long-term volunteer programs provide a monthly stipend or end-of-service award, some consider this type of volunteering to be a form of employment. In each of these cases, the person not meeting these definitional requirements would be *serving others* but may not be considered a *volunteer* by some scholars, because their activities are defined by either compulsion or substantial compensation (Salamon and Sokolowski 2001). Subsidizing costs of volunteering on the grounds of inclusiveness of participants is commonly considered much less problematic than compulsory service. Figure 10.1 provides an illustration of how these two
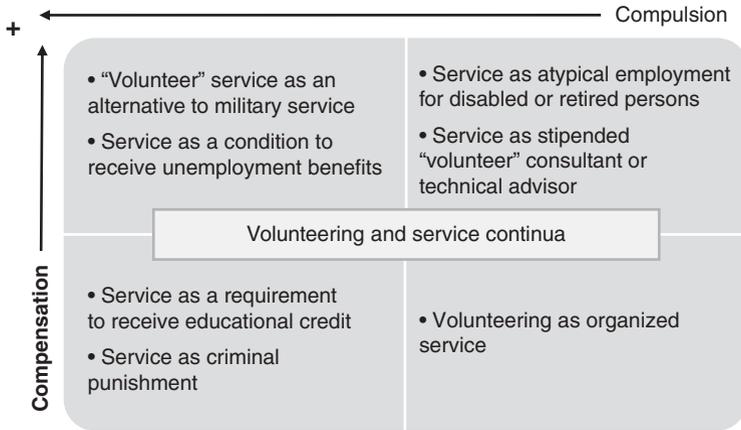
Figure 10.1　Legitimacy continua of volunteering and service
Source: Adapted from Kuti (2004).

requirements interact to create hybrid forms of volunteering. Only activities falling under quadrant 4 (Q4) were classified as pure forms of volunteering by Handy et al. (2000).

2. Quasi-volunteering

According to many scholars, payment *significantly* below market wages is sufficient to warrant classifying activities as volunteering rather than employment (Moskos 1988; Smith, Reddy, and Baldwin 1972; Wilson 2000). Smith, Stebbins, and Dover (2006:191) refer to people who receive significant or substantial compensation for their services, but still below market value, as *quasi-volunteers.* This argument for STV being quasi-volunteering is based on the assumption that the people participating in these programs are not *primarily* motivated by financial gain (Leigh et al. 2011; UNGA 2002; Unger 1991). Indeed, some transnational volunteers incur substantial financial and other costs associated with their service (Braham 1999), especially opportunity costs regarding alternative, more remunerative forms of time use. On the other hand, definitional boundaries are also muddled as many transnational volunteers receive non-monetary benefits such as college credit, job skills, certificates, and so on as incentives for serving.

3. Stipended national service volunteering (SNSV)

Although not the subject of this chapter (see Handbook Chapter 11), as a side note on the topic of hybridism, full-time stipended national service volunteering (SNSV) follows a definition consistent with STV, except that it is performed by citizens within their national borders. Although community-based and local

volunteering are also performed within national borders, SNSV is distinguished from other forms of volunteering because it is typically long term, is usually facilitated by the state, and is highly sensitive to state–society relations (Anheier and Salamon 1999; Nesbit and Brudney 2010). National volunteering is also considered hybrid under conditions where volunteers receive stipends or other financial incentives, when volunteering is offered as an alternative to military service, when it is a precondition to receive unemployment benefits or educational credits, or as a form of criminal punishment (McBride et al. 2011; Warburton and McDonald 2002). Research on national service often refers to SNSV as *civic service* – defined as formal volunteering through a structured program. While this definition is wide, scholarship on civic service most commonly refers to volunteering performed at the national or transnational levels (Davis Smith and Paine 2007; McBride and Sherraden 2007).

4. Stipended transnational volunteering (STV)

The terms *transnational volunteering* and *international volunteering* are often used interchangeably. We use the term *stipended transnational volunteering* (STV) to describe the type of volunteers that receive a modest (subsistence) stipend to work as part of international/transnational development programs funded by national/international or multilateral aid programs, both governmental and nonprofit.

   We adopt a definition of STV, set forth by Sherraden, Lough, and McBride (2008), as an organized, long-term period of voluntary engagement and contribution to society across international borders with little or no monetary compensation. STV may include unilateral forms, where volunteers from one country serve in a different country, or multilateral forms, where volunteers from different nations serve together in one country (Perry and Imperial 2001; Sherraden et al. 2006).

5. International volunteer cooperation organizations (IVCOs) and networks

STV is facilitated and implemented by International Volunteer Cooperation Organizations (IVCOs), also known as International Voluntary Service Organizations (IVSOs; Sherraden et al. 2006). The United Nations Volunteers Program and Voluntary Service Overseas are two prominent IVCOs among many that coordinate STV and that followed on from the Volunteer Graduate Scheme, first begun at Melbourne University, Australia, in 1951. International volunteer service networks (IVSNs) also play an important facilitative role as they coordinate the work of IVCOs operating in different countries. IVSNs coordinate research, organize conferences, and engage in advocacy for STV in national and international policy arenas. The most prominent global IVSNs for STV are the International Forum for Volunteering in Development and the

Coordinating Committee for International Voluntary Service (CCIVS). However, many national and regional service networks also facilitate STV within countries and geographic regions.

STV is facilitated by both public and private IVCOs, commercial and nonprofit. While private nonprofit IVCOs remain a dominant facilitator of STV (McBride, Benítez, and Sherraden 2003), IVCOs are increasingly being funded by regional bodies and national governments aiming to expose their citizens (particularly young people) to life in other parts of the world. The British, German, Canadian, Norwegian, Australian, and French governments mostly provide grants to domestic commercial, civil society, and faith-based organizations to facilitate STV placements, while the United States, South Korean, and Japanese governments publicly administer the majority of their transnational volunteer programs. In the United States, about half of all STV placements are sponsored by religious organizations (Lough 2013; Rieffel and Zalud 2006). Data from other countries are unavailable to substantiate whether this figure is similar in other parts of the world. It is likely that many religiously based IVCOs ask volunteers to cover their own costs, though support or stipends for volunteers also frequently come through congregational contributions (Rochester and Torry 2010).

C. Historical background

The earliest forms of STV in the 19th century were enlightenment-based efforts, often performed under a religious purpose of improving local conditions, along with propagating religious values and promoting education (Smith and Elkin 1981). Thus, early missionary service and North–South work camp movements were the earliest expressions of transnational volunteering. Perhaps the most prominent transnational volunteer movement outside the domain of the state arose with the formation of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in 1864 (Boissier 1985).

Nation states have also been directly involved in organizing transnational volunteering. State efforts, such as Service Civil International, began with work camps and volunteer programs devoted to reconstructing sections of Europe shattered by World War I in the 1920s (Rosenstock-Huessy 1978). In addition to providing relief to post-war countries, volunteers supplied emergency assistance and economic relief to India and other developing countries in the 1930s and 1940s (Devereux 2008). With decolonization after World War II, the world entered an era of development in the 1950s, where the newly independent colonies' primary goal was to develop economically (Sachs 1992). The focus on economic development was embedded in the growth of large NGOs worldwide, as well as in the Bretton Woods institutions of 1944 and the United Nations in 1945. It was within this system of international cooperation and regulation that most contemporary STV programs emerged (Lough 2015).

According to a study conducted by McBride, Benítez, and Sherraden (2003), the majority of STV programs today are facilitated by nonprofit organizations. Most of these smaller, private/nonprofit, volunteer-sending organizations began to arise during the same decades as volunteer-sending governmental organizations, during the 1950s–1970s. While an increasing number of people seemed to be interested in traveling and volunteering overseas, even if they did not have specific skills, relatively few organizations existed to facilitate international placements (Roberts 2004). Consequently, private and commercial volunteer-sending organizations arose to meet this demand. Habitat for Humanity (founded in 1976) and *Médecins Sans Frontières* (founded in 1971) are a few of many large, nonprofit programs in the United States, Germany, the United Kingdom, Japan, and Scandinavia that emerged during the late 20th century. However, in host countries, the receiving and management of international volunteers fell generally on host governments or organizations in an ad hoc fashion.

D. Key issues

1. Scale of STV programs

The impact of globalization and internationalization in the late 20th and early 21st centuries has apparently seen a steady increase in the scale of STV and in the forms that it takes. Over the last few decades, STV has mushroomed in Germany, France, Japan, South Korea, the United Kingdom and the United States. All of these nations have scaled up programs in order to send significant numbers of volunteers (mostly young people) to different parts of the world (Allum 2007; Lough and Allum 2011).

Although comprehensive summary figures of actual or historical numbers of transnational volunteers serving across countries have not been compiled, it appears that the scale of both public and private programs is increasing significantly. As will be discussed in Section E, demands from potential volunteers, as well as the forms and funding of transnational programs, may be driving this increase and may also affect their outcomes.

Research on short-term STVs conducted in Tanzania and Mozambique in 2010 (Perold et al. 2012) demonstrated that although local host organizations accepted transnational volunteers – even when their requests for specific skills were not met by the sending organization – the organizations incurred considerable costs by having to draw on their limited human and financial resources to host and manage the large influx of volunteers. This situation is different from more traditional transnational volunteer assignments, where well-qualified and experienced volunteers spent on average two years working for a local institution and were largely accountable to this local institution, even if facilitated by an IVCO (Devereux 2010; Rehnstrom 2000).

2. Headquarter locations of STV-sending organizations

The majority of STV organizations are headquartered in the Global North and place volunteers in countries in the Global South (referred to as the *North–South model*). Although summary figures are unavailable, a 2010 survey by VOSESA provided a glimpse of the current directionality and geographic scope of transnational volunteerism. The 61 volunteer cooperation organizations that responded to the survey were headquartered in Germany, the United Kingdom, France, Switzerland, Canada, Ireland, the United States, Norway, South Africa, South Korea, Finland, Hungary, Ghana, and New Zealand, and 89% sent volunteers to African countries (VOSESA 2010). Only two sending organizations were headquartered in the Global South, and these were small programs that mostly sent volunteers to other countries in Africa.

As one notable exception to the predominant North–South service model, the United Nations Volunteer (UNV) Program operates in over 135 countries worldwide, and 81% of the 6807 skilled volunteers sent by UNV in 2012 came from countries in the Global South (UNV 2013). In fact, when UNV was founded in 1970, a Special Voluntary Fund was created at the same time to fund the mobilization of skilled developing country volunteers. In recent years, a number of countries or regions in the Global South have developed small transnational volunteer programs (e.g., the African Union Youth Volunteer Corps or the ECOWAS volunteer program). These programs are highlighted in greater depth in Section E of this chapter.

3. Compensation in transnational volunteering

Historically, STV programs have been motivated by humanitarian, cross-cultural understanding, or faith demonstration/propagation purposes, without significant financial recompense to volunteers. The focus was strongly on the benefit to intended beneficiaries, for example as part of an aid program or development project. As the many benefits of STV to the volunteers became more evident, including its utility in preparing citizens for global work, the ability of volunteers to pay for STV experiences became an important barrier or exclusionary factor. Because STV is not affordable for every potential participant, the issues of cost-reimbursement, pocket-money, allowances, and stipends became important policy concerns. One justification for stipends, therefore, is to lower the total costs of participation and to increase inclusion (McBride et al. 2011).

4. Directionality of STV

As noted earlier, STV has been dominated by an aid model, where volunteers from countries in the Global North are placed in countries in the Global South (hereafter referred to as North–South). In contrast, South–South programs place volunteers from one developing country in another developing country (Fulbrook 2007). South–South and South–North programs create

opportunities for citizens in developing countries to volunteer abroad and to strengthen national capacities. They also attempt to change prevailing geopolitical stereotypes and imbalances.

A study conducted by VOSESA in Tanzania and Mozambique (Perold et al. 2012) found that host organizations are keenly aware of the imbalances between themselves and northern-sending organizations and may view transnational volunteering as perpetuating a colonial legacy. This can constrain the potential for learning and reciprocity between foreign volunteers and their hosts (Baillie Smith and Laurie 2011; Heron 2007). On the other hand, other studies have noted the recognition by local hosts of the stand that transnational volunteers can challenge the transfer mode common in conventional aid, through an explicitly reciprocal model that encourages exchange, mutual learning, and accountability (Devereux 2010; Pinkau 1978).

Although the UNV program has a long tradition of recruiting the majority of its volunteers from the South, other IVCOs have only recently started facilitating South–South and South–North volunteer programs. Today, a number of the largest sending agencies, including VSO in Britain, Progressio in the UK and Ireland, Fredskorpset in Norway, and Canada World Youth have all begun promoting South–South and South–North volunteer programs, particularly among volunteers from the South with specialized skills.

There has been an increasing focus on transnational aid effectiveness over the last ten years through the development of the Paris Principles of Aid Effectiveness in 2005 and the Busan Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation, agreed at the High Level Forum in 2011.[1] These processes have emphasized South–South as well as triangular cooperation. The South–South approach is particularly attractive and taking hold in the developing world itself, particularly in African countries such as South Africa, but also among emerging/transitional economies such as Brazil or Thailand.

5. Changing patterns of funding for STV

Early volunteers received little government funding, and thus were often reliant on community or church resources, along with financial contributions by individual volunteers (Braham 1999). With the scaling up of longer-term STV programs in the 1960s, including NGOs like AVI and VSO, and public programs such as the US Peace Corps, the Korean KOICA, or Japanese JOCV, there was a shift toward greater reliance on government funds. A common feature of most long-term STV programs is relatively high administrative and operational costs, compared to short-term programs, which can recoup up to 100% of funds from participating volunteers. Strategic reasons for funding public volunteer programs are often aimed at making these opportunities more accessible to a wider range of income groups in the sending countries and the relative

cost effectiveness of these programs compared to traditional forms of technical assistance.

Reliance on public funding for STV can hit hard when aid funds are cut – as happened in 2010 in the United Kingdom, with new government priorities. Former block grants for IVCOs were not renewed, which immediately affected many formerly government-supported IVCOs in the United Kingdom. For example, funding for one of the largest IVCOs, VSO, was gradually reduced from 2010 to 2014. VSO is currently expected to receive no more than 40% of government funds toward their overall volunteer program (excluding project grants; DFID 2011).

6. Shifts in transnational volunteering priorities

As the example above illustrates, there has been an incremental shift in STV priorities away from technical assistance and development in partner countries and toward the education and global citizenship of volunteers. Globalization has resulted in a growing sense of interdependence among countries around the world. This is evident in the impact of the 2008 global financial crisis and a growing concern worldwide about the environmental impact of industrialization, urbanization, and increased consumption.

In part to counter these trends, governments and civil society organizations increasingly emphasize global citizenship as a key priority of STV. Governments have realized the importance of developing an informed citizenry that is able to reposition their countries within the global political economy. Contrary to the earlier aid paradigm, in which the development of communities was ostensibly the primary intention of most long-term transnational volunteer programs, many now believe that government support, particularly for short-term volunteers in these programs in the 21st century, is partly intended to equip their own citizens with the skills and insights needed to strategically engage with foreign countries (Baillie Smith and Laurie 2011; Heron 2011; Lough and Allum 2011; Lyons et al. 2012). Thus, they look for opportunities through which people can learn more about, and influence actors in, communities that are very different from their own. In this context, STV emerges as one means by which cross-national and cross-cultural experience can be gained.

Another aspect of *global citizenship* derives from pressures experienced by young people seeking to find their place in society – within their home countries and within the world. For example, more people today study and work in countries other than those in which they were born, and the children of multifaith and mixed race relationships often seek opportunities to trace their family origins (Terrazas 2010).

The requirements of global work may also be seen as driving the type of volunteer programs now promoted by the German and UK governments for their youth (Jones 2011). New global employment opportunities require a

more international repertoire of skills and experiences from workers, including internships and fellowships. Young volunteers are often secondary school graduates who have not yet embarked on post-secondary school studies and often have very little experience. The prospect of a paid *gap year* in another part of the world is often appealing to school leavers. From the perspective of the host organizations in southern countries, however, the prospect of hosting a young, inexperienced (albeit well-educated), first-world volunteer may be less attractive.

7. Growth in commercialized, short-term STV

As described earlier, there has been much growth in commercial gap year and other short-term volunteer programs. The trend from long-term development cooperation toward shorter-term volunteerism focused on national priorities has perhaps been more noticeable as IVCOs found it harder to recruit long-term volunteers (Rockliffe 2005). However, this trend has been exacerbated by globalization and the massive growth in privately funded volunteer tourism and commercial gap-year volunteering, as well as by the growth in government-supported youth volunteering. As Simpson (2004) noted, commercial gap-year companies often focus more on attracting volunteers on the basis of benefits to the volunteers. Commercial programs may have less incentive to utilize a social justice pedagogy, which is important to achieving real change for development. Although programs vary widely, commercial programs often place a greater emphasis on *the bottom-line*, and may devote fewer resources to the preparation, in-country support, and debriefing that are important for meaningful understanding and interaction in development. These combined trends exhibit a general neo-liberal influence on programs globally (Smith and Laurie 2011).

8. Diaspora volunteering

Although often not stipended, diaspora volunteering, or the skilled volunteer work of expatriate nationals or emigrant communities in their country of origin, has grown significantly over the last few years and is receiving increasing attention from aid and STV agencies (Leigh et al. 2011; Stuart and Russell 2011). An indication of the volume of one such program is the over 600 diaspora members that VSO UK facilitated to volunteer in their country of origin for periods varying from a month to a year through 22 different organizations in the United Kingdom between 2005 and 2009 (Stuart and Russell 2011). These programs build on both the technical skills of the expatriate nationals as well as on their detailed understandings of culture and language. They also link with values associated with volunteering that aim to connect people in mutually beneficial relationships globally. However, there are also sensitivities to working with diaspora volunteers, given issues related to how returning expatriates

may be perceived, including politically (Leigh et al. 2011; Stuart and Russell 2011).

9. Impacts of stipended transnational volunteering

Because STV has been traditionally regarded as something that people from wealthy countries in the Global North do in poorer countries in the Global South, many transnational volunteers are motivated by the goal of making a difference while using the volunteer opportunity to explore countries and cultures other than their own. Much of current thinking about the impacts of STV comes from the perceptions of volunteers. Far less is known from the perspectives of host communities and organizations.

From the perspective of host communities, capacity building, international social capital, and other resources emerge as key benefits to host organizations and communities (Devereux 2010; Lough 2012; Perold et al. 2012). Communities also value the less tangible contributions made by volunteers, including trust, accountability, ownership, creativity, optimism, an increased motivation for local volunteers to engage, diversity in project management and administration, a human rights orientation, relative cost-effectiveness, and slightly higher sustainability of their work compared to other development professionals (Devereux 2010; Lough 2012). A survey conducted of volunteers from northern countries serving in southern countries showed that most of the respondents felt they had made a lasting contribution to their host organization or to the community in which they served, mainly through skills transfer (Perold et al. 2012). A few also provided money or other resources directly to the host organization or host community.

On the other hand, the study also showed that transnational volunteering could be seen as a process embedded within the historic neocolonial relations between the Western world and the African continent (Perold et al. 2012). Stereotyped perceptions held by host organizations or host communities of STV, on the one hand, and perceptions of the host organizations and communities held by the transnational volunteers, on the other, demonstrate that STV occurs within a complex ecology that reflects North–South power dynamics (see also Heron 2007; Lough 2012). Skills transfer and the attainment of social capital may thus be compromised by persistent notions of dependence and perceived exploitation, which explains why transnational volunteers are not always seen as benevolent actors but are sometimes viewed as instruments of Western imperialism or agents of neo-colonialism.

E. Usable knowledge

The provision of stipends to support STV has many implications for policy, practice, and research. By providing stipends, educational awards, living

allowances, and other incentives and benefits to transnational volunteers, hybridized forms of transnational volunteering may affect the motivation, activity levels, and commitment of volunteers. On the surface, it may seem that stipended transnational volunteers make fewer financial sacrifices than other volunteers. However, because transnational service is typically full-time, takes place in distant locations, and frequently occurs under harsh conditions, volunteers often incur high opportunity costs compared to many forms of domestic volunteering. Financial support has been reported as a significant barrier – particularly for long-term volunteers and volunteers from minority and low-income groups (Jones 2004; Sharma and Bell 2002). Financial supports are often necessary in practice for the sake of inclusion and access, as well as for retention of volunteers and sustained service in host communities.

As one potentially detrimental implication of the link between financial support and transnational volunteering, funders increasingly require evidence of impact or the *aid effectiveness* of STV. These funding pressures have created mixed signals and blurred signposts about the purposes and potentials of STV. Because stipended transnational volunteers often serve within development aid programs, their perceived value is often bound together with the outcomes and priorities of development projects. In reality, the greatest value of STV may lie in areas outside of traditionally conceived development outcomes, such as mutual accountability, reciprocity, and solidarity (see Devereux 2010; Lewis 2005; Lough 2012). Despite the fact that funding for STV often comes from bilateral aid budgets, policy and practice may need to more accurately recognize and distinguish the value of STV as complementary to, but not the same as, other goals and targets of development cooperation.

Viewing STV through a more polished lens may also help clarify the value and contributions of stipended short-term volunteers. Although scholarship is often critical of the trend toward shorter-term placements for young people, these discussions are typically filtered through the lens of development cooperation rather than through a lens of mutual understanding, support, and human solidarity (areas which are more typical of volunteer scholarship generally). Studies that divorce the potential benefits of STV from typical criticisms of inappropriate development cooperation (i.e., paternalism, dependency, colonialism, etc.) generally provide a more positive view of the contributions of short-term volunteers that have no pretense of development impact. Although these views are commonly represented in literature on volunteer tourism (see Handbook Chapter 12), they rarely find support in the scholarship of STV.

Given the current predominance of the North–South model, the slowly growing trend for more South–North and South–South programs is encouraging. Studies suggest that STV can be most productive when it is designed on the basis of reciprocity between servers and hosts (Perold et al. 2012; Pinkau 1978).

Southern-led STV programs are generally designed to focus on expanding critical consciousness among volunteers and partner organizations as an explicit outcome.

One complication of South–North volunteering is that visa and travel restrictions often make these initiatives difficult. As stipended programs, much financial support is also needed to further develop South–North volunteer placements. Perhaps because STV is closely tied to development cooperation, governments from the North often do not see the relevance of South–North placements to this aim. Hence, they are often unwilling to finance individuals from the South to volunteer in Northern organizations and communities. Given these complications, South–North volunteering still operates at a slow pace. More work is needed to highlight the benefits of South–North placements, and greater advocacy and research are needed to study and convey these benefits to governments and civil society organizations.

F. Future trends and needed research

STV is a kind of stipended volunteering (quasi-volunteering) that is growing in popularity generally in the world, as youth and retired people become interested in spending one or more years abroad helping others less fortunate than themselves. This trend for STV fits with related trends of increasing *gap years* abroad (during one's university education) and *volunteer tourism* (see Handbook Chapter 12).

Because the trends in STV are rapidly evolving with globalization and internationalization, research lags behind practice. With a few exceptions (Pinkau 1978; Rehnstrom 2000; Woods 1980), research on the impacts of STV has only just begun in the past few years. Most studies focus on evaluating single volunteer programs rather than assessing STV more generally. Nonetheless, research on the impacts of STV has recently emerged as an important priority for funders, sending organizations, host organizations, and communities. Research on STV for development is gaining ground as bilateral aid agencies and IVSNs have begun funding exploratory research to understand impacts of multiple program models.

Given the diversity of STV programs, research is needed to understand differences between long-term STV for development cooperation and short-term STV for intercultural understanding and global citizenship – along with the many nuanced forms of STV residing in the spectrum between these two types. Knowledge of effective practices is also needed to better understand how to achieve the different aims behind these diverse forms, along with the variables associated with different outcomes (see Sherraden, Lough, and McBride 2008). Although much can be learned about STV for intercultural understanding from research in the related, and more developed, field of international

service learning (Bringle, Hatcher, and Jones 2010), STV typically lacks the reflective and pedagogical programming of service learning. With the growth of IVSNs, rich opportunities for cross-national and comparative research are finally becoming realistic possibilities.

In comparison with other forms of volunteering, hybrid volunteering generally receives relatively little scholarly attention. Indeed, researchers know nearly as much about domestic/national stipended volunteering as they do about transnational stipended volunteering. Much more research is needed to compare the benefits and challenges of STV with SNSV, as well as to understand the interface and complementarities between these two hybrid forms of volunteering. New programs that combine both national and international stipended volunteer opportunities, such as the United Kingdom's recently reconceived International Citizen Service, provide fertile ground for comparison and learning.

G. Cross-references

Chapters 3, 11, 12, and 13.

Note

1. The Busan outcome document includes explicit reference to the International Framework for CSO Development Effectiveness, which also explicitly acknowledges volunteers' contributions.

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11
Stipended National Service Volunteering

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A. Introduction

Stipended national service volunteering (SNSV) is a hybrid form of volunteerism. These national/domestic government-sponsored or supported initiatives have an anti-poverty or economic development focus, providing a subsistence living allowance to volunteers working full time for one year, sometimes longer. We mainly review SNSV in specific programs in three countries as examples: VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) in the United States, Servicio Pais in Chile, and the Nigerian National Youth Service Corps (NYSC), plus some key research elsewhere. This chapter addresses the following questions: (1) What are the substantive policy or quality of life areas of focus for SNSV? (2) What financial or non-material support is provided to the volunteers? (3) Who pays for the material/financial support provided to the volunteers? (4) Who volunteers for SNSV programs? What motivates and triggers individual involvement? (5) What are the known impacts in society resulting from SNSV programs?

SNSV is similar to but also contrasts with stipended transnational full-time service volunteering (stipended transnational volunteering/STV), as reviewed in Handbook Chapter 10. Unlike the usual part-time volunteering (serious leisure; Stebbins 2007) reviewed in other Handbook chapters, SNSV programs provide a modest living allowance to volunteers as they work full time to help alleviate poverty. There is some scholarship of these programs but also significant gaps in knowledge about the operation and efficacy of these programs.

A common critique of SNSV is that such stipended service is not truly voluntary and strays in motivation and activity from the notion of concern for others toward self-interest (Stukas, Snyder, and Clary 1999). As for the subject of the prior chapter on STV, the proper way to view SNSV in this chapter is as a *hybrid type of quasi-volunteering*, where the net value of services provided by the

SNSV volunteers, though partially remunerated, is still significantly more than the partial remuneration received (cf. Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:191).

B. Definitions

This chapter accepts the general definitions of the Handbook Appendix.

In addition, some special definitions are needed. SNSV is not considered to be true volunteering by many critics, given the significant financial benefit received by participants. For such observers, SNSV may instead be restricted to the category of low-paid service work (jobs). However, SNSV may also be a significant sacrifice for many participants, at least in opportunity cost: Volunteers usually give a year of full-time service for a modest living allowance, which can be seen alternatively as a hybrid form of volunteering. *Quasi-volunteering* (Smith, Reddy, and Baldwin 1972:168–169) is also an appropriate term for SNSV, so long as there is a significant difference between the stipends/remuneration received and the economic value of the services provided. In academic and policy circles, SNSV is often referred to as *civic service*, a term which was popularized by sociologist Charles Moskos after his influential book on the subject (1988).

The hybridity of SNSV results from participants combining a volunteer spirit and motivation to help less fortunate people with very modest remuneration to support their living expenses while involved in full-time service work, often in stressful and demanding contexts. SNSV is formalized, structured, and requires a substantial commitment from the volunteer, the host agency (local organizational context of volunteering), and the sponsoring government or nonprofit entity. This definition is consistent with that offered in Handbook Chapter 10 in discussion of stipended transnational service volunteering. SNSV is differentiated from that type of stipended volunteering by the restriction to service within, rather than across, national borders.

C. Historical background

1. SNSV in the United States

The idea of SNSV has been around since before 1887, when the writings of Edward Bellamy recommended mustering an *industrial army* into low-wage national service to complete public works projects (MacDonald 2003). William James further popularized the notion in 1906, when he argued for national service as the *moral equivalent of war* (Eberly and Sherraden 1990; James 1910).

The first concrete action by the federal government to support SNSV began with the creation of the Civilian Conservation Corps in the 1930s (Egan 2009). In an effort to simultaneously preserve and rebuild an expanding acreage of national forests, the Franklin Roosevelt administration launched the CCC. In the 1960s and 1970s, US leaders sought a domestic program parallel to the transnational volunteering enacted through the Peace Corps. SNSV became

a major federal government initiative during the War on Poverty with the creation of VISTA in 1964 (Marshall and Magee 2005).

The Commission for National and Community Service, a US federal office, was created during the George H. W. Bush administration to support full-time service and encourage service learning in schools. In 1993, during the Clinton administration came the Corporation for National and Community Service and AmeriCorps. VISTA was subsumed under the new AmeriCorps program, which remains the key facilitator of SNSV in the United States today.

2. SNSV in Chile

SNSV has also existed in Latin America for several decades. Morris (1974) reviewed research on SNSV programs and related domestic, development assistance volunteering without stipends in many such nations, including Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Chile, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, and Puerto Rico.

In Chile, Servicio Pais was launched much more recently in 1995. In the case of Servicio Pais, it was created by the National Council for Overcoming Poverty (NCOP) in the context of a new strategy to address the issue of poverty in Chile.

In 1994, the Chilean President Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle appointed a group of politicians, social actors, scholars, and business leaders to put forward an agenda of policies and programs to address the key issue of poverty in Chile in the NCOP. The idea was to come up with a new and innovative agenda of social interventions to change the traditional and assistential approach to increase the quality of living of those in need. The Council presented the report "La Pobreza en Chile: Un desafio de equidad e integración Social" (Poverty in Chile: An equity and social integration challenge) (NCOP 1996). The Foundation for Overcoming Poverty (Fundacion para la Superacion de la Pobreza) was created after the presentation of this report to start an agenda of social programs from the civil society. Servicio Pais is one of the most important programs in this social intervention strategy. It has placed more than 5,000 volunteers since its implementation in 1995.

3. SNSV in Nigeria

The Nigerian National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) was a child of political expediency, inaugurated at the end of a bitter and bloody Civil War (1967–1970) with the aim of repairing the ruptured bonds of nationhood. As students of the voluntary service landscape in sub-Saharan Africa will recall, a similar situation existed in the immediate post-Apartheid era in South Africa. Nigeria, still smarting from the trauma of *ethnic engineering*, felt a need to expose young people to other "people in different parts of the country with a view to removing prejudices, eliminating ignorance, and confirming at first hand the many similarities of all … ethnic groups" (Federal Ministry of Women's Affairs and Youth

Development 2002; cited in Obadare 2007:42). But while there may be no better time than the immediate aftermath of a social breakdown to introduce an SNSV, the Nigerian experience suggests that perpetuating a raison d'etre can be a political conundrum as soon as the initial glow fades. Obadare (2007, 2010) has written a brief monograph on the NYSC in Nigeria that describes the early history of this program.

As the Civil War retreats deeper into the recesses of collective memory in Nigeria, and as the number of participants in the program continues to rise (250,000 Corps members were deployed in 2011 alone), criticisms of the NYSC's logistical travails have morphed into serious questioning of its continued existence. Some pessimists fear that, if its current fiscal and logistical challenges prove overwhelming, the Federal Republic of Nigeria may be forced to follow the path of the government of Botswana which, in April 2000, eliminated the *Tirelo Setshaba*, the Botswana national service program, after 20 years of existence (Molefe and Weeks 2001).

Yet, anxieties regarding the possible elimination of the NYSC, while legitimate, must be balanced by the recognition that context is key, and that the current challenges of the program are most probably connected with the current political turmoil in Nigeria. Currently, continued interest in the NYSC and a definite desire to see it succeed conjoins with undeniable SNSV program fatigue among the volunteers, the state, local communities, and other intended beneficiaries. One reason for this situation, as previously stated, is that this SNSV has become part of the political furniture, justifying the program has been increasingly difficult given its expense, and that this SNSV has emanated from a distant and ever-receding postwar milieu. Among the NYSC corps members, the feeling of fatigue is deepened by overall disillusionment with the state of affairs in the country in general.

D. Key issues

In this section, we review some key questions with respect to SNSV and the research bearing on them. While the examples here focus primarily on programs in the United States, Chile, and Nigeria, SNSV programs now exist in many nations. However, few have been carefully studied by social scientists. For an investigation of key issues in other countries, McBride and Sherraden (2007) provide chapters in their book focused on SNSV programs in Israel, Chile, Denmark, and England, as well as additional countries in Africa and Latin America (see also Eberly 1992).

1. What are the substantive policy or quality of life areas of focus for SNSV?

National service aims to help disadvantaged and underserved communities through engaging civil society in "tasks that neither the marketplace nor

government can provide" (Moskos 1988). For example, Servicio Pais is a national program oriented to serve marginalized communities by engaging young professionals from different disciplines. It is conceived as a social intervention program, because it combines the resources and capabilities of public and private organizations, such as municipalities and foundations, with the capacities of young professionals and those living in these communities. It is oriented to foster local communities along with helping young professionals to gain experience and instill a social commitment among them. This program, administered by the Foundation for Overcoming Poverty (Fundacion para la Superacion de la Pobreza), concerns a one-year period of young professionals (volunteers) working in these underserved communities developing an intervention program, designed and implemented with local communities to foster their capacities and to create the conditions for long-term interventions.

Similarly, AmeriCorps VISTA is focused on the range of issues related to poverty: education, homelessness, health and nutrition, and so on. Like volunteers with Servicio Pais, VISTA members reside in the communities in which they are serving, effectively living in poverty while serving those in poverty. Sagawa (2010) describes many purposive/goal areas besides poverty reduction in which SNSV programs in the United States are active and effective, including education, health, crises/disasters, and the environment. Thus, while SNSV government programs usually focus on poverty reduction and community development as consensus goals, similar SNSV programs run by nonprofit or lower-level governments often seek many other kinds of goals, at least at times.

The key aspect of these and other SNSV programs is the link created between local communities and volunteers. It is understood that local communities are active subjects able to get involved in the solution of their own problems, with the support of volunteers to make things happen. This link is grounded in the fact that volunteers live with communities for the whole time the project takes place.

2. What financial or other material or non-material support is provided to volunteers of national service programs?

In addition to regular living stipends described in Section B, national service is often incentivized through student loan forgiveness and other educational benefits. Young professionals participating in the Servicio Pais program receive a salary of 450,000 Chilean Pesos (USD 900+) per month for a whole year. They also receive health insurance and an increase in their salary according to the conditions of the place where the job is developed. There are areas in Chile where the standard of living is higher, particularly in isolated zones. They also receive support to fulfill their duties, in terms of mentoring during the time they serve. Finally, they are involved in an online diploma (certificate) to help them in their social intervention programs.

Similarly, VISTA members are paid at a rate of 110% of the poverty level for the community in which they are serving, which is roughly the same as the stipend given to Chilean volunteers. They also receive access to health services and an educational grant of approximately USD 5600 at the completion of their year of service. President Lyndon Johnson said the following in the swearing in of the first 20 VISTA members in 1964: "Your pay will be low; the conditions of your labor often will be difficult, but you will have the satisfaction of leading a great national effort, and you will have the ultimate reward which comes to those who serve their fellow man" (Corporation for National and Community Service 2006).

Because many national volunteers are graduates of secondary schooling with comparatively advanced skills, entitlements are often criticized as a form of middle-class welfare (Bandow 1990b). At the national level, amid a global economic crunch, the financial demands of national service programs have to be measured against the competing demands of other social welfare programs and investments. Some critics emphasize that the tasks volunteers are often asked to perform are not needed, according to market standards – thus volunteers are being paid to perform tasks that would otherwise fail to justify remuneration.

3. Who pays for the material support provided to volunteers of national service programs?

Funding that supports SNSV programs is often a combination of public and private dollars. For instance, funding for Servicio Pais is provided by the Foundation for Overcoming Poverty which is a not-for-profit organization backed by public entities and private companies. VISTA in the United States is federally funded, with cost sharing by local governments, nonprofit organizations, and other private entities that wish to donate to support more VISTA presence in communities. Additionally, some colleges and universities in the United States offer to match the education grant provided to VISTA members, thus allowing nearly USD 12,000 in education benefits for members who pursue additional education after completion of their service.

4. Who volunteers for national service programs? What motivates and triggers individual involvement?

Volunteers in Servicio Pais are young professionals committed to overcome poverty and improve capacities of under-served communities. No systematic data or empirical analysis has been generated to understand the reasons for being involved in this program. It is well known that people involved in this program tend to have a social commitment.

Since 1994, there have been over 800,000 AmeriCorps and VISTA members who have served in the United States with over one billion hours of service (Corporation for National and Community Service 2013). Members come from

a range of socio-economic backgrounds, across ages, and educational back-grounds without any bias in gender or race (Simon 2002) and maintain an active commitment to service and the idea of giving back to society.

5. What are the known impacts resulting from national service programs?

The list of interventions and outcomes emerging from SNSV exceeds the pages of this chapter. However, in this section we summarize the main impacts on volunteers, beneficiaries, institutions, and communities. The difficulty of measuring outcomes associated with volunteerism presents perhaps the most significant challenge for continued support to SNSV entities and programs (Reingold and Lenkowsky 2010; Sherraden and Eberly 1982).

Perry and Thomson (2004) offer one of the most comprehensive assessments of national service impact. They unpack impact into four categories: server (or volunteer) outcomes, beneficiary outcomes, institution outcomes, and com-munity impacts. They synthesized research on national service programs from 115 publications and 139 studies found within the publications dated up to June 2000. Most of the studies were of peer-experimental design, meaning two groups were measured against each other in post-test only, and the group mem-bers were not randomly assigned. Thus, there was no control for environmental factors. The next most often-used study design was simple pre-test and post-test without control groups. Given these limitations in study design, Perry and Thomson identify findings that were more or less consensus findings across the 139 studies.

(a) Impact on volunteers

In the domain of server or volunteer outcomes, they found strong positive out-comes in the areas of skills development, education opportunity, self-esteem, satisfaction from serving, and health. In other words, national service volun-teers were found, after their period of service, to have developed competency in new skills, found and pursued additional higher education, enhanced their self-esteem (at least for senior citizen volunteers), were overall satisfied with their experience, and enhanced their health and well-being. They found a weak posi-tive relationship (meaning some studies showed positive and others showed no relationship) with the outcome of civic responsibility. This is a normatively dis-appointing finding, in that volunteerism is generally thought to cultivate more selfless and outward-looking behavior. Given the mix of studies included in the synthesis, this is clearly an area for more rigorous analysis. The final outcome in this domain showed no relationship between the act of national service volun-teering and tolerance for diversity. This does not mean the effect was negative but that the act of service did not alter ideas about diversity.

As three recent studies of the voluntary service scene in Africa demon-strate (Caprara et al. 2012; Obadare 2014, Perold 2013), SNSVs throughout

the continent are seen as pivotal to many youth strategies. However, such programs do not have unalloyed positive consequences. National service in Eritrea, for example, has reportedly disruptive effects on volunteers. Studies by Mayer and Schoepflin (1989) and Araia (2002) show that the Eritrean SNSV program resulted in deep and often negative behavioral changes in volunteers connected with their experience in the course of service. Likewise, the SNSV program in Botswana was seen as, in the apt words of a participant, *a year of forgetting* rather than a year of learning, as envisaged at its conception (Molefe and Weeks 2001:106). Volunteers with *Tirelo Setshaba* in Botswana expressed weariness about a program that was increasingly seen as an impediment and an unnecessary delay in the journey to tertiary education. Eliasoph's (2013) qualitative study found similarly negative outcomes of SNSVs and other volunteer projects in the United States.

Research on VISTA and related US national service programs has suggested a number of potential benefits for volunteers. Those who participate in SNSV are more likely to continue volunteering, to engage civically and politically in their community, and to seek a career in government or nonprofit service (Nesbit and Brudney 2010). There remain questions, however, as to the lasting impact of SNSV on pressing social issues.

(b) Impact on beneficiaries

Beneficiary outcomes include two examples in Perry and Thomson's (2004) study. In the studies analyzed, two outcomes were examined: education and senior care. In both areas, the studies showed positive outcomes for the client population, meaning a general sense that the national service volunteers helped enhance educational achievement and behavior and make senior citizen well-being stronger. There are other population groups that potentially benefit from national service volunteer activities, such as the homeless, impoverished, financially illiterate, and so on. Additional research is necessary across more social domains.

(c) Impact on institutions/VIOs

The third domain – institutional outcomes – consists of changes to the institution of volunteerism and the volunteer-hosting organizations (Volunteer-Involving Organizations/VIOs; Leigh et al. 2011). Perry and Thomson (2004) identified discussions of three such outcomes across the 139 studies: service expansion, service quality, and institution creation. Methods used to analyze these data were not rigorous and studies were few to draw and definitive conclusions, making this also an area in need of further research.

(d) Impact on communities

Fourth is the domain of community impacts. These go beyond outcomes for a client population. Instead, the outcomes embedded within this domain

are strengthening community, improving benefit–cost ratios, and volunteer leveraging. The one strong positive outcome, consistently found across studies in the sample gathered by Perry and Thomson (2004), was the positive benefit–cost ratio: the dollar cost of implementing the national service volunteer program were consistently outweighed by the benefits achieved, though benefits were calculated differently across cases. There were mixed findings – some positive and some null – for the other two areas. National service volunteers were not demonstrably always successful at recruiting additional volunteers (volunteer leveraging), and there were no consistent findings on broader community strength and social capital outcomes.

Every volunteer with Servicio Pais has to develop an Intervention Plan (PTI), which is designed and implemented with local communities. In so doing, the program is able not only to address social problems but also to create capacities in the community in order to make them play a key role in their own future. By contrast, among the local communities in Botswana, there has been constant chafing at the perceived corruptive influence of volunteers, who were said to have brought with them some of the worst aspects of urban life, including alcoholism, sexual incontinence, and drugs.

(e) The influence of context on the impacts of SNSV

For the most part, scholars of SNSVs have taken program positive outcomes for granted, very often with scant consideration for the historical context of their origination, the objectives they were intended to achieve, and the actual experiences of similar programs in comparable national contexts. Based on mainly qualitative research interviews and focus group discussions, Obadare (2007, 2010) adds an important element to the study of SNSVs. His findings show that the general assumption of positive outcomes for participants needs to be revised in consideration of the larger, prevailing, socio-political ecology of the sponsoring nation. These conditions have a significant effect on participant outcomes, which can be negative as well as positive.

Given that SNSV is a public program, some are concerned that the government may use volunteer service as a way to co-opt civil society when important social and political contexts are not taken into consideration. A good example is China's national youth service, which was established during Mao Zedong's Cultural Revolution with the goals to prevent the *bourgeois liberal* ideas of young people (Bandow 1990a).

Virtually without exception, research on SNSV impacts in the United States tends to find both immediate and longer-term positive outcomes for participants/volunteers, but few negative outcomes. Obadare (2007, 2010, 2014), writing about the SNSV in Nigeria, sees far more negative effects and also problems in other African SNSV programs. As can be seen above, there are some signs that volunteerism and national service can be impactful with clear institutionalization and devotion of dedicated resources to the effort (Bass 2013;

Khazei 2010; Sagawa 2010). However, there are also failures in a couple of components. First, there is inconsistency in measurement of impacts across time and space. Second, as Frumkin and Jastrzab (2010) observed, there is inconsistency in how national service is defined, both currently and historically (Bass 2013). Third, measurements of SNSV impact have not uniformly been pursued with rigor. This situation leaves open to question even those findings that have been advanced and relied upon for championing national service as a policy program and initiative.

6. What do we learn from other major books or reports on SNSV?

In addition to documents cited above, there are many other relevant publications that we lack time and word-count to review and discuss here at any length. The concept and actuality of SNSV programs has stirred much political and even philosophical debate, especially in the United States, with many resulting early publications of interest (e.g., Boyte and Kari 1996; Eberly 1988; Evers 1990; Marshall 1988; Moskos 1988). Some see SNSV as a wonderful social innovation that helps both the recipients and the volunteers themselves. Others decry SNSV as a waste of public money that decreases recruitment to the military in relatively peaceful periods without youth conscription (Roux 1991).

Some critics suggest that there are more effective ways to promote volunteering and a *spirit of civic mindedness* in a democratic nation than using public tax dollars to support volunteer service (Roux 1991). According to these authors, effective alternatives include decentralized community-, church-, and school/university-based service programs, which may also carry the potential to be more intrinsically motivated (e.g., Elkin and Soltan 1999; Furco and Billig 2002; Kielsmeier et al. 2009; Mann and Patrick 2000; Mohan 1994; Sagawa 2010:190; Schudson 1998; Spring, Grimm, and Dietz 2009). In response to the important question of public benefit, a good overview of government interests in SNSV can be found in Brav, Moore, and Sherraden (2002). Likewise, the Corporation for National and Community Service (2013) researches how funding for SNSV can increase employment prospects in the economic sector.

There have been quite a few technical evaluations of SNSV in the United States done by external contractors, nearly always by commercial (rather than university-based) research contractors, funded by SNSV government program officials (e.g., Abt Associates 2001; Aguirre International 1999; General Accounting Office 1995; Neumann and others 1995). More recently, the U S Corporation for National and Community Service has done many in-house evaluations of the impact of SNSV though its Office of Research and Policy Development (Corporation for National and Community Service 2007a, 2007b, 2008, 2009).

Some books and reports have focused on the impact of SNSV on recruiting for the armed services (the military), or on *civilian service* as an alternative to

military service for youth – sometimes on *citizen soldiers* as an alternative to conscription (the draft) of youth for military service (Eberly and Sherraden 1990; James 1910; Magee and Nider 2002; Toomepuu 1989). There is some evidence that SNSV reduces voluntary recruitment to the military by a small amount, but other evidence consistently shows the various positive effects of SNSV that outweigh such minor military recruitment decreases.

A book by Sagawa (2010) is one of the best recent overviews of extant SNSV in America, treating not just SNSV federal government programs but also many nonprofit sector and lower-level government versions of stipended volunteering to meet community needs and to develop the character and citizenship skills and civic inclinations of participants. Her Appendix lists many high-quality stipended volunteer program opportunities with contact websites.

In perhaps the most comprehensive global survey to date, McBride, Benítez, and Sherraden (2003) completed research with a sample of 210 civic service programs in 57 different countries in 2003. While not all of these programs would meet the definition of SNSV, the majority are representative of national service. This report presents findings on the geographic distribution of national service programs and their various goals, activities, and forms, an overview of the demographic characteristics of those who volunteer, and the economic and political structures that support the service experiences.

Frumkin and Jastrzab (2010) wrote a high-quality book describing the treatment of SNSVs in America. Based on extensive research by the authors, they focus extensively on the benefits of SNSV for different kinds of participants involved, including individual volunteers, the local community, and volunteer-involving organizations as well as the general public. The authors also make a variety of suggestions for the improvement of SNSV programs.

Van Til and Ledwig (1995) give an extensive but concise analysis of the structure and meaning of SNSV programs as a guide to the development and management of such programs. The authors focus both on the underlying values and also on operational considerations of SNSV programs. They briefly review relevant legislation (to the date of publication) and suggest perspectives on SNSV from the viewpoints of different stakeholders. In a more recent chapter, Van Til (2000:chapter 4) gives his assessment of the value and impact of AmeriCorps – citing both qualitative and quantitative research on its impact from a Gallup Poll survey on the topic. He summarizes (p. 50), "AmeriCorps, we found in our study, is a program largely invisible to the American public, but one that rests on a broad, if shallow base of public support." The national survey data (p. 62) showed that most people, often a large majority, saw many beneficial impacts of AmeriCorps that far outweighed its costs. When respondents are informed of what it does, they usually show positive support for it. Nonetheless, the SNSV has negative outcomes as well (pp. 62–63) and is a politically contentious issue in the United States at the national level (pp. 65–67).

E. Usable knowledge

SNSV has the potential to engage hundreds, even thousands, of citizens per year in many nations. Though there is a direct cost associated with support for stipended volunteers, the return on the relatively small investment is potentially large, both economically and socially. To fully take advantage of SNSV requires clear strategy, measurable outcomes, and sustainable partnerships across community-based organizations (Bryer 2014).

No single prescription for developing partnerships for volunteerism exists, but we can adapt practices from other research literatures on collaborative governance. Specifically, to set up SNSV programs one needs to (1) identify problems or information needs that can be addressed through full-time volunteers, (2) identify possible collaborators or community agencies that are stakeholders regarding that problem or need, (3) specify the skills, resources, relationships, or information each potential collaborator possesses, including what resources they can provide to assist the professional development of volunteers, and (4) determine the values and preferences of collaborators to forge a partnership that is responsive to unique needs in the community (Bryer and Toro 2013).

Another recommendation based on the research literature is to engage institutions of higher education to provide access to professional development, knowledge resources, and an accepting community for volunteers. The efficacy of this approach has been seen in the examples of several US-based universities, including Tulane University and the University of Central Florida (Bryer, Augustin, Barve, Gracia, and Perez 2013).

F. Future trends and needed research

Given the various positive features and impacts of SNSV programs for many countries, it is likely that such programs will generally persist and perhaps even grow in popularity over time. However, some existing SNSV programs will likely be ended, especially where the results/impacts seem mixed or negative to national leaders. SNSVs may be more successful and appropriate in industrial or even post-industrial nations, where some poverty persists, than in pre-industrial/agrarian societies, where poverty is more endemic. Also, the greater the financial pressure/scarcity felt by national leaders, the more likely an existing SNSV will be canceled and new SNSVs not begun.

Practically, SNSV is perpetually at risk of losing funding and support from government legislators. The return on investment is more often documented in anecdotal terms rather than through systematic and consistent research over time and place. Thus, advocates of SNSV face an ongoing challenge to justify any national program's existence, particularly in times when every public dollar

is scrutinized. This represents the most significant research gap and the area for further empirical study within and across nations. The SNSV programs are generally supported on principle, given their apparent *feel-good* character. But much more attention needs to be paid to rigorous longitudinal studies of the impact of SNSV using control groups to the extent possible.

G. Cross-references

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12
Volunteer Tourism and Travel Volunteering

Stephen L. Wearing (Australia), Angela M. Benson (UK), and Nancy McGehee (USA)

A. Introduction

This chapter explores the nature of volunteer tourism and travel volunteering as part of the larger section of this book on the purposive types of volunteers and volunteering. This new type of volunteering now constitutes a burgeoning segment of the alternative tourism industry that goes far beyond both the traditional notion of volunteering and traditional mass tourism. This chapter explores many key debates that underpin volunteer tourism, in particular the various issues and dimensions evident in various cultural contexts. We also provide an understanding of the reasons why some consumers use their tourism leisure time to volunteer. Our focus will be on international volunteer tourism, excluding domestic tourism volunteering.

Volunteer tourism (or *voluntourism*) is a relatively recent phenomenon, but despite this, it is one of the major growth areas in contemporary tourism. This demand has been met by a proliferation of organizations from the private, public, and nonprofit sectors offering a range of projects that can be pursued worldwide. This chapter, as part of the critical discourse on volunteer tourism, begins with a discussion of the definition of volunteer tourism, which is then placed in historical context.

Section D of this chapter is devoted to the examination of seven issues critical to volunteer tourism. These are its sustainability and potential commodification, the altruistic/egoistic paradox, the importance of inclusion of the host community's perspective in volunteer tourism, the role of religion, and the North and South geo-political nature of the phenomenon. The authors make no claims that this is either an exhaustive or comprehensive assessment of the issues currently associated with volunteer tourism. However, we do believe we have selected key issues that are discussed through a broad social science lens. Section E of this chapter examines some of the more recent initiatives

and trends in volunteer tourism, though it is important to note that the extent to which these will become mainstream is still unclear. What is apparent is the need for additional empirical data so that further, more meaningful, debates can occur. There is little doubt that our understanding of volunteer tourism has grown over the last decade, but it is still limited. Clearly, there is still much to be done.

B. Definitions

This chapter accepts the set of general definitions in the Handbook Appendix.

Wearing made the first attempt to define volunteer tourists as those who "volunteer in an organized way to undertake holidays that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments or research into aspects of society or environment" (Wearing 2001b:1). Since then the definition has evolved with other authors refining it around their research perspective. For example, McGehee and Santos (2005:760) define volunteer tourism as "utilizing discretionary time and income to travel out of the sphere of regular activity to assist others in need." Brown (2005) offered a tour operator's perspective of volunteer tourism as a "type of tourism experience where a tour operator offers travellers an opportunity to participate in an optional excursion that has a volunteer component, as well as a cultural exchange with local people" (p. 480). In this definition, we find a variation from Wearing (2001b) where the entire trip was focused on the volunteering component.

The conceptualization of volunteer tourism has been further expanded in the literature to include terms such as *volunteer tourism* or *volunteering for development*. Clemmons (www.voluntourism.org) provides a definition of volunteer tourism in the mainstream media in a way that gives equal credence to both the volunteer and travel experience as "the *conscious*, seamlessly integrated combination of voluntary service to a destination and the best, traditional elements of travel – arts, culture, geography, history *and recreation* – in that destination." These varying definitions and conceptualizations reflect the growing debate and critique within the study of tourism.

C. Historical background

The concepts of volunteering and tourism both have long histories. The history of formal volunteering and associations in general is reviewed in Handbook Chapter 1, going back many millennia. Volunteer tourism and travel volunteering are much more recent as phenomena, going back only a couple of decades. While there are a small number of fragmented articles prior to the new millennium, the book by Wearing (2001b) inspired the articles that followed.

According to the Centre International de Recherches et d'Études Touristiques (CIRET 2012), there were 444 documents on volunteer tourism circa 2011–2012. Put into perspective, 288 documents existed on backpacking, 530 on wine tourism, and 5,700 on sustainable tourism.

While the literature on volunteering generally has grown extensively (e.g., Smith 2016), a sociological inspection of tourism volunteers has been largely lacking. While one might expect to find that research in volunteer tourism is part of the wider discourse on volunteering and the nonprofit sector, this has not been the case. Instead, papers on volunteer tourism are predominantly published in tourism and service sector journals. This chapter will hopefully act as a catalyst to a wider and more collaborative discourse that will cross the boundaries between volunteering per se and volunteer tourism.

Volunteer tourism appears to have emerged in advanced industrial societies, at least in part, due to the *time poor* phenomenon: individuals are working longer hours than ever before, with less discretionary time at their disposal. They have less time in their daily lives to participate in established volunteer programs in-country that may require a commitment of one to two years. As a result, there has been an increased desire to use holiday time to participate in humanitarian and ecological projects. Originally, not for profit volunteer organizations designed projects that focused on serving communities in need, but now, opportunities to engage in a volunteer tourism experience seem to be endless. Projects on offer are wide ranging, including cultural/historical restoration, education, conservation, wildlife, sport, ecological, health, medical assistance, journalism, and archeology While these projects are offered all over the world, projects to developing countries still dominate the marketplace. Despite the variety of project types and locations, there is a common rhetoric surrounding volunteer tourism that centers on transforming societies, engaging in poverty reduction and working toward long-term sustainability.

D. Key issues

Not surprisingly, the rapid expansion of volunteer tourism has resulted in a range of issues surrounding the aforementioned discussion. In this section, we address ourselves to seven key issues. In this way, we can view volunteer tourism outside the restricted framework of commercial and industrial activity within which much of its discourse is presently confined.

1. What does volunteer tourism involve and where does it take place?

In their research, Callanan and Thomas (2005) found that generally volunteer tourist sessions were short term, with the majority lasting less than four weeks. International volunteer tourism generally aligns itself with ideas of development and humanitarian aid. Wearing (2001a) suggested that these could

include, but are not limited to, scientific research (wildlife, land, and water), conservation projects, medical assistance, economic and social development (including agriculture, construction, and education), and cultural restoration.

Volunteer tourism and travel volunteering have become global phenomena, with future market predictions indicating growth in size and value (Mintel 2008; Tourism Research and Marketing [TRAM] 2008). While the global tourism market has slowed, the volunteer tourism, travel volunteering, and gap tourism markets appear to be more robust and still flourishing (Lee and Woosnam 2010). Despite this positive outlook, UK organizations indicate that their numbers are stagnating, because of the proliferation of companies in the sector. Mintel (2008) estimated that this market reached USD 150 million in 2006. TRAM (2008) maintains that "the total expenditure generated by volunteer tourism is likely to be between £832 million ($1.66 billion) and £1.3 billion ($2.6 billion)" (p. 42) "with a total of 1.6 million volunteer tourists a year" (p. 5).

2. How is volunteer tourism related to public policy?

Since the 1980s, there has been growth of new forms of tourism, which are small in scale, independent, and potentially self-sustaining.[1] These niches were seen as sharply different from the conventional mass packaged tours made popular in the 20th century.[2] Based on the principles of sustainability, Pearce (1992) saw these two forms of tourism as polar opposites. Nevertheless, the critique of alternative tourism forms made most recently by Butcher and Smith (2010) argues that in many instances alternative forms of tourism are no better than mass tourism in offering sustainable solutions. Moreover, all forms of tourism hold potential for negative impact on both the environment and the host communities. Brandon (1993:134) has argued that "ecotourism has led to numerous problems rather than provide the substantial benefits that may have been intended." The reason behind this is that the amount of communication and contact between tourists and the host community is much greater (e.g., Macleod 2004). Consequently, the debate is no longer about mass tourism and alternative forms of tourism as polar opposites. Rather, all forms of tourism should work toward sustainability, for it has the potential to minimize their deleterious impact (e.g., Wearing and Neil 2009).

Weaver (2012), among others, views this as *convergence* and believes this is the route to a broad tourism framework (as opposed to a narrow mass or alternative framework). Undoubtedly, much of the tourism sector now embraces sustainability as a principle and has changed its management and operational practices accordingly. Nonetheless, as a sector it has been slow to engage with sustainability. What we must bear in mind about this rhetoric is the growth and dominant power of package holidays, multinational chains, and global tourism networks, which are still very much in evidence.

So, has there really been a fundamental shift in the tourism sector or just a blurring of boundaries? Weaver (2007) indicates that many tourism organizations have adopted an incremental, adaptive, paradigm nudge rather than a transformational paradigm shift.[3] Furthermore, Mowforth and Munt (2003) caution that sustainable tourism is not always an appropriate solution, pointing out that sustainability is "socially and politically constructed and reflects the interests and values of those involved" (p. 18).

As a result of increased media and academic attention, volunteer tourism has come under the spotlight, with critics arguing that volunteer tourism is just another form of commodification, displaying all the signs of mass tourism market. Furthermore, while volunteer tourism is discussed as part of the sustainable tourism development paradigm, the evidence to support such a supposition is limited. That is, it appears as case studies focused on a single dimension (or impact) at one moment in time. For volunteer tourism to be considered sustainable, it must be measured according to the three basic criteria for evaluating sustainability: economic, social, and environmental. Each of these has, however, its own methodologies and requires certain capabilities. Moreover, the tools, methodologies, and capabilities that comprise a holistic approach to evaluating the combined social, economic, and environmental contributions are still in their infancy.

3. What challenges are being faced by volunteer tourism?

One main challenge is the tendency toward commodification of volunteer tourism (Godfrey and Wearing 2012). This is a complex process. The volunteer tourism market may offer substantial business opportunities, but the organizations involved are different from other businesses in their goals and objectives, and subsequently their evaluation. In addition, it is difficult to find common ways to investigate such a wide spectrum of organizations engaged in the business of volunteering (e.g., NGOs, INGOs, for-profit enterprises, church groups, international agencies, and now broker organizations). There is also a movement toward more economically efficient models. This includes organizations that provide a *cradle-to-grave approach*; they are responsible for the volunteer from point of departure to return home. Other organizations privilege the *Harvard supply chain model*, where the entire process is outsourced and divided into segments handled by different organizations. The Harvard model has been touted as the more efficient and effective, but there is yet little evidence to support this. A major criticism of this model is anchored in a concern with the lack of sustained, meaningful, two-way engagement with communities benefiting from volunteer projects. Segmenting the volunteer travel process across a variety of providers could jeopardize the crucial interaction between the destination community and volunteer tourists.

Many commercial volunteer tourism organizations advertise to potential volunteers the benefits to be gained by purchasing the experiences being offered. Nonetheless, these organizations need to understand what attracts the volunteer tourist, which is a challenge, since volunteer tourists are not a homogeneous set (e.g., Andereck et al. 2012). The good news for volunteer tourism organizations is that although there are differences across studies, most found altruism to be a common, major motivator.

Another challenge revolves around consideration for the host community. The nature of the volunteer tourism experience is such that volunteers work in collaboration with members of the community, usually in developing countries. In fact, it is often argued that interaction between host and guest is more profound in volunteer tourism than in other forms of tourism (Zahra and McIntosh 2007). Stoddart and Rogerson (2004:317) note that "volunteer tourists are 'new tourists' in search of an experience which is beyond that offered by mass tourism." The experiences in volunteer tourism are, compared with traditional tourism, seen to be more meaningful between the players of different cultural backgrounds. Therefore, volunteer tourism is aligned with a wider range of values and behaviors than mainstream tourism. It has degrees of altruism and conservation of community benefits and development. Volunteer tourism generally attempts to act positively for both the environment and the host community. This makes the host communities that participate in volunteer tourism with their input and interaction an even more essential part of volunteer tourism than in mass tourism.

Research focusing directly on the host community includes the following. Clifton and Benson (2006), in a case study in Indonesia, explored the socio-cultural impact on and economic benefits to host communities. Higgins-Desboilles (2003) investigated the possibility that tourism might contribute to the socio-cultural development of Australia and foster social justice and reconciliation within the divided society of indigenous and non-indigenous Australians. Singh (2002) reported a case study in the Himalayas. It examined the interrelationships that developed between host community residents and volunteer tourists (cited in McGehee and Andereck 2008). Most recently, Zahra and McGehee (2013) focused on the impact of volunteer tourism on a host community in the Philippines using a community capitals perspective. The following themes emerged from these studies: (1) increasing local residents' sense of pride in their culture; (2) causing economic change, including income generators, income leakages, and dependency; (3) satisfying curiosity of the *other*; (4) reinforcing stereotypes; and (5) rationalizing poverty.

In sum, there is generally widespread community support for volunteer tourism (Gray and Campbell 2007). One main reason for this is that the community does not view the actors as tourists but as volunteers. Therefore, the volunteer tourist experience is not commodified. And the experience fails to

bring with it the negative environmental impact and loss of local control that usually accompanies traditional tourism. This is supported by Devereux's (2008) study in Cambodia, which showed that locals appreciate volunteers' attempts to understand them through face-to-face interaction (see also research by Higgins-Desboilles 2003 and Clifton and Benson 2006).

4. What motivates and triggers individual involvement?

Lacking a published, quantitative, research profile of the volunteer tourist, we must create a composite one from existing research. Thus, women are generally more likely to participate in volunteer tourism than men (e.g., Stoddart and Rogerson 2004). Some researchers found that the majority of volunteer tourists are between the ages of 35 and 44 (Brown 2005), though the age range runs from early 20s to senior citizens (e.g., Coghlan 2008). It appears that they come from a variety of walks of life and that their education levels vary, but with most volunteer tourists having earned a university degree (McGehee 2002; Stoddart and Rogerson 2004). They may be professional, retired, managerial, trade or service work, students, civil service, medical, financial, or homemakers (e.g., Coghlan 2008). A minority of these volunteers also volunteer in their home communities (e.g., McGehee et al. 2009). Many have international travel experience (McGehee 2002).

A question often asked when examining the impact of volunteer tourism programs is whether such tourism is (1) providing the opportunity for an individual to have a narcissistic holiday, (2) enabling a deep exploration of oneself through learning about other people and cultures, (3) facilitating sincere altruism, or (4) a combination of these. In general, research reveals the presence of overlapping motives subject to change across time and place. It suggests that the volunteer tourist is motivated to serve for a variety of reasons, some altruistic, some egoistic. For example, Wearing (2001b) found seven motivational categories explaining why individuals choose to participate in volunteer tourism: altruism, travel and adventure, structure of program, right time and right place, personal growth, cultural exchange and learning, and professional development. Work by Benson and Seibert (2009) and Brown (2005) produced a similar list. Yet, in their large-scale study of *potential* volunteer tourists, Andereck et al. (2012) found five clusters of respondents. While they were similar in some ways, including interest in altruism, they differed in their desire to find adventure, spend time with other volunteers versus the community, and experience cultural immersion. So, whereas the study of volunteer tourist motivation is still nascent, one trend does seem to hold: altruism and self-interest are common dispositions there.

What in detail is this motivational pattern? Some research has found that altruism was the key motivation of volunteer tourists; others argue that altruism is an aside to the personal gain that can come from the experience. In addition

to the aforementioned research, Callanan and Thomas (2005), among others, concluded that volunteer tourism is an altruistic pursuit. Still, many authors disagree with this proposition. For example, Hustinx (2001:65) states that "volunteers are not 'born altruists'; they can adopt any position on the continuum between pure altruism and pure egotism."

These authors argue that the classic altruistic, self-sacrificing approach to volunteering is being replaced with a self-interested search for fulfillment and identity (Hustinx 2001; Rehberg 2005; see also Smith 1981). This interplay of altruism and egotism stands out among the most predominant and oft-studied volunteer to developing countries: the young Western traveler. It appears that many seek self-discovery (e.g., Lepp 2008), change in values and beliefs (e.g., Jensen 2003), and "cultural identity transformation" (Jensen 2003).

Turning to another motivator, travel is frequently embraced as a means of satisfying curiosity and accumulating experiential knowledge of the *other* (Matthews 2008). Locals are constructed as anchor points for an experience; they remind travelers of their location and ensure the latter that they are not simply set loose in an increasingly homogenized world. Elsrud (2001) argued, however, that backpackers and independent travelers are concerned with otherness as authenticity, but only in so far as it affords increased status or cultural capital. To create common bonds between volunteer tourists and their host community, the voice of the other must be heard. Otherwise, these tourists risk falling into mere sightseeing, curiosity, objectification, inferiorization (i.e., seeing or creating inferiority), and exploitation (Wearing 2002).

5. What are the main factors influencing success and impact in volunteer tourism?

A number of studies in volunteer tourism have examined at the community level the economic impact of volunteer tourism. Clifton and Benson (2006) determined that though limited in duration due to seasonality, *research ecotourism* (i.e., volunteer tourism) still spawned income-generating activities within the host community. Examples of income generators included direct employment of local residents, rental accommodations for the volunteers, and sales of handicrafts and food. Nevertheless, the number of local residents able to benefit economically from the presence of volunteer tourists depended on the assets or personal skills of the former. For instance, direct employment most often required competence in English or boat-handling skills. Additionally, only local residents who owned their homes could collect rent from participants. Selling handicrafts and food was open to the greatest number of residents.

In contrast, Zahra and McGehee (2013) found the host community to be indifferent to financial capital, sometimes even experiencing income leakages related to the presence of volunteer tourists. Interviews with local residents revealed that they would often buy a soft drink or cake to express appreciation

to a volunteer tourist. But they would not do this for their own family, being too poor to afford these items. Another example of such income leakage was the practice of community members of giving volunteers crafts they would normally sell to other tourists.

McGehee and Andereck (2008) studied two volunteer tourism organizations, one in a rural community in Appalachia (USA) and one located in an urban area in Baja California, Mexico. One theme common to the two was their potential for generating among the local residents an economic dependency on volunteer tourism. Both organizations, to preserve the dignity of local residents and mitigate dependence on outside sources, refused to give any free handouts.

6. Can involvement in volunteer tourism have a negative impact on participants?

One potential negative outcome of volunteer tourism is the reinforcement of stereotypes. While cultural exchange and learning have been found to be a primary motivate for volunteer tourists, the quality of interaction between them and host communities can vary significantly. Raymond and Hall (2008) argued that positive contact with the *other* during a volunteer tourism experience cannot be assumed to lead to long-term international understanding and respect between the two cultures. The authors noted that several interviewees implied that the positive relationships they had developed with individuals from different countries were simply *exceptions to the rule*, not a normal occurrence. International volunteering may in fact reinforce existing stereotypes, supporting the belief that the volunteers and host community have little in common (Simpson 2004). One instance tends to occur when volunteer tourists inappropriately assume the role of expert or teacher when working with the host community, regardless of their experience or qualifications (Raymond and Hall 2008). This stereotype harmonizes with the idea of Westerners as being racially and culturally superior to locals.

Another possible negative impact is the rationalization of poverty. Simpson (2004) found that volunteers commonly remark on how happy locals appear despite an absence of wealth. Interviews conducted by Raymond and Hall (2008) produced similar findings, where one participant said, "they don't know any better and they haven't had what we have so to them that's quite normal and they're happy being like that." This rationalization of poverty undermines the positive ethic commonly associated with volunteer tourism.

7. What are the main barriers or obstacles to engaging in volunteer tourism?

One obvious barrier is low income and wealth, because volunteer tourism abroad is usually more expensive than domestic tourism. And tourism anywhere is generally more expensive than vacationing while staying at home.

In addition, there are significant fees for volunteer tourism when arranged by some third-party business.

According to McGehee and Andereck (2008), the role of organized religion in volunteer tourism often seems to be the *elephant in the living room* that no one wishes to discuss. Of course, there are many secular volunteer tourism organizations having no connection to organized religion and many volunteers who practice any number of religions. Yet, were one to examine the roots of volunteer tourism, one would probably find some form of the early mission and relief work of the Catholic and Protestant Christian churches.

When it comes to religion, the relationship between the *voluntoured* host community and volunteer tourists is complex. Sometimes the relationship appears to be contradictory, as with the case of the two communities of McDowell County, West Virginia, USA, and Tijuana, Mexico. Census statistics report low levels of church attendance or association with organized religion in McDowell County (quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states 2002), but interviews with residents reveal support for the church-based volunteers who work through local religious-based organizations, such as the McDowell Mission (McGehee and Andereck 2008).

Meanwhile, in the survey conducted in Tijuana, a culture known for high rates of church attendance and affiliation, respondents were asked to rank their preferences for the type of volunteers they would like to see in their community. Whereas it is important to note that all categories were ranked favorably, *faith-based organizations* came last, after college students, corporate teams, fellow Mexicans, and senior citizens. During interviews with Tijuanan residents, many referred to getting *the God talk*, as if this were the expected price they would have to pay in exchange for volunteer work. Interestingly, residents' lack of enthusiasm for volunteer tourists associated with organized religion does not spill over to many of the volunteer organizations that are well-established within the community but never proselytize. The common thread in the host's reactions in both communities is that acceptable organizations have permanent offices and full-time employees located in town (McGehee and Andereck 2008).

Another obstacle is the geo-political ideology of the North-South Flow of Volunteer Tourism. For almost 30 years, neoliberalism has been the ascendant political ideology and policy agenda of the Global North. This ideology has increasingly underpinned the economies and development work of the Global South. Volunteer tourism is in danger of becoming yet another form of neo-colonialism if it is unable or unwilling to move beyond the dominant hegemony that pervades the primary tourist-sending markets. North-sponsored volunteers and community-based projects face a challenge: can they find grassroots support from their national and local governments and resist *from*

below, battling thus the new fetishism of touristic commodities encouraged by free market neoliberalism *from above*?

Unfortunately, volunteer tourism could follow the model of relations between capital and labor in the West, where on-ground activities are out-sourced and capital profit is the main aim. If it does occur, volunteer tourism risks becoming a source of cheap labor for the enterprises from the North, where ineffective volunteer tourism projects lack of relevance to host communities and serve only to efficiently move the volunteer through a community and satisfy the promotion brochures. The impact of this political economy on the South's emerging sites of volunteer tourism and the resultant beneficiaries from these relations is critical. *Hard* neoliberal agendas create the necessary environment for commodification of social relations, increasing the grip of international capital (cf. Chang 2005). Volunteer tourism, if commodified, could enable the global ruling class to expand the reach of globalization into communities and individual lives.[4]

E. Usable knowledge

The voluntourism companies need to be conscious of what attracts their clients, which is a challenge, given that volunteer tourists are not a homogeneous lot (e.g., Andereck et al. 2012). In this regard, findings from research have made it clear that both self-interested and altruistic tendencies motivate these participants. Moreover, some tourists volunteer in this special way so that they may enjoy unusual personal experiences (a distinctive self-interested goal).

The nature of the volunteer tourism experience is such that participants work in collaboration with their host community – usually those in developing countries – to help achieve that group's developmental goals. It is often argued that, in the volunteer tourism experience, the interaction between host and guest is more profound than in other types of tourism. The voluntourism companies will want to facilitate this kind of interaction in ways appropriate to the local culture, but also in ways attractive to their clients.

Finally, it is also vitally important that these organizations ensure that the host community sees their client-volunteer tourists not as tourists but as volunteers. In other words, it is best to avoid commodifying this kind of tourist experience. As well, it is important to avoid as much as possible any harmful environmental impact or loss of local control, both of which frequently accompany traditional tourism.

In the final analysis, providing volunteer touristic experiences that are consonant with the spirit of volunteer tourism requires in many respects a dramatically different business approach. That of today's traditional, mainstream, commodified tourist organization simply will not do.

F. Future trends and needed research

There can be little doubt that tourism volunteering is on the rise in modern and post-modern, higher-income nations. Travel, especially foreign travel, is a frequent leisure aspiration, goal, and vacation practice for middle- and higher-income individuals and families in many developed nations of the world. As developing and transitional nations continue to develop, we may expect more people in these nations to begin to see the attractiveness of voluntourism.

We also see some areas needing research. One is that of volunteer tourism and corporate social responsibility (CSR). While much of the CSR program falls under mainstream volunteering and philanthropy, the relationship between organizations offering volunteer tourism opportunities and organizations seeking to engage in CSR activities seems to be growing. These partnerships appear to be a *win-win* situation, since the corporation has an opportunity to engage in CSR activities while the volunteer organization furthers its aims and objectives. For example, the Earthwatch European office has in the past been particularly successful at developing corporate partnerships. As part of this ongoing strategy, it became one of the "HSBC Climate Partnership" partners in a project worth USD 100 million over a period of five years.[5] The project consisted of HSBC employees (in total 2,200 employees) from across the business spending two weeks at one of the five Regional Climate Centres set up around the globe to carry out field work to establish the health of the forests. The HSBC suggests that this equals 63,000 days of volunteering time. While this example is shown in a positive light as indicated by the online reports, it is too early to tell the extent to which these types of projects will become the norm.

A second area for research is government and national-level involvement. According to Benson (2011), limited research exists on the extent to which government acts as passive recipient, active facilitator, or some combination thereof. Without discourse and empirical evidence, it is difficult to engage in meaningful discussion on the issue. There is a growing number of worthy initiatives, but the extent to which they will be taken up by other countries is unclear.

A third area needing research is how the motivations and influences on volunteer tourism are similar to and/or different from similar factors affecting formal volunteering. Most research on voluntourism makes little or no attempt to understand how such leisure activity fits with more standard types of volunteering, with other types of leisure, or specifically with the Leisure General Activity Pattern (see Handbook Chapters 4 and 5).

G. Cross-references

Chapters 4, 5, 10, 30, 34, 49, and 52.

Notes

1. Examples of new forms of tourism include: responsible tourism (Wheeler 1991); ecotourism (Wearing and Neil 1999, 2009); new tourism (Mowforth and Munt 2003), and alternative tourism (Mieczkowski 1995).
2. Mass tourism can be characterized as a standardized, rigid package with no flexibility, mass marketing to an undifferentiated clientele, consumed en masse and with little regard for the effects on the destination or host communities.
3. As might be represented, for example, by *slow travel* (see Dickinson et al. 2011).
4. We also note the recent literature that points to the complex issues of indigenous and grass roots tourism across rich and poor countries (Butler and Hinch 2007; Connell and Rugendyke 2008).
5. HSBC is the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation.

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13
Online and Virtual Volunteering

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A. Introduction

The advent of information and communication technologies (ICTs) has transformed conventional in-person volunteering on-site into online volunteering and civic participation at a physical distance. This chapter reviews online volunteering in terms of what, where, when, who, and why. Through four cases, namely Online Volunteering (United Nations), VolunteerMatch, Virtual Volunteering Projects, and GoVolunteer, this chapter proceeds to explore the nature, scope, context, type of work performed, demographics, and motivations of online volunteers. It concludes that online volunteering will continue to increase for its cost-effectiveness but at the expense of time and operational cost in adopting ICTs. This chapter concludes with the future trends of online volunteering.

Traditional definitions often identify volunteers as those who donate their time for the common good, to help someone, or participate in some organization without full financial remuneration (Bussell and Forbes 2002), without coercion, and for recipients outside their own household and immediate family. The definition in the Handbook Appendix is similar. Volunteering work may include facilitating the goals and development of a nonprofit organization, in any community that focuses on social, cultural, or even political concerns.

The recent development of information and communication technologies (ICTs) has opened up new platforms and contexts for volunteering, apart from the conventional in-person, on-site pattern. While in traditional volunteering, each step of the process is executed through face-to-face interaction, it is now possible to search for volunteer opportunities, select an organization for which to volunteer, and perform specific types of work at a physical distance from the organization through modern ICT tools. Many leaders believe that the use of ICTs will increase the efficiency of the volunteer management process and

of the supply of volunteers, including people from the ICT community, youth, and those who are out of the workforce or who face time and travel restrictions.

Recent books on the topic include those by Adams and Smith (2008), Kollock (1999), Rheingold (2000), and Song (2009). Also available are a number of book chapters (Murray and Harrison 2005, Harrison and Murray 2007; Leigh et al. 2011), journal articles (Brudney 1999; Harrison, Murray, and MacGregor 2004; Peña-López 2007), research reports (Murray and Harrison 2002), and practical guidelines on how to develop and manage this type of virtual volunteering (Ellis and Cravens 2000). Characterized by low cost and elimination of the requirement of co-presence, this chapter synthesizes the growing literature on virtual volunteering with regard to the nature, scope, context, and type of online volunteer work performed as well as the demographics and motivations of online volunteers. The main focus here is on service volunteering, rather than online advocacy volunteering, sometimes termed *clicktivism*.

B. Definitions: What, where, who, and why

This chapter accepts the general definitions of the Handbook Appendix. In addition, several key features of online volunteering are discussed. Online volunteering is also termed *virtual volunteering*, as a synonym.

1. What

(a) *Taxonomy of online volunteering.* Various terminologies have been used in a taxonomy of online volunteering. Similarly, the United Nations defines the term *online volunteer[ing]* as "tasks completed, in whole or in part, by a person via the Internet from a home, work, university, cyber café or telecenter computer" (United Nations Volunteers 2004). The Virtual Volunteering Project, one of the first few major initiatives in the area, adopted the term *virtual volunteer* to describe the person who completes "volunteer tasks, in whole or in part, via the Internet and a home or work computer" (Cravens 2000). Another commonly used term is *cyber-volunteer*. The prefix of *cyber-* suggests a loose connection between volunteering and computer use, based on the term *cyberspace*, which is used to refer to the content of the World Wide Web (WWW). Other similar terms include *e-volunteers*, *tele-volunteers*, and more recently, *micro-volunteering*. The latter is volunteering through smart phone technology and social media applications (Paylor 2012). These terminologies reveal the divergence in conceptions of online volunteering in terms of scope and labeling.

(b) *Types of online volunteering.* Peña-López (2007) identified four major types of involvement in online volunteering, namely online advocacy, online assessment and consultancy, online-offline volunteers, and pure online volunteers.

(i) Online advocacy concerns campaigns via the Internet that promote political change or foster human rights. Specifically, the online platform has been distinctively used as a new means to promote political plans and ideas (Liu 2016). The tactics of protesting online are manifested in four main forms, including petition, boycott, email campaigns, and letter-writing campaigns. Some have suggested that the increasing availability of online activism (sometimes referred to disparagingly as *clicktivism*) may lead to the emergence of a "digital repertoire of contention" (Earl and Kimport 2011). A review of the literature suggests that online advocacy of the micro-volunteering kind, where volunteers use mobile devices to donate their time or money to causes in which they believe, is the most prevalent (see Paylor 2012). Examples of this type of volunteering can be found in recent social and political movements (e.g. Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street), election campaigns (e.g. US President Barack Obama's 2008 and 2012 election campaigns), and disaster relief efforts (e.g. Hurricane Katrina and the Haiti earthquake).

(ii) Online assessment and consultancy is the second type. Online portals or forums allow people to seek assistance and advice from those who have expertise or knowledge-information specialties of a particular kind. While some platforms contribute to nonprofit goals, others simply provide room for cooperation. By commenting on and giving feedback regarding enquiries, volunteers, in this sense, are of a reactive kind. Because the expert volunteers may gain social recognition, this type of online volunteering helps to build a knowledge network that is flexible, immediate, and far-reaching. The advantages are more obvious where the portal is cross-disciplinary or transnational and where it is within everybody's reach.

(iii) The third type of online volunteering is to have online volunteers for *offline* projects. As jobs are increasingly virtual, offline volunteers may be converted into online volunteers when they are allocated roles or when they work at jobs that use ICTs online. Such a transition from in-person volunteering to online volunteering moves on-site volunteer work to home and very often reduces the time and problems associated with traveling.

(iv) Pure online volunteering is the full version of volunteering that takes place on the WWW. For instance, through Internet interaction, a team of people would conduct online projects. By extending the recruitment of volunteers online in addition to allocating online responsibilities, as in the second and third types of online volunteering, online volunteers eventually take up more responsibilities than the relatively passive offline activities. While this model may hint at the future

development of online volunteering, currently online assessment and online-offline projects remain the most common forms of online volunteering. Empirical research from Canada suggests that it is the least common type of online volunteering (Crompton and Vézina 2012; Murray and Harrison 2002b, 2005).

(c) *Expanded typology of virtual volunteering.* In addition to the use of ICT to perform work, Murray and Harrison (2002) included another aspect of the volunteer process in their typology of virtual volunteering in Canada – those who use ICT to find volunteers or to look for volunteer work. They found that a very small percentage (4%) of traditional on-site volunteers actually use ICT to find volunteer work, with significantly more (18%) using it to perform it. In a study conducted prior to the 2010 national survey of volunteering in Canada, Crompton and Vézina (2012) reported similar findings, with volunteers using ICT more often to perform volunteer work (25% in 2010, up from 20% in 2004) than to search for it (14%, up from 8% in 2004).

   While the use of ICT to find volunteer opportunities among the Canadian population of volunteers is low, Murray and Harrison (2002) found that the use of the Internet and Web-based recruitment applications to search for volunteer opportunities was very high, although very few prospective volunteers were landing jobs through them (only 5%). Of the volunteers who did land jobs, 65% went on to perform their jobs using some combination of online and offline work. These findings support the assertion that Veenhof et al. (2008) made about Internet users in Canada, that is, those who spend time online tend to be "civically and socially engaged using the Internet to find out about opportunities and make contact with others" (p. 4).

2. Where

To summarize, four broad conclusions can be drawn from the research on virtual volunteering in Canada:

  (i) The demand for virtual volunteering as a means of finding work among those who already have a volunteer position is low;
 (ii) ICT's promise to reach a new supply of volunteers who are looking for ways to engage civically is high;
(iii) Most virtual volunteering that goes on in nonprofit and voluntary organizations involves a blending of online and onsite work; and
(iv) Pure virtual volunteering where people use ICT tools to find and to perform volunteer work in isolation is very rare (i.e. at a physical distance from others).

Volunteer activity can be a single act or a continuous pursuit. Many online volunteers work from their homes. While some agencies prefer to set up their own websites and recruit volunteers online, a number of volunteering matching sites have been developed to bridge agencies and prospective volunteers. These opportunities spread across areas including religion, human services, education, health, arts and culture, and youth development.

(a) *Individual Nonprofit Agency Use*. Internet solicitations provide a new means for agencies to recruit volunteers. Many agencies today have their own websites for requesting money donations and assistance from volunteers. The quality of work and the dependability of volunteers who are recruited online are usually found to be similar or higher than the quality achieved via traditional means (Murray and Harrison 2002). However, agency gains so far are only modest. The fact remains that online volunteers are an insignificant proportion of the total population of nonprofit agency volunteers (Finn 1999; Crompton and Vézina 2012). Despite increases in Internet technology, nonprofit and voluntary associations continue to depend on the work of on-site volunteers.

(b) *Online Volunteering Sites*. Online volunteer-matching sites are emerging. They usually help to match people who are searching for volunteering work or roles online with nonprofit or other agencies that are recruiting volunteers. Prominent sites include *Online Volunteering* (United Nations), *Volunteer Match*, *Virtual Volunteering Projects*, and *GoVolunteer*. Some provide more specialized volunteer roles or tasks instead of providing the full range of volunteer roles and tasks. For example, *Just Volunteers* is a hub for volunteers specifically in the criminal justice area, while *ServeNet* aims to provide volunteering opportunities for youth

Many of these online volunteering sites are connected with international communities and offer volunteering opportunities worldwide. The United Nations-initiated *Online Volunteering* calls for participation in volunteer initiatives that mostly seek to remedy political turmoil, crises, and natural disasters. *Nabuur* is another example that serves as an international online platform linking volunteers with local communities in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Internet links to sign online petitions are also available.

The work assigned to online volunteers mostly involves creating or managing websites for nonprofit organizations, including larger associations. Other common types of work include desktop publishing, performing online research and project management, providing technical assistance, policy analysis, language translation, fundraising, and online marketing and advocacy campaigns (Cravens 2000; Murray and Harrison 2002, 2005).

(c) *Online communities or discussion groups.* Online communities and discussion groups are major arenas of online volunteering. Cases have shown that both implicit and explicit volunteers create social capital that provides the key to online communities' success. In a study of the Internet Chess Club, volunteers were found to strengthen the group's core tenets and also to improve its website software features as well as to provide a critical buffer among sub-communities within the association (Ginsburg and Weisband 2002).

   Reviews of research have further proposed that online discussion groups are a product of the combination of their respective structural and social dynamics. The availability of resources changes communication activities, which, in turn, differentiates coping strategies. As a result, the attraction and retention of members in these associations are affected (Ridings and Wasko 2010).

   One must note that online volunteering is not necessarily isolated from on-site volunteering as previously mentioned. While the Internet serves as a platform to form new social connections with other volunteers and host agencies, the geographical location of the groups or organizations may affect why people initially choose them for volunteering. Older online volunteers tend to combine interaction on the Internet with physical visits to the host agency or association (Mukherjee 2011). This fits with the two-pronged approach to build social capital with both face-to-face and virtual interaction, as Putnam (2001) suggested. The relationship between the agency or association's geographical site and individual engagement in online volunteering is nonetheless often ignored.

3. When

The concept of *time* takes a different shape and meaning in the context of online volunteering. In the same way in which it can be argued that the *space* where volunteerism takes place has been redefined, as mentioned above, a major characteristic that distinguishes online volunteering from its face-to-face counterpart is the maximization of time as a valuable asset.

   (a) Online collective volunteering expedites team interactions at the convenience of each team member, thus maximizing the scarce time of busy contributors. Creation of a (face-to-face) meeting frequently demands a tremendous amount of logistic coordination since both parties have to be physically present at the same time and at the same place, while on the Internet messages can be sent by email, and participants can read and send messages at their own convenience (Amichai-Hamburger, 2008). Furthermore, volunteering over the internet is an attractive alternative for individuals who dispose of limited time and schedule to serve. Ana Maria DaSaravia (2005), an online volunteer from

Brazil who translates diverse research work on street children in Latin America from Spanish into Portuguese, describes her online volunteering effort: "It has opened my eyes to the many apparently small contributions a common citizen like myself can make in her spare time, from the comfort of her home" (http://www.onlinevolunteering.org/stories/story_det.php?id=1401). While at certain occasions it may still be advisable to convene members of the virtual volunteering team for a direct interaction, either over the phone or face-to-face if feasible, project continuity and follow up can easily be enabled over the internet.

(b) Online volunteering eliminates travel-commuting time, while delivering real-time services. Knowledge transfer is an area that has enormously benefitted by the elimination of time and space barriers. In the past, teaching or mentoring remote communities in developing countries was impossible unless the individual with the knowledge had the willingness and time to travel to the destination in need. Nowadays online volunteers, or e-mentors, connect through the Internet with trainees or mentees in distant locations. One example is CUSO International that recruits virtual volunteers from all over the world to work with mentees from countries such as El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Cambodia, and Indonesia, among others.

(c) Online volunteering enables the provision of services 24 hours a day, seven days a week. One example is the National Sexual Assault Online Hotline (NSAOH), an innovative model using volunteers to deliver sexual assault crisis services through an online hotline. Use of online services provides volunteers as well as users with 24/7 access to services and eliminates geographic and time barriers to participation (Finn and Hughes, 2008).

It is well known that the most valuable asset is time. For that reason, online volunteering, e-mentoring and e-volunteering are the wave of the future for busy professionals (Ensher, Heun, and Blanchard, 2003; Amichai-Hamburger 2008).

4. Who

The online context of volunteering requires a re-examination of the traditional understanding of who are volunteers. Online volunteering enables people to do volunteer work anywhere with computers and opens the door to volunteering for those who are prevented from volunteering by different time constraints, physical and physiological limitations, and personal obligations (Ellis and Cravens 2000; Murray and Harrison 2002, 2005).

While female volunteers are usually more active in the conventional offline nonprofit agency setting (Wymer 1998), the percentage of male volunteers is substantial in online volunteering studies, particularly in those with a technology focus. For instance, in an applied distributed-computing environment, such as MalariaControl.net, more than 80% of the online volunteers were males (Krebs 2010). However, the research on virtual volunteering out of Canada

suggests that women use the Internet to search for volunteer opportunities more than men do. Virtual volunteering also varies by age, education, and employment status. Compared with traditional volunteers, virtual volunteers in Canada tend to be young, educated, and unemployed (Murray and Harrison 2002, 2005).

Most online volunteers are in their 20s or 30s. They often participate in projects such as *Virtual Volunteering Project* and *BOINC* (Cravens 2000; Krebs 2010), thus making them younger than the average in-person volunteer. Some academics argue that older adults are generally passive consumers of information technologies and would be deterred by unfamiliar Internet technologies (Czaja and Lee 2007). Others consider physical distance between the volunteer and the on-site volunteering venue as a major barrier that contributes to high dropout rates among older volunteers, and thus, they remain optimistic about the prospect of elderly participation in online volunteering (Mukherjee 2011). In fact, while some may only participate in online volunteering due to its virtual interface, many combine interaction online with prospective physical visits to the host agency. Nonetheless, older adults face a different set of barriers to online volunteering than do younger people, such as convoluted website interfaces, small font size, and poor machines.

One's initiative to volunteer is closely linked with the volunteering experience of one's friends and family, as well as one's own prior volunteering experiences. With in-person volunteering, young people whose parents habitually volunteered have a higher chance of volunteering (Shure 1988). A similar tendency exists even when volunteering is done online. In one study, many people who were online volunteers for an agency already had a family member or friend working there (Cravens 2000). At the same time, elderly online volunteers have reported being introduced to online volunteering by their adult children (Mukherjee 2011). Online volunteers may also be completely new to volunteering (Murray and Harrison 2005).

5. Why

Motivations for online volunteering differ in various contexts, but altruism has played a significant role. For projects with specific foci, volunteers primarily get involved for a particular cause and/or for the desire for solidarity or sociability (Krebs 2010; see Handbook Chapters 30 and 31).

The case may be slightly different for open-source initiatives. Wikipedia volunteer administrators seem largely driven by motivations to learn and create, and at the same time, they desire to create a public repository for all knowledge. On the other hand, gaining social prestige or powerful qualifications within online communities often ranked lowest among the reasons for which people got involved (Baytiyeh and Pfaffman 2010). Some research has suggested a distinction in motivational goals between software contributors and

content contributors. While content contributors have altruistic motives, software contributors put greater emphasis on gaining a reputation and enriching themselves (Oreg and Nov 2008). Individuals have demonstrated their willingness to contribute when their uniqueness was recognized and when they were given specific and challenging goals (Ludford, Cosley, Frankowski, and Terveen 2004). Thus, socially rewarding techniques based on uniqueness and dissimilarity may be manipulated to increase online participation (Hoisl, Aigner, and Miksch 2007). It is also the case that those who search for and perform their work online are motivated to volunteer to find paid employment (Murray and Harrison 2005).

C. Historical background

If we embrace a broad notion of online volunteering, as suggested, online volunteering may be as old as the Internet itself (Cravens 2000; Peña-López 2007), which means that such volunteering only goes back about two decades. However, there is evidence that the development of the WWW in 1994 has produced a new supply of volunteers and types of volunteer positions (Murray and Harrison 2002, 2005).

A recent trend of adopting new technologies, such as wiki and the interactive Web, has emerged as a solution to resolve complex issues. Web 2.0 technology allows individuals and organizations to utilize the "wisdom of the crowd" (Surowiecki 2005) and to create a new mass collaboration trend in producing services and products, sometimes called "co-production" (Tapscott and Williams 2008). Online volunteerism emerges in this recent historical context. Cases such as Wikipedia, Linus, and InnoCentive have shown how those mass collaborations in production fundamentally change the current world through openness, peering, sharing, and acting globally (Tapscott and Williams 2008).

D. Key Issues

1. Current state of online volunteering

While online volunteering encompasses volunteering in cyber-groups (virtual associations), service programs in nonprofit agencies, and online activism, it is extremely difficult to ascertain the population size of current online volunteers. This is especially problematic as numerous volunteering websites operate independently on both a global, national, and local level. Nevertheless, despite its huge potential to bring in a new supply of volunteers, the study by Murray and Harrison (2002) revealed that among prospective volunteers who were actively looking for volunteer opportunities through the Internet, very few were recruited through it. The problem, as they reported, is not one of a lack of supply but rather one of a lack of demand to bring online volunteers into Canadian

volunteer programs. A study in early 2000s based on Volunteer Canada, an online platform that promotes Canadian volunteerism, revealed that online volunteering was quite infrequent relative to all volunteering. Volunteer programs with managers of volunteer resources who had been serving in their roles more than five years were particularly at risk. Other factors associated with effective online recruitment tool use were managerial attitudes toward ICT; involvement of managers in the design, development, and evaluation of ICT (i.e. online recruitment tool); and experience with ICT in volunteer management work directly or indirectly [e.g. experience of others] (Harrison and Murray 2007).

There is no single model or type of group or agency using online volunteers. In fact, neither the features of organizational sector, size of budget, size of volunteer programs, and money spent on IT in the volunteer program, nor the extent of formal policies and guidelines on IT matters, were found to have a significant association with the use of online volunteers (Murray and Harrison 2002). However, a significant portion of nonprofit agencies involving online volunteers had a specific technological focus, most commonly building community networks and free-nets, as part of their mission (Cravens 2000).

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) often face major shortages of labor and various resources, and thus, are usually most in need of online volunteers. The range includes NGOs that work on specific community goals persistently all the way to spontaneous groups formed during crises. Many international institutions also actively recruit volunteers online through global volunteering sites such as *OnlineVolunteers*, *Nabuur*, *Hacesfalta.org*, and *Global Volunteer Network*. Volunteering tasks in service programs primarily focus on computer-related applications, such as desktop publishing and website development and maintenance (Bussell and Forbes 2002; Murray and Harrison 2002). Yet research, writing, and editing are also listed as common tasks for online volunteers. Direct service delivery, database management, volunteer management, social media communications, lobbying, and consulting are also included (Murray and Harrison 2002).

Engagement in volunteering in cyber groups is more dynamic and context-dependent in nature. Often, volunteer effort involves increasing ties and personal relations with other community members; socializing new members to shared norms, expectations, and responsibilities; handling disputes; and administering the group. In addition, online volunteers contribute by improving software and by managing daily flows and the member database.

Nonprofit agencies using online volunteers generally mirror the same geographic distribution as the online volunteers do. In the *Virtual Volunteering Project* based in the United States, virtual volunteering seems to have taken hold, especially with agencies in Western states, such as Washington, Oregon, and Arizona. Furthermore, California, New York, and Canada were of the

highest rank in having the largest number of agencies and individuals who participated in online volunteering (Cravens 2000). Though it is far from surprising to learn that many online volunteering projects are initiated by developed countries, such as Australia, the US, and Canada, it is telling to know that more than 40% of the online volunteers under the *United Nations Volunteering Service* are from developing countries. Every volunteering site may have a very different composition of volunteering demographics. It would definitely be too hasty to generalize globally about the nationality and regional distribution of online volunteers.

2. Comparison between online volunteering and in-person or on-site volunteering

(a) Special aspects of online volunteers

Online volunteers in traditional volunteer groups were likely to spend more time volunteering than were traditional volunteers, as many may volunteer via the Internet in addition to on-site volunteering. Simultaneously, virtual volunteers were more likely to have no prior volunteer experience when compared with on-site volunteers. They are also more likely to be newer to volunteering than many on-site volunteers are. Yet, including the factors of work quality and dependability, online volunteers were found to be meeting a similar or higher standard as did their face-to-face counterparts (Murray and Harrison 2002).

While altruism is a dominant motivation for in-person volunteerism, it is particularly obvious in online volunteering, where egotistic motives such as social and psychological goals are downplayed. Reasons such as wanting to wear a uniform, mixing with celebrities, enjoying travel opportunities, and maintaining health and fitness that may motivate on-site volunteering are no longer applicable for virtual volunteering. Online volunteers in service programs are usually eager to earn recognition for their work and to learn what difference they have made (Cravens 2000). Thus, established literature has stressed the significance of acknowledgements practice such as certification upon completion of tasks and the provision of feedback to online volunteers (Ellis and Cravens 2000).

While there is much research documenting the impact of in-person volunteering on the volunteer (see Handbook Chapter 52), there is virtually none on the similar impact, if any, on the online volunteer. Lack of in-person social and emotional contact with others, including recipients, may severely limit such impacts on online volunteers. Similarly, the impact of online service volunteering on recipients, nonprofit agencies (Smith 2015b), membership associations (Smith 2015a), and the larger community and society (Smith 2017) has not been properly studied and demonstrated, unlike the situation for in-person volunteering.

(b) Contexts of online volunteering

The selection of online volunteers usually takes place individually by the organizations after receiving applications through the connecting websites. Organizations may invite volunteers that they have recruited through their individual websites or local online volunteering sites for interviews. However, for recruitment based on individual assignment, it is common practice that organizations would simply ask volunteers for more information and commence the project right afterward. The supervision of online volunteers may be performed by general staff, or by staff who specialize in volunteer resources. Yet, previous studies have found that organizations with staff who are primarily responsible for volunteers, including online volunteers, are usually more successful in managing them (Cravens 2006). However, some managers of volunteer resources are more successful in recruiting volunteers online than others are (Murray and Harrison 2002). The retention of volunteers, however, is more difficult because online assignments are primarily taken on a single task basis. Some organizations have expressed their concern about inadequate assistance on existing websites. At the same time, organizations often complain that many online volunteers are not responsive to follow-up emails or simply vanish or quit responding altogether after submitting their applications or taking up their tasks (Serviceleader.org 2000).

3. Advantages and disadvantages of online volunteering

There are many advantages of online volunteering, compared with traditional in-person volunteering. As recognized in the *Virtual Volunteering Guidebook*, this approach "allows people to complete volunteer work via a home or work computer because of time constraints, personal preference, a disability, or a home-based obligation that prevents them from volunteering on-site" (Ellis and Cravens 2000). Old people and the disabled, people who have been victims of prejudice in the traditional on-site volunteering setting, may now become online volunteers without such problems.

On the other hand, online volunteering has special advantages for nonprofit agencies and larger associations. Relatively cost-free labor has been identified as the primary reason for many organizations to involve volunteers online (Cravens 2006). However, there are the costs of recruitment, training, and supervision even when volunteers are not paid. Networking with volunteers, especially those from the global community, contributes to bringing fresh perspectives and introducing new expertise that the organization staff or association leaders do not possess. Through online volunteering, the scope of an organization's work is often enlarged to include a broader spectrum of people and experience. Online volunteering is also credited with bringing additional publicity, new funding opportunities, a high level of volunteer commitment,

and the ability to present information in a user-friendly way and in a concise format.

Nonetheless, the disadvantages of online volunteering should not be overlooked. Major disadvantages include the problem of volunteers dropping out after receiving assignments, and the time required to recruit, orient, manage, and support online volunteers. Sometimes, online volunteers want more communication and tasks than the organization can provide. For cross-border online volunteering work, organizations were also dissatisfied with volunteers who may not have spent sufficient time familiarizing themselves with the community or the organization being served. However, these disadvantages are commonly cited as disadvantages of volunteers working face-to-face as well (Cravens 2006). From a broader perspective, the impact of online volunteering remains undemonstrated, as noted above in section #2, a.

4. Challenges and sustainability of online volunteering

Online volunteering is still a new concept and practice for many nonprofit agency and association leaders, so several issues remain. It is questionable whether the new technologies really engage people who are not already participating in volunteering. Does online volunteering only provide an additional alternative for the existing on-site volunteers? Are people who show less interest in on-site volunteering more likely to participate in online volunteering? Does the old crowd of people dominate the online volunteering as always, either through an online channel or through the traditional face-to-face channel? Research in the late 1990s found that the overwhelming majority of online volunteers also volunteer in on-site settings (Serviceleader.org 2000). On the other hand, in the traditional volunteer groups, there were few fully online volunteers and mostly volunteers who did some combination of online and on-site tasks (Murray and Harrison 2002).

It has been disputed that social media allow people who want to volunteer, but do not have time, to become engaged due to the efficiency of the Internet. However, evidence suggests a demand side problem regarding the capacity of volunteer programs to make full use of the Internet and volunteer management ICT applications available to them (Murray and Harrison 2002). Given the anonymity of the Internet, previous research has encountered difficulties in identifying the demographics of online volunteers, especially their ages and ethnicities, when data can only be collected on a voluntary basis (Cravens 2000). Other research points to a new supply of younger, educated volunteers who are using the Internet pragmatically to search for volunteer work that may ultimately help them to find jobs (Murray and Harrison 2002).

Secondly, the sustainability of online volunteering should not be automatically presumed. Both volunteers and nonprofit organizations have cited lack of face-to-face contact as an important, if not the most significant drawback, of online service (Cravens 2000). Some informed research actually suggests that

the key to a successful online volunteering project rests on effectiveness of involving such volunteers in traditional, face-to-face situations also (Ellis and Cravens 2000). This points to an inherent instability in shifting volunteering online and the challenge of sustaining it.

How to stay in touch and connected in the online setting is a big challenge to both the volunteers and host agency or association. The supervision of work and progress, problem solution and crisis management, and the effectiveness of coordination are complicated by the more remote home setting of work, where prompt and timely assistance and communication may be difficult when the people involved have had little or no direct personal contact.

5. A case example: Volunteer Match

Volunteer Match (www.volunteermatch.org) is probably the Web's largest volunteer engagement network. The Virtual Volunteering Project was launched in 1996 to encourage and assist in the development of volunteer activities that can be completed off-site via the Internet. The Project was started by Impact Online (IOL), which is a nonprofit that was set up in 1994 and dedicated to increasing volunteerism through the Internet. The Project commenced with a two-year pilot phase and eventually developed into Volunteer Match, one of the most popular online databases of volunteer opportunities in the United States.

As a pioneer in online volunteering, Volunteer Match offers a variety of online services to support not just nonprofit organizations and volunteers, but also more than 150 business leaders committed to civic engagements. By March 2013, it had over 13,000 active volunteer opportunities, 91,529 participating organizations, and about 6,700,000 successful referrals since 1998. Emphasizing the building of community, relationships and partnerships, the site works with nonprofits, businesses, as well as government, and aims at creating a strong and mutually supportive community. The Project has attracted funding from 13 foundations and numerous individuals and has helped to provide more than USD 3.8 billion worth of volunteer services.

Notably, Volunteer Match has a well-established learning centre which offers over 20 free *webinars* for collaborating nonprofits. Extensive training topics cover both volunteer engagement theories and practical guidelines. A series of training videos presenting short tools have been created to assist users and familiarize them with the use of the service. In addition, books and research papers are available for further academic study of online voluntarism. Interested organizations and volunteers may access the Volunteer Resource Library, which provides a comprehensive set of freely accessible documents online.

6. Assessment of the impacts of online volunteering

Apart from the desire to get involved in a particular cause and to contribute to wider community, online volunteers, in particular those involved in open

source websites, are often motivated by constructionism or *learning by making*. Contributors themselves acquire skills by engaging in personal creation and innovations. Website design for Wikipedians, for example, empowers contributors to create something new and to overcome challenges autonomously (Baytiyeh and Pfaffman 2010). Volunteers both have fun and gain knowledge through online participation (Oreg and Nov 2008).

Needless to say, the contribution of online volunteers can potentially be invaluable to recipients of volunteer services, which the organizations would not have the resources to obtain otherwise. This is true especially in light of the cuts in welfare funding to nonprofit organizations in many nations and the constantly increasing demand to meet social needs (Lipsky and Smith 1989). Through online volunteering, the more efficient use of human resources is now possible through redistribution and high accessibility of different opportunities. *VolunteerMatch*, having successfully connected volunteer service worth USD 3.8 million, is a promising illustration of the capacity of virtual volunteering.

For beneficiary agencies, online volunteering helps to outsource tasks to willing and specialized expert volunteers. At the same time, these nonprofits relieve work demands on existing paid staff or volunteer leaders, enabling them to focus on other tasks (Cravens 2000). The input of new ideas and perspectives brought by online volunteers is widely recognized, especially on international virtual volunteering sites (Dhebar and Stokes 2008). The online platform is also useful in involving the minorities of a society, who are most in need but often dispersed geographically (Murray and Harrison 2005). In *JustVolunteers*, which concerns the rather sensitive area of the criminal justice system and supporting prisoners, the Internet empowers collaboration between nonprofit organizations and individuals who are in need of service in the criminal justice system and those who are willing to volunteer for this particular cause (Peña-López 2007).

Volunteerism has long been identified as an important form of social capital (Putnam 2000). Greater outreach through online volunteering has increased the social capital of a network with broader classes of benefits available. The connectivity with other communities and constituencies within and outside of the nonprofit sector across geographical boundaries aspires to a greater and wider conception of society and global community at large (Brainard and Brinkerhoff 2004).

Online volunteering is still very closely connected to offline, in-person volunteering today. While it is more common to use the online volunteering sites as a recruitment platform, most service delivery and other volunteering still relies on offline and on-site activities. Even for tasks that can be completed online independently, nonprofits are recommended to consider setting up occasional "live meetings by phone or on site to facilitate the teambuilding process and

incorporation of the volunteer, even if all interactions may be done by online communication" (Ellis and Cravens 2000).

The Internet is distinguished by being an ideal medium for presenting non-profit agency and association needs to a vast audience in a timely manner with low cost. Accessibility to a large population, reduction of communication time, and the resulting higher cost-efficiency make online volunteering an increasingly attractive option to many nonprofit leaders in an age of information technology. The worldwide nature of the Internet, with countless connection points, also implies a potentially great bank of human and capital resources to all kinds of nonprofits, agencies, and associations.

Nevertheless, a lack of experience and attitudes toward the efficacy of ICT in volunteerism may hinder the benefits of online volunteering (Harrison and Murray 2007). The true cost of website development and maintenance may be substantially greater than the actual benefits gained (Finn 1999). Significant staff time is spent on online activities and the staff training required may give rise to obstacles in effective communication, teambuilding, and recognition of contributions. However, when managed effectively, ICT use in volunteerism can lead to numerous benefits (e.g. recruit new supply of volunteers, increased civic engagement, and path to finding paid employment; Murray and Harrison 2005).

Where on-site volunteering is irreplaceable in providing face-to-face service, the growing trend of online volunteering opens up possibilities of delegating a substantial amount of volunteering tasks that do not require direct human interaction or creating opportunities for enhanced civic engagement. At the moment, the Internet has at least proven itself to be a powerful recruitment forum for conducting traditional on-site volunteering.

7. Conclusions

Several broad conclusions can be drawn from the research on virtual volunteering:

(a) The promise of online volunteering to reach a new *supply* of volunteers who are looking for ways to engage civically is high;

(b) Most virtual volunteering that occurs in VSPs of nonprofit organizations and voluntary associations involves a blending of online and onsite work;

(c) Pure virtual volunteering, where people use ICT tools to find and to perform volunteer work in isolation (i.e. at a physical distance from others) is very rare;

(d) The demand for virtual volunteering as a means of finding work is low among those who already have a volunteer position;

(e) Online advocacy volunteering, including social movement mobilization and participation, is probably the most important aspect of online volunteering for the future (although not treated here).

E. Usable knowledge

On a domestic level, evaluation of the Virtual Volunteering Project indicates that nonprofits have more success with online volunteering when they also involve their online volunteers in traditional, face-to-face settings (Ellis and Cravens 2000). Volunteers and nonprofits that operate online volunteering sites have pinpointed the lack of face-to-face contact as the biggest problem. Common difficulties involve infrequent response and communication by volunteer-involving organizations (VIOs). Online volunteers also complained that they do not know how their work has made a difference for the organization. While many who signed up for online opportunities are not followed-up by VIOs, volunteer managers in VIOs also expressed problems in reaching the volunteers. Many VIOs do not have a system to manage, screen, and supervise their online volunteers. In fact, having a VIO staff person primarily responsible for managing online volunteers has been found to be the key to success. It may also be necessary for VIOs to have a technology focus to guarantee achievement. On a technical level, the development of clearly written task descriptions and a good communication process for delivering assignments to online volunteers are very widely cited by VIOs as elements of success.

Findings in the international online volunteering context are similar. Successful online volunteering more often results from at least one VIO staff person being responsible for the involvement of online volunteers, being comfortable with working online, having basic experience in volunteer management, and being committed to support volunteer management. Furthermore, excellent literacy level, comfort with bureaucracy/protocol, openness to diversity of views and working styles, and having a broad understanding of *community* also have contributed to successful involvement of online volunteers (Cravens 2006).

Organizations that are embarking on online volunteering projects may refer to instruments such as *The Virtual Volunteering Guidebook* (Ellis and Cravens 2000) for detailed guidance.

F. Future trends and needed research

Online volunteering has become an increasing trend in the past decade or two. This trend is likely to continue and even increase, given the cost-effectiveness of online versus in-person, on-site volunteering. However, online volunteering has its clear limitations and costs. The research on online volunteering suggests it occurs most often in conjunction with on-site volunteering. Further, online

volunteering can only be used well with a limited set of tasks and requires nonprofit staff time and resources to be effective. It is not totally *free* and without costs to the Volunteer-Involving Organization (VIO). Very importantly, the actual impacts of online volunteering on volunteers, recipients, nonprofit agencies, membership associations, and the larger community and society remain to be demonstrated. Citing numbers of participants, volunteer hours involved, and the imputed monetary value of such donated time does not show genuine outcomes and impact, only inputs and outputs.

Currently, only limited research has explored the motivation and preferences of online volunteers among people of different demographics. The level of youth and elderly engagement, as well as variance in ethnicity, gender, age, geographical location, and education level, deserve more attention. Such knowledge is essential to recruiting online volunteers from under-represented groups among online volunteers. At the same time, more attention should be devoted to understanding the factors that influence adoption and the impact of online volunteering on individuals, for example, on employability.

The cultural dimension of online volunteering may also have a significant implication in perception and practice for both volunteers and VIOs. While current research predominantly focuses on online volunteers in Western countries, similar motivations and demographics may not apply to those from Asia, Latin America, and Africa. The change of administrative cultures within VIOs through participation in recruiting volunteers online is another under-explored area.

Ultimately, demand side challenges with regard to the capacity of VSPs and membership associations to manage online volunteering remain an inevitable question for the future of online volunteering. What are the keys to successful, long-term sustainability of an online mentoring relationship? What are the relevant qualities of the success of VIOs using online volunteers? While online volunteering experience covers a wide scope of activities, different factors may be at play in understanding and motivating volunteers to contribute in content, in software, or in taking up leadership roles in online administration. The distinctive characteristics of online mentoring, micro-volunteering, and crowd-sourcing experience may suggest very different tactics for volunteering websites and organization practice.

G. Cross-references

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14
Spontaneous Volunteering in Emergencies

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A. Introduction

Volunteering in emergencies, crises, and disasters nearly always occurs, despite being ignored by some professional emergency managers and government officials. Unfortunately, when crisis/disaster plans are written up to try to mitigate and respond to future incidents, the untrained disaster volunteer and the emergent process of which she/he is a part, is usually not included explicitly among the explicit dimensions of the plan. This is true even though the importance of the work of disaster volunteers and the resources available to them are probably unsurpassed by any of the other types of participants in the societal response. Recognized or not, much volunteer helping behavior takes place, ranging along a continuum from official actions by formally trained and certified volunteers to unofficial actions by spontaneous volunteers who operate outside the formal and planned disaster response. The inability to *manage* such spontaneous volunteering is a key reason for this neglect by emergency/crisis/disaster professionals.

B. Definitions and a typology

The general definitions in the Handbook Appendix are accepted in this chapter.

This section provides some additional definitions of terms used in this chapter. However, there is no widely accepted definition of emergency volunteers and volunteering.

1. *Crisis* (*emergency, disaster*): A crisis is a situation that poses an immediate risk to the health, life, property, or environment of a collectivity of people, and that requires some type of intervention and at times the use of outside resources.

2. *Emergency volunteer*: An emergency volunteer is a person who volunteers to assist the victims in the aftermath of a significant crisis or disaster. Such volunteers are either informal or formal. Emergency volunteering occurs at every level and in every area of community life struck by a hazard.

3. *Informal emergency volunteering* is carried out by neighbors, kin, or others near the incident and represents acts of disinterested assistance to those in need of help. Such volunteers are members of civil society rather than of organizations responding to disasters, and may be either trained or untrained to respond to the disaster-created demands.

4. *Formal emergency volunteering* is done by people, at times on the staff of organizations, who are trained to carry out specific emergency-related activities by organizations that are officially approved to respond to the disasters. The literature discusses much more frequently trained volunteering by individuals, groups, and complex organizations than the assistance performed by untrained volunteers, despite the fact that the informal volunteers are hugely significant in many disasters.

The following suggested dimensions can help us better define this field of crisis volunteering. As a *main dimension*, the proposed typology identifies the *extent of destruction* caused by the crisis/disaster incident triggering volunteer activity. This spectrum ranges potentially from accidents and minor emergencies, to complex community emergencies, to crises affecting organizations, to disasters, and then to catastrophes. Volunteering has sharply different connotations in each of these types of crises. For example, at present almost nothing is known about volunteering in catastrophes as a type of social crisis, other than to note their extraordinary destructiveness. Quarantelli (2006; see also Rodriguez et al. 2006) has argued that, in comparison with disasters, catastrophes have a much greater physical impact that curtails the effectiveness of elected officials and the means to respond to the crisis, and that may require international assistance. By way of contrast, disasters are more circumscribed incidents that often destroy the facilities of first responder organizations and that require the assistance from other national organizations that are outside the impacted areas (Quarantelli and Dynes 1977). When destruction is severe or widespread, helping responses come from more distant locations and national and other non-local governmental and international humanitarian agencies become involved more thoroughly in the societal response. Extra-local mass media, especially cable TV, socially construct the immediate and ongoing situation, during which most everyday community functions are sharply and concurrently interrupted (Quarantelli, 2006.)

The *second dimension* of the suggested typology identifies the *levels of social structure*, arranged in terms of increasing complexity from individuals, to

groups, to complex organizations, to whole communities, and even entire societies.

The third and *final dimension* of the typology is the *level of training of the volunteers.* The spectrum of possibilities ranges from emergent volunteers with no training on the tasks enacted during the crisis, to professional-skill-level volunteers who have well-established, relevant, professional identities along with appropriate specific skill sets for the tasks at hand (e.g., in public health, injury prevention, decontamination), to official volunteers who are required to act under the supervision of governmental agencies. One example of professional volunteers is paramedic squad volunteers, with extensive first-aid/responder training (e.g., Gora and Nemerowicz 1985).

The purpose of the typology is to underscore that different types of volunteers are more likely to appear in different spaces in the typology. Thus, very destructive incidents impacting an entire society will bring about much greater relative presence of international trained volunteers as well as official volunteers. By way of contrast, automobile accidents do not usually involve volunteers, and if they do, they would most probably be informal volunteers. Comparing and contrasting what is known about these types would help us more crisply and profoundly define disaster volunteering.

C. Historical background

Since emergencies, disasters, and other collective crises are as old as the human species, we will look in this section at the far more recent history of society's attempts to identify emergencies/disasters/crises and hence to better manage them. For example, some people question whether the volunteer is truly a volunteer, a worker, or a person filling an obligation of citizenship (see the Cuban case in Section D). Furthermore, there is no accepted definition of disaster. Decades since the start of the Cold War and the possibility that American cities might experience nuclear attack by the Russians, a civil defense perspective materialized. During this time (1950s to 1970s), the definition that was accepted by most scholars assumed the existence of a well-functioning community, with the hazard coming from outside the society, which for a while interrupted the normal functions of the community. Since the 1980s this definition has been challenged by, among others, scholars from Latin America. They emphasize in what came to be known as a version of the disaster management approach, the social and cultural origins of society's vulnerabilities and power differentials revealed by disasters (Maskrey, 1993). According to this newer understanding, the causes of disasters come from inside the society in the form of vulnerabilities and risks that are largely left unremedied and that at some point generate the crisis. Most recently, continuing the logic

of vulnerability analysis, scholars have emphasized the political economies of disasters and the many interactions between society and environment (Oliver-Smith and Hoffman, 1999). They argue that the traditional distinction between society and environment is false, for modern post-industrial society internalizes the environment, in effect, making it social.

In the United States, the federal government has made the American Red Cross (ARC) responsible for coordinating the activities of organizational volunteers in disasters. Nevertheless, despite the ARC's many worthwhile efforts, the difficulties it faced in the Hurricane Katrina experience show that this arrangement is far from optimal or efficient. It typically misses the very important voluntary activities of local organizations, especially local associations, and emergent groups that become active when a crisis materializes. These difficulties reappear to varying degrees in different incidents.

Given insufficient space to fully document these problems, an example based on the first author's field notes must suffice: the Federal Emergency Management Agency's (FEMA) urban search and rescue system and the difficulties it faced when trying to integrate volunteers that proved critical in its response in the aftermath of the Columbia Space Shuttle accident of February 1, 2003. Operations took place in a wilderness area, not the setting contemplated by governmental plans and previous disaster operations. This meant, in the words of one of our respondents, that "we were kind of making up the game rules, the game plan, as we went along." The incident's urban search and rescue, in what became a search for shuttle parts and human remains, covered a very large geographical area, primarily in six counties (Navarro, Anderson, Cherokee, Nacogdoches, San Augustine, and Sabine) in central Texas, a region estimated to be 160-mile long and 35-mile wide. The incident was a federalized activity, but it could not have been done without the assistance of agencies from local and state governments, professional and volunteer firefighters, and local search and rescue teams, as well as the many local churches that provided food and shelters to the searchers. Altogether, over the 90 days of operations, 20 incident management teams were brought in. The search ended in May 1, 2003, 100 days after the shuttle explosion. As our study of this response shows, very often it is volunteers – in this case, individuals, groups, and community organizations/associations and churches who are the silent heroes in the response. In these and other incidents, official disaster plans usually break down, and in their place all types of volunteers fill the gap and make things happen.

The prior example illustrates the emergent response that can naturally occur after a disaster and the variety of actors who might be involved. In this case, there were a number of governmental actors at all levels. But there were also non-governmental actors who filled the gaps in the plans, including spontaneous volunteers who at time formed emergent groups (which often, but not always, disappear after the response is over; Alexander, 1974).

Crisis and disaster situations originate from complex interactions of conditions and decisions whose combination often produce escalated and devastating effects (Perrow 1981). Due to gaps between preparation and the unfolding situation, there are emergent aspects – to a varying extent – in every crisis and disaster response. Actors must engage in *sense-making* if the gap between preparation and the situation is significant (Weick 1993). Other characteristics of response include coordinated action among governmental and non-governmental organizations (Kapucu 2006a; Kapucu et al. 2010), which are often carried out using the Incident Command System (ICS), as well as emergent groups from the civilian population (Stallings and Quarantelli 1985; Zurcher 1968)

D. Key issues

1. What motivates and triggers individual involvement?

Crisis and disaster volunteering occurs when an incident, often caused by a hazard whatever its origins and etiology, leads to disruption of established patterns and functioning of a social system. In the United States as well as elsewhere, disaster volunteering is motivated most often by feelings of sympathy and empathy with the victims' suffering. Such volunteering is implemented most frequently through personal decision-making using personal resources. Crises and disasters are also responded to by existing governmental programs that train volunteers. There are training programs that incorporate volunteers with the various agencies participating in disaster preparedness, response, reconstruction, and recovery activities. Most often, however, persons become *ad hoc,* informal volunteers due to the need to respond to the suffering of victims. Often under the guidelines of religious organizations, volunteers assist in building or rebuilding housing and other structures during the reconstruction phase of a disaster (Jeavons, 1993).

2. Where does volunteering in crisis and disaster situations take place?

The immediate response to disaster has been termed the *mass assault phase,* in which volunteers assist others less fortunate than they are. This phase is an emergent situation, involving numerous individual and organizational actors with varying degrees of experience working with each other and with varying degrees of collective planning and training for the disaster event they are all encountering. To the extent there is an absence of formal, planned, and organized disaster preparation, there might likely be a greater reliance on spontaneous volunteering in a disaster response, for emergent collective behavior occurs in most disasters.

A typology developed at the Disaster Research Center (DRC) at University of Delaware, Newark, captures the degrees of variation in the stability and change

of organizations involved in disaster response (Dynes 1970; Quarantelli 1966). Organizational response is said to involve either routine (stable) or non-routine and irregular (emergent) tasks and structures carried out in the wake of disasters. A cross-tabulation of the type of group and the type of response produces four groups or types of responders: (1) established groups, with regular tasks and old organizational structures; (2) expanding groups, with regular tasks and new organizational structures; (3) extending groups, with non-regular tasks and old structures; and (4) emergent groups of volunteers performing new tasks and creating new structures. Emergent, religiously grounded groups often include people who in the aftermath of the crisis start to work together for the first time to solve problems. Such groups may also originate from members of pre-existing religious and other civic and professional organizations in the community (emergent groups). In both cases, they are doing something together that is new to them. It also takes the form of expanding and extending organizations.

This DRC typology suggests that responders will include groups that use existing structures and systems, groups that change existing structures and systems as they respond, and groups whose genesis is tied to the event's pressures. While the initial articulations of the typology were focused on community level variations in the types of organizations/groups observed, later fieldwork explored the internal systems and dynamics that created these different end types. As a result, both stable and novel (emergent) behaviors within organizations, and stable and emergent groups in communities, were observed.

Latin America and the Caribbean are two areas prone to potentially disastrous natural phenomena, while exhibiting varying (yet still under-evaluated) conditions for either planned or spontaneous volunteering after a disaster. In these areas, there are found a number of emerging economies and societies at different levels of development. These countries share similar historical conditions of conquest, colonization, and internal differentiation that have defined their national profiles even as they had different experiences after independence from Spain and Portugal. There have been several attempts to understand the impact of disasters in these societies, starting with the pioneering writings of Hewitt and Sheehan (1969) and culminating with the information collected by the international disaster database EM-DAT. In 2011, according to this source, Latin America and the Caribbean accounted for the second largest number of fatalities (7% of the world total) after Europe (10.5%). The similarities in the response to disasters in this region correspond to the cultural development of the societies and their long experience with authoritarian states, and to the impact of the United States and other developed countries.

3. What are the main barriers or obstacles to volunteering in crisis and disaster situations?

The role of so-called *spontaneous volunteers* in search and rescue activities as well as in the post-impact period of disaster quite often reflects larger unresolved

issues of political representation in these societies. Until very recently, the importance of volunteers in disasters was largely unrecognized and seemingly neglected by policy-makers as well as by social and political scientists. The period of the so-called Cold War influenced Latin American countries to adopt a civil defense or protection bureaucratic model influenced closely by the United States. It was a *dual use* approach involving military and paramilitary organizations in tasks focused on national security and *natural disasters* (see Dynes 1994). As was true in the United States in the late 1980s and 1990s, this situation began to change. Studies examining the outcomes of international efforts in the aftermath of the 1990 International Decade for Natural Disasters Reduction (IDNDR), showed the desirability of making changes to the ways government ministries were organized, including a rethinking of the disaster management model and the adoption of a risk management approach known in Spanish as *Gestión del Riesgo*. It explicitly concerned itself with the creators of vulnerability and risks, their victims, who were most often other members of society who suffered from disasters, and with finding effective mitigation efforts in the context of economic development of the region (Celis, Ostuni, Kisilevsky, and Fernández 2008; Seguinot, Batista, and Sánchez 2008).

Fortunately, the present-day acceptance of a modified risk management approach to disaster, with its emphasis on solutions based on local socio-economic development and participation of local populations as enactors and volunteers in the development project, has appealed to both the political left and right in the region (Freeman, Paul, Linneroot-Bayer, Mechler, Pflug, and Fugate 2011; Gellert 2012; Inter-American Development Bank 2010; Lavell 2007). While these changes have taken place, the old civil defense and emergency management perspectives continue to exert influence, possibly caused in part by the re-militarization of disaster-related organizations in the aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States.

Recently, under the initiative of the United Nations (FISCRMLR 2010; UNV 2011), there has been official action highlighting and encouraging the role of volunteers in tasks related to disaster prevention, response, and mitigation, as well as the incorporation of community actors. Most Latin American governments have made efforts to improve disaster-related organizations as well as to bring about changes in the relevant legal frameworks, with provisions that recognize spontaneous volunteers and attempt to coordinate their activities with governmental emergency management systems and voluntary non-governmental organizations (see FISCRMLR 2010; SNPAD – Colombia; SINAPROC – Mexico; SIFEM – Argentina; SINAPRED – Nicaragua; SINAGER – Honduras; CONRED – Guatemala; SISRADE – Bolivia).

Research by Dynes, Quarantelli, and Wenger (1988, 1990), using a representative random sample of the population of Mexico City, examined volunteerism in the aftermath of its 1985 earthquake. They showed that more than a million people volunteered to participate in the society's response to this disaster and

that the types of participation observed were determined to a large extent by the social class, gender, and age of the volunteers. They also documented the importance of the emergent organizational system that characterized this response, as well as the ways the ministries of the Mexican state assisted the work of the volunteers. Subsequently, others have questioned the value of the concept of volunteer in understanding disasters in the region.

Aguirre et al. (1994a, 1995; see also Macías and Calderón 1994), in their detailed qualitative study of the gasoline explosions in Guadalajara, Mexico, in 1992, observed the importance of the roles of both spontaneous volunteers and those who were already formally organized. They also documented the social system that emerged as the societal response to this crisis. They were able to show how volunteering was part of the pre-existing social capital of the victims and their families and how traditional social relationships helped guide volunteer activities (see also Barrios 2007).

Aguirre (1994a, 1994b) had already made important observations about this subject in his research on warning, evacuation, and search and rescue in Puerto Rico and Mexico. Other authors have conducted research on several instances of disasters in Latin America and considered the role of spontaneous volunteers in the *social response*. This is the case for the monograph by Kates and others (1972) about the earthquake in Managua, Nicaragua, in 1972, in which they documented the importance of spontaneous volunteers. They also documented the conflict between spontaneous volunteers and personnel of organizations and public and private institutions in the immediate post-impact period of the disaster. Barrios (2007) analyzed the case of a landslide that hit the community Santiago Atitán in the Lake of the same name, Guatemala, caused by the rains from Hurricane Stan in 2005. He observed and identified the role of relatives and neighbors in the early activities of search and rescue. The same case was analyzed by Hinshaw (2006), who noted the cooperative role of volunteers from several communities helping in the evacuation of Tzununa in the same lake. Hinshaw studied volunteers of a non-governmental organization called Pro-Lago, who played an important role in the advanced stage of community recovery.

Another study that examined spontaneous volunteers in disasters was done about the floods in Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Bolivia of 1983 reviewed by Antelo (1985), who noted the importance of the joint intervention of organizations of rescuers and spontaneous volunteers: "thousands of families had been rescued from the waters by groups of rescue workers, volunteers and personnel from institutions that participated in the complex rescue operations" (109). In the case of the flooding of the Gran Resistencia River in Argentina, in 1983, Caputo et al. (1985) also noted the actions of *voluntary* evacuation of the affected population and mentioned the role of non-governmental organizations and volunteers in the activities of supplying food to the population evacuated that

resided in shelters, as well as in the development of some recovery programs. Disaster associated with earthquakes, such as the Alto Mayo earthquake in Peru, of May 29, 1990, were studied by Maskrey (1992) and Duval and Medina (1992); they noted the role of spontaneous volunteers in the removal of debris and in the search for shelters.

Spontaneous volunteering occurs in counterpoint to government/state-controlled volunteering. Cuba offers an example. While the structural control and organization of volunteers is the norm, Cubans engage side by side with it in spontaneous volunteering in situations that are not disasters. These are instead potential high-risk unexpected incidents such as traffic accidents that are not the usual sort of incidents that seem relevant to civil defense. People traveling or living near roads where traffic and train accidents occur are the first to respond. Yet another set of spontaneous volunteers is composed of the people who come to shelters to help elderly victims and look after small children, clean floors, and wash clothing. Perhaps the most important type of spontaneous volunteers, given the very serious deficit of housing on the island, are neighbors, friends, and kinfolk who offer shelter to victims who have lost their homes to high wind or water (Delgadillo, 2005). As severe storms approach, it is customary in Cuba to cut off electric services (Batista, 2010a, b). Neighbors who have battery-operated radios usually share information with others about the strength and movement of the storm.

Of growing relevance to the issue of who engages in spontaneous volunteering in Latin America is the diffusion of personal mobile telecommunication and media devices and the increasing adoption of internet platforms and applications. As a result of these developments, photos, videos, and other information about the most destructive crises and disasters are shared across longer distances more rapidly and with more rich content. If the disaster is not very remote from a metropolitan area and the nation is sufficiently covered by the global communications network, ground-level and first-hand accounts of a catastrophic situation can be quickly disseminated, enabling many more potential volunteers to be engaged at a much greater distance from where an event occurs.

4. The importance and relatively marginal situation of faith-based organizations' response to disaster

Moore (2006:4), writing about the aftermath of the Katrina experience, adds that many nonprofit organizations practiced their charity without "regard for funds or the potential future strain on normal operations." Some continued serving even though they had sustained damage. As proof of the difficulties they encountered, Pipa (2006; see also Chaves and Tsitsos 2001) reports that more than half the nonprofits and religious organizations in Louisiana were deemed ineligible by FEMA to receive reimbursements for providing relief after

Hurricane Katrina. Arguably, one of his most insightful comments was that "there was no effective coordinating structure charged with integrating and facilitating the efforts of the many nonprofit and religion-sponsored organizations and religiously inspired philanthropists who responded to Katrina." In his words, the "domestic response architecture does not adequately plan for this type of stratified response" in which the efforts of local faith-based organizations and groups are critical. S. Smith (2006:6; see also Sharkey, 2007) points out that the Red Cross was slow in distributing funds to minority communities in rural Louisiana and Mississippi, for it lacked contacts with local faith-based organizations, welfare agencies, and other organizations that could have assisted it.

Koenig (2006:97–108) lists the obstacles that typically make more difficult the involvement of faith-based organizations with secular disaster response organizations. They include: lack of information, knowledge, and personal relationships, and excessive focus on the immediate crisis. There is also a failure to consider the whole person and to assess and understand the importance of spiritual needs and the need for counseling during long-term recovery (the assumption here is that only professional mental health is required). Additionally, the fact that clergy can facilitate access to victims is often unrecognized. Within faith-based organizations other barriers exist: lack of training for and information about disaster-response programs; stigmatized images about mental health care; reluctance to collaborate with other faith-based organizations and communities; and theological differences. However, the greatest obstacle is jealousy about *who gets the credit* for making a difference, which leads to competition and conflict (Koenig 2006:105). None of these difficulties seems insurmountable.

Pipa (2006), probably the most informative report to date on the involvement of religion-sponsored organizations in delivering social services during the Katrina incident (see also chapters in Boris and Steuerle 2006), is based on interviews with more than 50 leaders of nonprofit churches, governments, and foundations. Pipa found that FEMA's relationship with the nonprofit sector was weak, which created difficulties during this crisis. Moreover, largely unresolved conflicts existed between FEMA and the American Red Cross over their roles and responsibilities in coordinating the nonprofit sector during the crisis. He concludes that local nonprofit agencies and religious congregations played a key part in the response and improved the safety and well-being of victims (for at one point they sheltered as many evacuees as the American Red Cross).

5. Who gets involved in volunteering in crisis and disaster situations?

There are numerous and complex motivations at the individual level to explain why a person chooses to help others who are less fortunate or in need of help (e.g., see Handbook Chapters 30 and 31). One significant motivation to

consider is a person's religious faith. The importance of faith in mobilizing people and resources in the aftermath of disasters is nowhere clearer than in Katrina, although there are many other examples. According to S. Smith (2006, see p. 7 for additional references) more than 10,000 volunteers from across the country helped reconstruct communities along the Gulf Coast. Approximately 56% of the USD 3.3 billion contributed for Katrina relief was raised by faith-based organizations. Most of this assistance went to help their local units deliver social services, such as emergency assistance, food, shelter, and building reconstruction, and to send their own groups of volunteers to the areas impacted by the storm.

Perhaps the most prominent recent demonstration of voluntarism was after the September 11 attack in the United States in 2001. In response to the unprecedented event of multiple commercial aircraft being simultaneously hijacked and used to cause mass destruction to New York City, extensive spontaneous volunteering occurred. According to US National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (2004), private citizens played a significant role in the emergent response to the crisis – either to notify others of what was occurring or to help those in need. As news of the crisis rapidly spread through mass media and other types of communication, the capacity of potential volunteers grew. There are documented incidents of complex emergent volunteer organizational forms, such as a spontaneous volunteer boatlift of over hundreds of thousands of people from lower Manhattan after the collapse of the World Trade Center towers (Kendra and Wachtendorf 2006).

6. What are the main factors that influence volunteer success and impact in crisis and disaster situations?

The Katrina catastrophe provides one context in which to study disaster response and reconstruction. It helps clarify the practical and policy-related implications of accepting the propriety of faith-based organizations and groups' operations during disasters as a key organizing motif to understand voluntarism in disaster contexts. Religious organizations are one of the central mediating institutions of democracy, providing a middle ground between the spheres of private life and such mega-structures as community and governmental bureaucracy (Berger and Neuhaus 1977:3). As such, religious organizations facilitate the integration of the individual and the state, creating political loyalty in people and making governing structures more receptive to their needs.

As documented by McCarthy and Castelli (1997:19), religion-sponsored social service provision, mostly of emergency food, clothing, and shelter, is extensive, amounting to approximately 20% of congregational income. It is primarily local, with resources spent in the community where it is raised. It is also almost always distributed on the basis of need rather than religious affiliation. Furthermore, there is ample evidence that religion-sponsored social

services occur in the context of extensive relationships with government and other sectors of the society (pp. 43–50). Cnaan and Boddie (2002) and Cnaan, Wineberg, and Boddie (1999) have written even more extensively about social service provision by churches and other religious bodies in the United States.

E. Usable knowledge

The successful integration of disaster volunteers in the various efforts to mitigate the effects of disasters is still an unrealized goal. Improvements in this area can be brought about if attention is paid to the voluntarism of religious organizations and their importance as a major institution in society. Spiritually guided, philanthropic, volunteer group activities in disaster response and reconstruction are massive, as exemplified by the extensive involvement of religious organizations and spiritually guided philanthropic groups (ROSGGs) in the delivery of social services during the Katrina catastrophe. Fagnoni (2005:5, 2006), in the US Government Accountability Office report to Congress on charities in the aftermath of Rita and Katrina, alludes to the need for better inter-organizational coordination between faith-based organizations and FEMA. He holds that the former should educate the public about available disaster recovery services, involve them in planning for future disasters, and ease access to aid for eligible victims.

With the Katrina experience and other important incidents in its past, the recent *whole community* approach advocated by Craig Fugate (2011), Director of FEMA, acquires added urgency. In what can be a potentially important welcomed shift in policy, in the section of his report entitled "Engaging Non-Governmental Organizations," he stated that "government can and will continue to serve disaster survivors. However, we fully recognize that a government-centric approach to disaster management will not be enough to meet the challenges posed by a catastrophic incident. That is why we must fully engage our entire societal capacity." FEMA's new policy framework recognizes the role of individual and community resources in its published *Whole Community Approach to Emergency Management* (Federal Emergency Management Agency, 2011).

However, this framework deliberately takes a holistic approach and points broadly to public–private partnerships for communities to enhance their resilience in advance of crisis. Although it has recognized the importance of volunteers, it has not identified the ROSGGs as the key institutional axis to organize most aspects of voluntarism in disaster-related activities in the United States. For, while other institutions may play a part in disaster-related activities, none has the social and cultural reach of religion or the proved history of exercising charity when disaster strikes (Hall, 1994, 2008a, 2008b; Smith, 1978; Wald, 2003.). At the same time, having ROSGGs lead these responses would

raise additional issues, given the nation's constitutional precedents of separating church and state, but we trust that a solution can be worked out given the national interests involved (Kennedy, 2002).

F. Future trends and needed research

We may expect increasing research attention in the future to the role of volunteers and volunteer groups, especial emergent volunteer groups and activities, in crises and disasters. There is growing attention in disaster research on the persons and organizations operating at local levels, such as the needed collaborations between official local responders with community-level actors (Brudney and Gazley 2009). There is also growing attention to communicated infrastructures for networked intergovernmental and inter-organizational responses (Kapucu 2006b) to manage the networked collaboration that takes place in response to disaster and crisis situations. However, significant gaps remain.

Social science research about disasters in Latin America and the Caribbean has not developed sufficiently. Most researchers have not adopted disaster as a main line of interest, nor has the study of volunteering become an important subject of investigation (Lavell 2004). The scant social scientific knowledge about volunteers in disasters in Latin America may be traced to the weak development of the social sciences in *field studies of disaster* in this region. Unfortunately, to date there is, with a few exceptions, no research or field research specifically focusing on people affected directly and indirectly by disasters or on the role of participants who in the English-language literature are identified as spontaneous volunteers.

However, there are a number of studies reflecting the interests of international financial organizations and humanitarian assistance (see Linayo 2011; Durán et al. 2002). There is also research on the economic impact of disasters on development (Chervériat 2000), on climate change (Mendoza 2009), and on the El Niño phenomenon (Franco 1991; González 2008), all conducted in conjunction with studies framed in a risk management approach to disasters (Lavell 2005). In general, the dominant approach is doing studies that examine the aftermath of disasters by quantifying the losses caused by them, rather than doing studies to develop theory to understand the impact of various mitigation efforts and document the typical collective behavior that emerges in disaster situations (Koko 2003). It is not surprising then that research interests like the role of the spontaneous volunteer are seen as marginal.

G. Cross-references

Chapters 9, 16, 18, 22, 27, 28, 30, and 31

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15
Formal Volunteer Service Programs

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A. Introduction

This Handbook focuses primarily on volunteering in and the operations of associations. Because some other topics are sufficiently relevant and important, however, the Handbook covers them as well. Volunteer service programs (VSPs) is one such subject. Although VSPs are rarely found in associations, these efforts are included in the Handbook because they engage a multitude of volunteers and illustrate important facets and contexts of volunteer involvement.

This chapter examines VSPs from a multinational perspective. VSPs are housed most often in nonprofit organizations and government agencies and are intended to assist these parent entities toward goal achievement (cf. Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:244). The Handbook Appendix notes, "Volunteer programs can be properly seen as departments of the larger organization that operates them. They usually have a volunteer administrator or volunteer manager." VSPs take into account the motivations and interests of volunteers, but they tend to view volunteers from the perspective of the parent organization, conceiving of them as important but unpaid human resources. This chapter elaborates the definition of VSPs, their origin and historical background, as well as key issues, including the scope of VSPs, recommended best practices, the impacts of VSPs, and the challenges and barriers to sustaining them. The chapter perceives an optimistic future for VSPs, especially if resource constraints that limit their operation and effectiveness can be overcome.

The scope of the chapter is ambitious, covering VSPs in the United States, Western Europe, several countries of Asia, and the Middle East. For our purposes, Western Europe excludes Greece, Turkey, and the former communist countries of Eastern Europe (including the Balkans).

B. Definitions

This chapter follows the general definitions provided in the Handbook Appendix. Smith, Stebbins, and Dover (2006:244) describe a VSP as "a program

designed for service volunteers to work within a larger nonprofit group, for-profit organization, or governmental agency, which runs the program" (cf. Brudney 2016; Lauffer and Gorodezky 1977). Brudney and Lee (2008) define a volunteer program more simply as "a systematic effort to involve volunteers in the work, outputs, and outcomes of an organization."

Conceptions of *volunteering* and, therefore, of VSPs differ substantially across the countries of Western Europe, and frequently within them. The definition of volunteering used here is set out in the Appendix. Perhaps the most crucial difference between associations and VSPs is that associations are essentially independent and autonomous, while VSPs are neither. Instead, VSPs usually constitute departments (subunits) of larger, often nonprofit, organizations that supply a volunteer labor force to serve the purposes of the larger organization. Whereas members of associations usually have the right or authority to elect top leaders and officers, participants in VSPs do not. In addition, while most associations serve their members, VSPs serve non-members who are clients or customers of the larger organization, or people who are otherwise the focus of its activities.

C. Historical background

Whereas associations have existed for at least 10,000 years, VSPs have a much shorter history, probably several centuries, not millennia (Smith 2016; see Handbook Chapter 1). Although fixing their point of origin is elusive, in the late 1960s and early 1970s a spate of works appeared in the United States that spawned a reconceptualization of volunteers as an organization- or client-serving resource managed and led in support of organizational purposes, that is, a VSP. Perhaps the best known of these works, albeit not the first, is that of Marlene Wilson (1970). Her influential text appeared shortly after important books by Harriet H. Naylor (1967) and Anne K. Stenzel and Helen M. Feeney (1968). These books were widely used in the 1970s, while paving the way for new ones published in the 1980s that built on their foundations (exemplified by Jane Mallory Park 1983). Disciplinary treatments of volunteer management soon followed, for example, in social work (Schwartz 1984) and in the public sector (Brudney 1990).

In themselves these publications do not mark the origin of VSPs; they had existed long before. Handbook Chapter 1 indicates that, while existing in small numbers for centuries, VSPs mainly date back to the 19th century (cf. Smith 2016). Yet, they do signal the beginning of serious scholarly and practitioner attention to volunteers as capable human resources who could be marshaled in pursuit of organizational clients and missions. By contrast to previous research and commentary, they tend to view the volunteer–organization relationship from the perspective of the organization and consider the needs of that entity

for assistance, labor, and support; the possibilities for integrating volunteers into the agency workforce successfully; and the contribution that these new non-paid human resources could make to meeting those needs and furthering organizational goals. These studies are concerned with balancing the motivation and engagement of volunteers with the demands and priorities of the organizational workplace.

D. Key issues

1. Scope of volunteer service programs (VSPs)

Whereas associations proliferate around the world, VSPs operate mainly in developed countries, such as the United States and those of Western Europe. Most of these programs are sponsored by nonprofit organizations, an arrangement that may have given birth to mistaken beliefs that VSPs have ancient roots, and provide the dominant context for volunteering, though neither belief is correct (Ellis and Campbell 2006; Smith 2000:45–55). Nevertheless, in the United States and other developed countries, VSPs are prevalent in nonprofit organizations. Based on a nationwide survey of charities, Hager (2004) and Hager and Brudney (2004) found that 80% of US charities involve volunteers in their operations or service delivery.

In a comprehensive study, *Volunteering in the European Union*, GHK Consulting likewise suggests that most volunteering across Europe takes place within the voluntary and community sector, also referred to as the *third sector* (GHK 2010). In the majority of cases, this sector has grown considerably over the past two to three decades. GHK estimates that approximately 92 to 94 million adults participate in volunteering across the European Union.

By contrast, in countries of the Middle East and in nations of the former Soviet bloc, VSPs are comparatively rare. In the Arab world non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are fewer in number; found mostly in urban areas, related to an urban educated elite; and bear a patronage, rather than democratic, relationship with government (Kandil 1994). Compared with other areas of the world, the number of volunteers is less, and participation is weaker and more limited in non-governmental organizations. Here the majority of volunteers attend general assemblies and pay membership fees. Volunteers often lack management, guidance, attention and training before volunteering (Kandil 1994). In Arab countries like Tunisia, Sudan, Morocco, Palestine, Kuwait, Egypt, Lebanon, Bahrain, Oman, and the United Arab Emirates, NGOs tend to have a hierarchal structure encompassing the president of the board cabinet, the board cabinet, members of the general assembly, paid employees, and volunteers (Al-Baz 1997).

In Asia, countries vary widely in ethnicity, culture, religion, environment, historical background, and economic and political systems. Because

the diversities among these countries influence the levels and forms of civic engagement including volunteering (Costa and Kahn 2003), it is as difficult to generalize about volunteer programs in these countries as it is to generalize about Asian cultures. With that caution in mind, Asian countries lag somewhat behind Western, developed nations concerning citizen participation in formal volunteer programs, despite increased participation in recent years. The formal nonprofit sector in most Asian countries is still young and developing. Moreover, its relationship with government varies greatly across nations.

Overall, volunteering in Asian countries seems correlated with the levels of economic development and democracy attained: More people participate in volunteer programs in countries with greater economic development and prosperity. A survey conducted by the Society for Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA) reported that 2.8% of the total adult population in four states in India (Maharashtra, Meghalaya, Tamil Nadu, and West Bengal) volunteered in 2001 (Srivastava et al. 2003). By contrast, approximately 20.3% of the total population in South Korea volunteered in 2005 (World Volunteer Web 2005). The Japanese Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication stated that 28.9% of Japanese people aged 10 or older volunteered in 2005 (Yoshizoe 2007).

Notwithstanding this cross-national variation and diversity, volunteerism in the nonprofit sector continues to grow in many Asian countries. The Voluntary Action Network India (VANI) has been an active promoter of volunteerism and voluntary organizations in that country and globally. In response to the remarkable volunteer involvement after the 1995 Kobe earthquake, a new *NPO Law* was passed in Japan sanctioning the status of nonprofit organizations, which contributed to the growth of volunteerism in the Japanese nonprofit sector. The Japan NPO Center was established in 1996 as an infrastructure organization to support volunteer organizations, akin to the Independent Sector organization in the United States (Imada 2010). The Japanese government funds volunteer centers nationwide, which are responsible for promoting, registering, and administering volunteer activities (Avenell 2010). National government, local governments, and quasi-autonomous NGOs also engage in state–nonprofit collaborations in Japan. The Cabinet Office of the Government of Japan (2000) reports that in 1999 more than 9 out of 10 Japanese were members of neighborhood associations.

Although volunteering occurs mostly in the private sector, the political and economic systems in certain nations restrict citizen-based volunteering. Instead, government may encourage or even mandate young people to participate in *volunteering* as a method of political education (Roker, Player, and Coleman 1999). In China, for instance, the centralized, communist government imposes tough restrictions on private voluntary activities. Until the early 2000s, governmental or quasi-governmental imperatives drove Chinese voluntary organizations and their structures and activities (Tuan 2005). Volunteering

also takes a very different form from its common definition, motivated by government appeals and organization of volunteer activities. That is, citizens are *required* to participate in many government-initiated programs (Tuan 2005). The result is an overwhelmingly high rate of volunteering in China. According to the Chinese government, more than 85% of the population aged 18 years and older volunteered in 2001. That same year more than 9 out of 10 youth volunteered (Tuan 2005).

Activities in Asia in which volunteers participate differ somewhat across national boundaries. For instance, helping youth, children, and the disabled was the most common type of volunteering in South Korea, followed by environmental protection and crime prevention (The Social Report 2009). By contrast, for Japanese volunteers, community improvement was the most common type, followed by conservation activities and safety promotion (Yoshizoe 2007). In India, social service and religion were the two main areas of volunteer work, accounting for 46.5% and 22%, respectively, of the total time volunteered in 2001 (Srivastava et al. 2003). Health and sports programs were the next most common type of volunteer activities. Young Chinese adults are organized by quasi-autonomous non-governmental organizations to work in poverty alleviation, disaster relief, and other nationwide development programs (Yang 2005).

Volunteering and service to others has deep cultural and historical roots in the African context. The act of helping others is shaped by various cultural traditions and reflects the diversity of religion, cultural practices, and beliefs. Organized, formal structures for volunteering are often lacking in the African context, and where available, are underdeveloped. In fact, formal volunteering as an organized activity was introduced in Africa by various missions – religious, medical, and so on (Van Reken 1987). By the 20th century, NGOs had taken over the formal organizing of volunteers (Bashford 2006) in order to help alleviate poverty and other disasters. The growth of formal and informally organized volunteering initiatives has been spurred by the growth of indigenous NGOs in response to the declining human development situation (Fowler 1995). Preliminary research on volunteering in the African context suggests that there is a paucity of information and research in this area of inquiry. Volunteer management is therefore a novel idea, and where available, is often undertaken by NGOs.

As noted above, VSPs in the Middle East are comparatively rare. Where they exist, they focus around prominent areas of volunteering, including: alleviating poverty, facilitating employment, assisting families, protecting children, providing health care, helping the disabled, providing education services, developing community infrastructures (Mamser 2002), and supporting sport clubs (Kinsawi 1997). Further details about these activities can be found in field studies in the Arab world (Al-Baz 1997; Al-Sufti et al. 2005) in Saudi Arabia

(Afif 2009; Al Shubaiki 1992); in Jordan, Morocco, Yemen, Palestine, Egypt, and Kuwait (Naffaa et al. 1999); and in women philanthropic organizations in the Arab Gulf countries (Al Hiji 2000).

2. (Best) practices of volunteer service programs

An area that has attracted considerable attention from researchers and especially practitioners considers the practices that VSPs might utilize to assist organizations most effectively. Perhaps the definitive research on this subject was performed by Hager (2004) and Hager and Brudney (2004). These researchers conducted a nationally representative survey of charities in the United States and queried them regarding their use of nine *best practices* for volunteer management culled from the literature: regular supervision and communication with volunteers, liability coverage or insurance protection for volunteers, regular collection of information on volunteer numbers and hours, screening procedures to identify suitable volunteers, written policies and job descriptions for volunteer involvement, recognition activities such as award ceremonies for volunteers, annual measurement of the impacts of volunteers, training and professional development opportunities for volunteers, and training for paid staff in working with volunteers.

Despite the rhetorical support offered by the literature, the US survey findings showed that most charities had not adopted the recommended volunteer management (best) practices to a *large degree*. With the exception of "regular supervision and communication with volunteers" (adopted by 67% of charities), less than half the charities that manage volunteers had adopted the volunteer management practices advocated by the field. The survey polled a representative sample of religious congregations that use volunteers as well, and, in every case, they had adopted the recommended practices *to a large degree* less often than had the charities. In both the charities and the congregations, however, the rate of adoption of the recommended best practices for volunteer management to *some degree* or to a *large degree* was considerably higher.

In the European context, volunteer management practices vary according to the nature of the VSP and the organization, as well as cross-nationally. In many countries, volunteering has been undergoing professionalization and formalization over the last decade, as evidenced by an increase in volunteering policies, strategies, and procedures for organizations, as well as processes such as interviews and criminal record checks. In the United Kingdom, this trend has contributed to an improved volunteer experience: In the 2007 National Survey of Volunteering in England, 31% of volunteers felt that their volunteering could have been much better organized (Low et al. 2007), a substantial decrease from 71% in the 1997 National Survey (Davis-Smith 1998).

Standards for volunteer management exist in many European countries. In the United Kingdom and Ireland, Volunteering England (now part of the

National Council for Voluntary Organisations) developed the "Investing in Volunteers Standard" as a quality mark, which has been widely adopted by organizations (http://iiv.investinginvolunteers.org.uk/). In Austria, the network of ten volunteer centers has agreed on a set of ten standard criteria for advanced quality volunteer management. In Spain, a Code of Ethics for Volunteering and Volunteer Organisations exists, designed by the Platforma del Voluntaiado de Espana in 2000.

Despite the development of *quality standards* for VSPs in Europe, apprehension exists that such procedures may lead to over-formalization, which potentially could put off some volunteers from participating and harm the organization. Although research has yet to explore this issue on a European-wide level, a challenge surrounding possible over-formalization of volunteering is the potential impact it can have on smaller, grassroots organizations (although these organizations are less likely to offer VSPs). A 2008 study by the Institute for Volunteering Research (IVR), "Volunteering to Lead," identified a fear among these groups that inappropriate application of these policies and processes could stifle, perhaps even terminate, smaller organizations, which tend to function with a more informal, organic approach to volunteer management, often based on peer-support and generally helping out (http://www.ivr.org.uk /component/ivr/volunteering-to-lead).

The concept of *volunteer management* is new in many Asian countries, and nonprofit organizations often lack the financial and human resources to manage volunteers. In India, the vast majority of nonprofit organizations (75%) have one or no paid employees, implying that most organizations are unable to support a dedicated position of volunteer administrator. The situation is somewhat better in nations with a higher level of economic prosperity. For instance, more than half of crime prevention organizations in Japan closely coordinate volunteer activities and receive formal training (Avenell 2010). In Korea, a number of nonprofit organizations recruit volunteers for service organizations, including the Federation of Volunteer Efforts in Korea, Korea Federation of Volunteer Centers, and Volunteering Culture Korea. In China, two government-affiliated organizations, the Community Service Volunteers organization (established by the Ministry of Civil Affairs) and the China Young Volunteer Association (under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Youth League), constitute the two largest volunteer organizations and engage the younger Chinese population in VSPs.

A lively area of debate swirls around whether the recommended *best* practices for volunteer management might differ in their adoption and/or effectiveness by different types of volunteer programs: for example, a volunteer center versus a corporate volunteer program versus a public or nonprofit agency, and so on (Brudney and Meijs 2012). Brudney and Meijs (2009) propose a new *regenerative model* of volunteer programs that encourages their managers to consider *best*

practices within the larger context of how they might affect the sustainability of volunteering in a society.

3. Impacts of volunteer service programs

The impacts of volunteering are at least twofold, on the recipients of volunteer services and on the volunteers themselves (Wilson 2012; see also Handbook Chapter 52). Although statistical information on the impacts of volunteer programs in Asian countries is not available, scholars point out that volunteers in Asia play an important social and economic role. For example, Srivastava and Tandon (2005) observe that volunteers are the driving force of India's nonprofit sector since they account for more than 80% of the sector's workforce. To improve the lives of residents in the present and future, international and local volunteers work in economic development and education for youth (Sherraden, Lough, and McBride 2008). Volunteer programs also help strengthen social connections and trust and promote citizen engagement in public affairs.

At the same time volunteering also brings positive results for individual volunteers, such as social recognition, career building, and better health and self-esteem. Research finds that participation in volunteer programs especially increases older adults' well-being (Brown et al. 2003; Dabelko-Shoeny, Anderson, and Spinks 2010), and these benefits become more important in several Asian countries with the rapid aging of the population. In addition, an increasing number of Asian business corporations have realized that employee VSPs can help develop a stronger workforce, enhance corporate reputations, and invest in the communities in which their businesses are located, as well as improve employee morale and motivation (Tuffrey 1995).

One way to quantify the impact of volunteering programs on society is to assign a financial value to their efforts. Such economic valuation remains controversial, however, since this activity is unpaid, and the appropriate methodology is problematic. Despite these demurs, the economic *impact* of volunteering for individual countries can be large, indeed. Applying the average industrial wage to volunteering figures from the 2002 national survey, the replacement cost of volunteer labor in Ireland could be valued at EUR 382.2 million. In England, figures from the 2007 national survey of volunteering put the value at GBP 38.9 billion (Low et al. 2007). In the United States, according to the Corporation for National and Community Service, in the year ending in September 2015 about 62.6 million Americans, or 24.9% of the adult population, gave 7.9 billion hours of volunteer service worth an estimated USD 184 billion (http://www.volunteeringinamerica.gov/).

GHK (2010) presents a summary of the percentage of GDP contributed by VSP volunteering for different countries:

- A tiny percentage of GDP in Slovakia, Poland, and Greece (less than 0.1%)
- Below 1% of GDP in Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Italy, Hungary, Lithuania, Malta, Portugal, Romania, and Slovenia
- Between 1% and 2% of GDP in Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Luxembourg, and Spain
- More than 2% of GDP in the United Kingdom, Finland, and Denmark
- A significant share in Austria, the Netherlands, and Sweden (between 3% and 5%) (p. 11)

In 2000, IVR undertook an assessment of the "Volunteer Investment and Value Audit" (VIVA) in three European countries. The VIVA toolkit creates a ratio of the financial amount invested in volunteering in an organization (e.g., salaries of paid staff, out-of-pocket expenses) against the financial value of the volunteers (total volunteering hours multiplied by a wage figure). The study worked with eight organizations in the United Kingdom, Denmark, and the Netherlands. Ratios varied from 1:1.3 to 1:13.5 (for every one British Pound (GBP) invested in volunteering, it generated a return of between GBP 1.30 and GBP 13.50), showing volunteering to be a highly cost-effective activity across different countries. The small size of the sample meant it was impossible to unearth any notable differences between the countries. If anything, the study showed more similarities than differences (Gaskin 2000).

Beyond economic valuation methods, researchers believe that the wider community and society benefit from VSPs in a number of ways, including development of bridging and bonding social capital, trust, and improved services. Nevertheless, it is often extremely challenging to discern the part played by volunteering. Meanwhile, far less rigorous evidence has been generated in this area (at least on outcomes and impacts as opposed to outputs of VSPs).

Other approaches consider the effects of VSPs on realizing the objectives of host organizations and, in this way, furthering their impact on clients and the larger society. Hager and Brudney (2004) offer an example from the United States. Their survey research showed that substantial majorities of a large, representative sample of charities regard volunteers as beneficial to their operations. They increase the quality of services or programs provided; achieve cost-savings; increase public support for agency programs or improve community relations; provide services or levels of service that the agency otherwise could not deliver; and offer more detailed attention to the people served. Remarkably, more than 90% of the sample found volunteers beneficial to their operations in each of these ways to a *moderate extent* or *great extent*.

Another conception of the impact of VSPs is their role as springboard to paid work. The relationship between volunteering and employment has long

been of interest to government and policy makers, but has been of particular relevance since the global recession and economic downturn began. Evidence for a direct link remains limited, however, and it is very difficult – if not impossible – to attribute the role of volunteering. A study by IVR in 2008 exploring the work of volunteer centers in England on the employability agenda concluded that volunteering can improve individuals' employability by helping them acquire hard and soft skills (with emphasis on gains in confidence and self-esteem), but failed to identify a direct link (http://www.ivr.org.uk/images/stories/Institute-of-Volunteering-Research/Migrated-Resources/Documents/G/A_Gateway_to_Work.pdf).

Research suggests positive impacts for volunteers from participating in VSPs. For example, based on an analysis of 245 questionnaires received from volunteers involved in the Pilot Action program of the European Volunteer Service program (as well as the views of hosting organizations and sending organizations), Davis-Smith (2004) reports that "the key finding was that EVS could be seen to have a positive influence on the lives of the volunteers," and that "volunteers spoke of becoming more assertive, more communicative, more socially aware and caring, more tolerant, and of having learned new skills in leadership, responsibility, and foreign language" (p. 74S). Similarly, a study by proMENTE Social Research (2007) of youth voluntary service in Europe identified a wide range of positive impacts, including that "everyone benefits from voluntary service equally: there are no major differences between impact according to socio-economic categories of volunteers," and that "youth voluntary service has the potential to increase tolerance, active citizenship and a sense of being European" (p. 8).

4. Challenges and barriers to sustaining volunteer service programs

One of the biggest challenges to sustaining VSPs in Asian and Arab countries is the lack of economic and social infrastructure to support these programs. As mentioned above, Asians' volunteering has been concentrated in the informal sector of the economy. Consequently, understanding of volunteer programs and their management falls short compared with Western countries. Compared with OECD member countries where the nonprofit sector and volunteer input account for a significant part of the national economy, the nonprofit sector in many developing countries lacks the resources to sustain effective volunteer programs (Salamon et al. 1999). Although governments and nonprofit organizations in some countries such as Japan and Korea have started educational and training programs for volunteers and volunteer administrators, they lack consistent public policies for the nonprofit sector to sustain these programs (Srivastava and Tandon 2005).

Another barrier to sustaining VSPs in Asia is inequity within society. The same applies to the Arab world. Most of all, discrimination against women by

limiting their participation inhibits the growth of volunteer programs. Until recently in Asia, women's rights had not been protected at the same level as men's. In certain countries, prevailing cultural and religious beliefs involve subordination and mistreatment of women (Cooper and Traugott 2003). In many national contexts, including the United States and Canada, women are more active volunteers than men (Hodgkinson, Weitzman, Noga, and Gorski 1992; Mesch et al. 2006), and the literature provides several reasons why women volunteer more (Donoghue 2001; Wilson and Musick 1997). However, the opposite holds true in many Asian countries where men volunteer at a higher rate than women (Lee and Seong-Gin 2011). In the Indian state West Bengal, for instance, women accounted for only 3% of the volunteer population in 2001 (Srivastava et al. 2002). The extremely low rate of participation of women does not suggest that Asian women are less charitable than men. Rather, social barriers and prejudice in many Asian countries against women's participation in any outside work including formal volunteering prevent women from contributing their time and energy to social causes.

Another inequity that undermines volunteer programs is discrimination according to social class. The literature suggests that class position reflects fundamental differences in the nature and quality of economic, cultural, and social resources (Bourdieu 1986; Giddens 1973). These factors, in turn, contribute to different levels and forms of participation in VSPs. In India, for instance, the caste system remains despite economic and political development, and it limits lower caste people's access to education and other resources and, therefore, prevents their participation in volunteer programs (Dabhi 2009).

Lastly, government suspicion and disapproval of grassroots organization in certain parts of Asia and the Middle East also prevent the development of VSPs in the private sector. For example, the central government of China restricts and regulates management of social and nonprofit organizations run by local people. Such government regulation inhibits growth of the nonprofit sector in that country. Although non-governmental or nonprofit grassroots organizations began appearing in the 1990s (Zhu 2005), citizen-initiated activities in China still remain informal with very limited scope. Government suppression of nonprofit organizations combined with religious and political conflicts in certain regions including India, Pakistan, Tibet, China, and many other parts of Asia hinder growth of the voluntary sector.

The strong traditions of mutual help in many Asian cultures combined with rapid industrialization and economic development imply that they have much potential for cultivating VSPs. As evidence, some Asian countries are even developing international aid programs (Cave 2012). With the increase in westernization in some countries younger generations are becoming interested in participating in formal volunteer programs. The high rate of Internet use also opens the possibility of online volunteering. Furthermore, governments are

establishing policies and laws supporting volunteer programs. Interest in corporate social responsibility has also continued to increase (Lee and Higgins 2001). These trends seem to portend an optimistic future for volunteering in Asian countries.

Although the situation is generally better with respect to VSPs in Western Europe, important challenges exist there as well:

- One of the biggest challenges is lack of funding for volunteering, leaving many VSPs and volunteer management more generally to be under-resourced. Because of the economic downturn in Europe and the Eurozone financial crisis, major increases in investment in volunteering in any country are unlikely. In the United Kingdom alone, it has been estimated that recent spending cuts by government (in an attempt to reduce public deficit) amount to a reduction in income for the voluntary and community sector of somewhere between GBP 3.2 and GBP 5.1 billion (New Philanthropy Capital 2011). The same problems of adequate finance and leadership pervade VSPs housed in charities in the United States (Hager 2004; Hager and Brudney 2004).
- Many countries are experiencing stable or increasing levels of volunteering. Part of the challenge may be less about the demand from the population than about the supply of volunteering opportunities from organizations with little funding to develop suitable opportunities or invest in volunteer management. Here lies a possible mismatch between volunteer supply and organizational demand.
- As often happens in VSPs, tensions can arise between the roles of volunteers and paid staff. Duplication of roles can lead to job substitution, a problem exacerbated by economic challenges that may drive organizations with VSPs to consider hard choices between employment security and service delivery. A study by IVR of volunteering in six large UK National Health Service (NHS) Trusts found that some staff felt that volunteers were used as cheap labor to fill roles that should have been occupied by paid employees (Teasdale 2008). Evidence suggests that this tendency can occur in smaller organizations as well, most recently in England in libraries and museums that have experienced large funding cuts (Ockenden, Hill, and Stuart 2012).
- Although very limited research examines the negative side of volunteering, some work has appeared. The UK study on "Pathways through participation: what creates and sustains active citizenship?" (Brodie et al. 2011) uncovered that people can suffer burn-out, stress, family breakdown, and other disagreeable effects from volunteering (http://www.ivr.org.uk/component /ivr/Pathways_through_Participation). Such untoward consequences may be particularly evident in smaller organizations, where the stressors are

often stronger. A number of high-profile cases in England show vol-
unteers going *on strike* as a reaction to labor practices deemed unfair.
This movement contributed to the development of the Volunteer Rights
Enquiry (http://www.volunteering.org.uk/policy-and-campaigns/volunteer
-rights-inquiry-3r-promise).

E. Usable knowledge

Housed most often in nonprofit organizations and government agencies,
VSPs recruit and mobilize volunteers to assist these entities. VSPs deliver a
huge amount of effort, and organizations in Western, developed nations have
learned to take advantage of the skills, labor, and interests of volunteers. VSPs
are emerging but are less common in counties in Asia, and even less so in the
Arab world.

VSPs must be carefully organized and managed to yield benefits for organi-
zations, as well as volunteers. Research suggests that funding invested in VSPs
generates a strong return. To facilitate these beneficial outcomes for host agen-
cies and citizen volunteers, scholars have proposed best practices to guide the
management of VSPs. However, research suggests that adoption of these provi-
sions is less robust than might have been anticipated, given their endorsement
in the literature.

One of the reasons may be that lack of funding seems an endemic problem
for VSPs worldwide. This problem is ironic because at the very time that govern-
ment is calling on nonprofit organizations and their volunteers to step into the
breach created by public sector cutbacks, VSPs suffer funding cutbacks of their
own, which limit their ability to respond. This limitation is particularly frustrat-
ing, because statistics suggest that the motivation and volume of volunteering
in many countries are at least remaining stable, and in some nations increas-
ing, but that VSPs may have lost the capacity to engage volunteers successfully.
Reduced funding also exacerbates tensions between paid staff and volunteers
in VSPs, so that employees become more concerned with job substitution, and
volunteers experience adverse effects, such as stress and burnout. It is difficult
to attend to the welfare of clients when the service providers must deal with
problems of their own.

We recommend that nations adopt policies to support VSPs so that their
operations can be most effectual for paid staff, volunteers, and clients. We rec-
ommend further that practices and policies in some countries that condone
inequities in participation based, for example, on gender or social class, be
amended so that all citizens may enjoy the benefits of VSPs. Finally, we rec-
ommend changes in policy where governments restrict or closely regulate the
birth and operation of nonprofit (non-government) organizations and citizen
participation, thus limiting the growth and success of VSPs.

F. Future trends and needed research

Despite the limitations we have noted, we see the future of VSPs as bright. In 2009, Brudney speculated on whether the looming worldwide recession would usher in an era of *dark times* that would limit volunteering as other human needs predominated (2009:8). Fortunately, that scenario does not seem to have materialized.

What we do find, though, is an era of flux where VSPs seem to go out of existence as resources and interests wax and wane, to be replaced by other new VSPs. Developments in the new information technologies such as the Internet and smartphones facilitate the organization of VSPs and likely reduce the amount of funding and effort required. Although the raw number of VSPs worldwide has probably not changed much over the past several years, the causes and organizations served through these efforts have likely undergone considerable transformation. The key issue for VSPs is sustaining volunteer energy (Brudney and Meijs 2009).

To monitor these trends and assist VSPs, research on several topics seems appropriate and warranted. First, what circumstances lead to the formation of VSPs, and what factors help to sustain them? Second, do universal best practices exist that can be applied to VSPs in general, or do different types of VSPs (differentiated by nation, goals, host organizations, motivations of volunteers, etc.) call for different approaches? Third, how much job substitution occurs in VSPs with volunteers supplanting paid staff, and does substitution also take place in the other direction with paid staff replacing volunteers? Fourth, what adverse effects might volunteers suffer from due to over-involvement in VSPs? Fifth, how are the influences on and motivations of volunteering in VSPs similar to or different than those factors affecting formal volunteering in associations and informal volunteering outside of an organized context?

Finally, scholars and practitioners have struggled to arrive at the value of volunteer efforts for VSPs and for the larger society. More convincing and articulate ways to demonstrate this value would hopefully be persuasive to funders in all sectors. Thus, research is needed on creative ways to assess the impact of VSPs on the critical problems that they are intended to address.

G. Cross-references

Chapters 16, 17, 22, 30, 31, and 46

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16

Changing Nature of Formal Service Program Volunteering

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A. Introduction

Most other chapters in this Handbook focus on volunteering in associations, but this chapter focuses instead mainly on volunteering in volunteer service programs (VSPs). As discussed at length in Handbook Chapter 15, VSPs are essentially volunteer departments of other, larger, controlling, parent organizations, such as nonprofit agencies or government agencies.

Where the member volunteers of voluntary associations have great collective power, electing their top leaders, the volunteers in a VSP have little or no power in the VSP or in their larger, parent organization, and do not elect the top leaders of their VSP or their parent organization. This marked structural difference in authority and power structure has major implications for volunteers and the volunteering experience in these two distinct kinds of volunteering settings (see Smith 2015a, 2015b).

Volunteering encompasses individual and social dimensions: it is a practice that involves an investment made by the individual to contribute to other people outside one's household, and often to the more general, collective welfare. When conducted through formal organizational settings, volunteering becomes an encounter point between those individual endeavors and collective arrangements or social institutions.

In this chapter, we identify three main mechanisms that affect the formations and features of formal VSPs: volunteers' biographical characteristics, the organizational settings where formal volunteering takes place, and the broader institutional environments in which these settings operate. In recent decades, we have witnessed significant transformations in these three mechanisms, which also led to transformations in the nature of volunteering. We argue that volunteer participation has been transitioning from *traditional*, *classical*, or *collectivistic* types to *modern*, *new*, or individualistic ones. The chapter will

explore these transformations and their implications for the changing ways in which volunteer activity takes place. In this analysis, we take into account not only individual behaviors but also the ways in which these behaviors are organized, directed, and governed.

B. Definitions

The following special definitions are important for understanding this chapter, while accepting generally the definitions of the Appendix of this Handbook.

Biographical transformations: Similar trends in the life course of a significant number of individuals that result from broader societal transformations and change their availability and willingness for volunteering.

Organizational transformations: Changes within formally delineated volunteer-involving organizations, including the introduction of innovative volunteer management tools.

Institutional transformations: Restructuring of cross-sectoral and interorganizational relations that influence organizational transformations and activity.

Collective volunteering: A style of volunteering initiated and coordinated by groups, in which the objectives of the individual group members are subordinated to collective goal setting. Collective volunteers are core members of the organization with a strong organizational attachment.

*Reflexive volunteering***:** A style of volunteering framed through the individual world of experience, in which the nature of involvement depends on individual preferences and needs. Reflexive volunteers conduct more specialized roles and activities, demand a high level of flexibility, and they have relatively weak feelings of identification with the organization or belonging to a volunteer group.

Institutionally individualized volunteering: This concept refers to the growing institutionalization of more individuated forms of volunteering. Volunteer organizations decreasingly approach volunteers as members of a group, as traditionally has been the case, but as individuals with individualized conditions, preferences, and needs for which highly individualized volunteer opportunities have to be offered.

Third Parties: Volunteering is traditionally conceptualized as consisting of three types of actors: volunteers, volunteer organizations, and beneficiaries. The concept of *third parties* describes additional, external parties, such as governments, educational institutes, and corporations, which become involved in initiating and facilitating volunteer activities, and in enhancing volunteering in general.

Hybrid forms of participation: Participation in hybrid organizational settings that mingle roles and rationalities of civil society, state, and market. Examples are corporate volunteering, civic internships, workfare and social activation programs, and alternative community sentences.

C. Historical background

As discussed in Handbook Chapter 1, *informal volunteering* goes back 150,000 to 200,000 years, as long as our species has existed. However, *formal volunteering*, through some group or organization, mainly in grassroots, local, all-volunteer associations, goes back only about 10,000 years. In marked contrast, *VSP volunteering is very new in history*, beginning mainly in the 19th and 20th centuries, and mainly in wealthier, industrial, and post-industrial nations (cf. Smith 2016). VSP volunteering is not present to any significant extent in the current developing or transitional nations where most humans live. Thus, VSP volunteering, while important and growing, is only a small fraction of all current formal volunteering in the world, and was essentially nonexistent until very recently. VSP formal volunteering is now only found frequently in a small number of economically and educationally advanced nations. This larger context is crucial to understanding the meaning and implications of the present chapter and the phenomena it examines. *In brief, when the term "volunteering" is used below in this chapter, it refers mainly to this very special, recent, rather small segment of all of the world's current formal volunteering and specifically to the volunteers who are involved in VSPs* (cf. Smith 2014, 2016).

In recent decades, there has been a growing conviction that the nature of volunteering is undergoing radical change as a result of broader social transformations. Volunteer participation has been transitioning from *traditional*, *classical*, or *collectivistic* types to *modern*, *new*, or *individualistic* ones (Eckstein 2001; Hustinx 2010a; Hustinx and Lammertyn 2003; Jakob 1993; Wuthnow 1998). Compared with traditional volunteering as a lifelong and demanding commitment, modern volunteering takes place on a more episodic, non-committal, and self-oriented basis.

This transformation is usually described in problematic terms. *Serious volunteering* (Putnam 1995:70) is declining, and the new generation of volunteers lacks the type and degree of involvement that the average organization needs. The core diagnosis holds that the *ethos* of the volunteers, that is, their subjective dispositions and preferences, has changed dramatically (Hustinx 2010a). As a consequence of processes of individualization and profound value change, the willingness to volunteer is allegedly eroding or transforming into unfavorable terms. Modern volunteers demand a considerable amount of autonomy and freedom in their roles and responsibilities. The willingness to participate increasingly depends on personal interests and needs, instead of traditional values such as service to others and a sense of duty to the community. In their quest for self-realization, volunteers demand a substantial freedom of choice and a clear set of tasks with tangible results. In addition, they tend to take a more instrumental view of volunteering, using it primarily to further their own interests. For example, young people would have an increasing propensity to volunteer for résumé-building motivations (Handy et al. 2010).

While these (alleged) changes on the side of volunteers have been intensively discussed among scholars and practitioners, remarkably less attention has been devoted to how broader organizational and institutional changes affect the nature of volunteering as well (Hustinx 2010b). First, organizations (especially nonprofit and government agencies) have changed the way they structure their demand for volunteer labor in order to cope with the changes on the part of individual volunteers. In recent years, such volunteer-involving organizations have introduced innovative management practices to attune the volunteer activities to the personal preferences and needs of volunteers, and also have started to apply more explicit marketing and recruitment efforts (Meijs and Brudney 2007). Second, new institutional strategies have recently increased to encourage volunteering. *Third parties* such as governments, corporations, and institutions of higher education are increasingly involved in the mobilization of volunteers and the organization of their activities (Haski-Leventhal, Meijs, and Hustinx 2010). Secondary and university students, for example, often have to participate in volunteer activities as part of their study curriculum and get a more explicit return for their contribution (e.g., study credits). Such interventions typically influence the dimensions of free choice and non-remuneration that have been traditionally seen as essential to our understanding of volunteering (Handy et al. 2000; Hustinx, Cnaan, and Handy 2010; Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:244–245).

D. Key issues

To grasp the complex and changing nature of volunteering, it thus is indispensable to consider different, but mutually connected, levels of analysis: changes in the individual biography of volunteers on the one hand and changes in the organizational and institutional environment of volunteering on the other hand. We focus on several frameworks that have dealt with these different levels of analysis, and identify five key analytical issues.

1. The changing biographical embedding of VSP volunteering: From collective to reflexive styles of volunteering

The shift from *traditional* to *modern* types of volunteering has been linked to broader changes in the biography of volunteers. People's biographies are changing as a result of broader processes of modernization and individualization. These processes involve a gradual removal from traditional and fixed social configurations, such as the nuclear family with its gender-specific role divisions, status-based classes, local neighborhood, and church community. As a result, collectively prescribed identities and patterns of behavior are progressively eroding, and individuals are becoming the autonomous and active designers of their own lives. The standardized collective biography

is replaced by a plurality of individualized *do-it-yourself biographies* (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 1996). This shift is often described as a process toward increased *self-reflexivity*, which involves a change from the former collective monitoring of agents to the autonomous, active, and permanent self-monitoring of individual life narratives (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 1996).

Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003) coined the notions of collective and reflexive styles of volunteering to conceptualize this biographical shift and its influence on volunteer activity. Based on an extensive literature review, they have delineated the analytical differences between both ideal-types.

Collective volunteerism has its roots in a local community or a relatively closed group of reference. Being an expression of volunteers' group belonging, the objectives of the individual association volunteers are self-evidently subordinated to collective goal setting (Eckstein 2001; Jakob 1993; Wuthnow 1998). This collective and stable biographical context coheres with specific volunteer dispositions and motivations. The close association between group affiliation and volunteering results in strong organizational attachments and loyal cooperation. Collective volunteers are core members of the organization; they are very dedicated to the organization's values and goals and feel responsible for the organization as a whole (Pearce 1993). They engage in all necessary tasks and roles needed for maintaining the organization. Since collective volunteering is rooted in a communal orientation, volunteers' prime motivation is an obvious sense of duty or responsibility to a local community or more abstract collectivity. Very often, this prototype is embedded in a religious tradition of benevolence and altruism, or inspired by a coordinating ideology or value system (Jakob 1993).

Because of weakening social ties and eroding collective forms of conduct, the individual world of experience is the principal frame of reference for reflexive volunteering in VSPs. Reflexive volunteering is embedded in an autonomously monitored life course, where reflexive volunteers adopt more conditional and self-oriented dispositions in the context of highly individualized situations and experiences. Volunteering serves as a tool for active biography construction, and personal goal setting can offer new directions when coping with biographical uncertainty (Hustinx 2010a; Jakob 1993). In their personal search for an optimal biographical fit, reflexive volunteers demand a high level of flexibility and are primarily focused on the activities offered. This results in weak organizational attachments and very pragmatic attitudes. They are primarily interested in providing professional and efficient services, rather than belonging to a volunteer group or association. VSP volunteering has thus become a highly specialized role (Wuthnow 1998).

It is important to note that, in reality, the ideal types of collective and reflexive styles of volunteering coexist and interact in multiple ways (Hustinx and

Lammertyn 2003). For example, in an empirical study of Red Cross volunteers in Belgium, Hustinx (2005) found five distinct styles of volunteering that reflected complex and distinct interactions among multiple structural and cultural indicators of volunteering. Volunteers with similar levels of participation could perform highly diverging volunteer roles and embrace heterogeneous motivational and attitudinal dispositions. Hustinx (2005), for instance, identified two completely different categories of board members, which were both significantly more involved in a number of vital volunteer activities (e.g., coordination of meetings, decision making, and organization of activities, administrative tasks, training, and lecturing); nevertheless, despite their comparable job responsibilities, they differed greatly in their intensity of involvement (episodic and limited hours versus unrestricted) and level of organizational attachment (formal and distant versus unconditional but also critical toward the organization).

2. Institutionally individualized VSP volunteering

While the modern, more individualized styles of volunteering have been primarily attributed to the uprooting of individuals from their traditional collective roots – thus interpreting changes in the nature of volunteering primarily in terms of the *growing independence* of volunteers – this perspective fails to account for the *changing interdependence* between volunteers and their organizational and institutional environment (Hustinx 2010b; Hustinx and Meijs 2011). Individualized forms of living and acting remain strongly dependent on social institutions such as the education system, labor market, and welfare state (Beck 1992; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 1996). Rather than a complete dis-embedding or removal from collective sources of authority and standard ways of living, these modern institutions constitute the new control structures in which individuals are *re-embedded*. Rather than a process of complete individual liberation, individualization stands for the historical institutionalization of the "principle of individual assignment of claims and contributions" through legislation, welfare state, and labor market (Beck 2007:682). The addressee of modern institutions is the individual and not the collective to which she or he traditionally belonged (ibid.); thus, individualization should be understood in terms of "institutionally dependent individual situations" (Beck 1992:130) or the "institution-dependent control structure of individual situations" (Beck 1992:131).

Inspired by Beck's general theory of individualization, Hustinx (2010b) introduced the notion of "institutionally individualized volunteering" to further our understanding of how modern volunteers become intertwined with their organizational and institutional environment in more complex and contingent ways. This term can be defined as the growing institutionalization of more individuated forms of volunteering:

> The focus lies on new organizational forms and control structures that have as their primary frame of reference no longer the collective but the individual: volunteers are no longer approached as members of a group, as traditionally has been the case, but as individuals with individualized conditions, preferences and needs.
>
> (Hustinx 2010b:169)

Consequently, rather than merely focusing on individual-level changes that allegedly find their reflection in new and more independent modes of involvement, it is important to understand how modern volunteering increasingly becomes institutionalized as an individualized program, for example, through innovations in volunteer management that address volunteer activities in terms of individual assignment and choice. In this case, it is the volunteer organization that facilitates and even stimulates more individualized and episodic styles of volunteering.

Hustinx (2010b) develops an analytical model that distinguishes between *primary* and *secondary* processes of re-structuring, or forms of institutionally individualized volunteering. Primary processes are situated within the context of classical voluntary associations. A typical example of primary re-embedding are the efforts done by many volunteer organizations to suit the more individualized needs and preferences of the volunteers. Secondary processes refer to the institutionalization of individualized volunteering through external or third parties, such as governments who try to activate long-term unemployed through compulsory volunteer programs. In the following sections, we further elaborate on these organizational and institutional changes.

3. Organizational change: Innovations in volunteer management

As a result of the (perceived) individualized preferences of volunteers, organizations and VSPs are changing their management approaches, from the traditional *membership model*, in which a core group of volunteers performs all volunteer tasks, to a *program-based model* (Meijs and Hoogstad 2001). In this latter model, VSP volunteers make a limited and clearly defined contribution to a specific goal, without any further organizational attachments. Lichterman (2006) termed this type of participation, which has become prominent in the United States recently, as a *plug-in* style volunteering: short-term, target-oriented, and professionally supervised participation in a loosely structured organizational environment, that enables individual VSP volunteers to constantly shift between various tasks, positions, and organizations (cf. Eliasoph 2011:117–118). Lichterman juxtaposed this to an older style of participation in American civic clubs, in which the long-term, active commitment to the organization predominated (Lichterman 2009).

While collective volunteering was a self-evident expression of community belonging and group identity, resulting in long-term and strong organizational attachments (mainly to voluntary associations), today's reflexive or plug-in volunteers need to be (re-)enchanted through attractive *volunteering menus* that glorify the process of choice (Hustinx 2010b). VSPs are purposely tailored to the more individualized interests of (potential) volunteers, and a more limited and clearly defined contribution is demanded. VSP volunteers are responsible for a particular task and are recruited to work toward a specific goal (Meijs and Hoogstad 2001).

An illustration of this new management approach is the concept of *winning volunteer scenarios*, developed by Meijs and Brudney (2007). These authors approach volunteer management using the metaphor of a *slot machine*. They define a volunteer scenario as a combination of the *Assets* of a volunteer, the *Availability* of volunteers, and a particular volunteer *Assignment* offered by the organization. Their management techniques seek to optimize winning volunteer scenarios, which is equivalent to getting AAA on the slot machine and winning the prize. The focus on the three As is useful in designing strategies in the changing world of volunteers (as described above), as it guarantees an optimal individual match for the volunteer. The model offers flexibility of adaptation in a variety of organizational contexts and from multiple perspectives.

Short-term volunteer opportunities in VSPs allow volunteer-involving organizations to fulfill many responsibilities that would be too burdensome for regular volunteers. For example, the Ronald McDonald House in Philadelphia (the United States) serves to look after families whose children are in local hospitals undergoing treatment. While it is largely run by volunteers who work on a regular basis, nightly dinner preparations for houseguests is primarily staffed by volunteers who work only occasionally – from once a year to once a month on an *ad hoc* or episodic arrangement. Using short-term volunteers distributes the burden of providing daily meals across a large volunteer group and allows the organization to provide daily meals in the least cost fashion (Haski-Leventhal, Hustinx, and Handy 2011).

Paradoxically, enabling more individualized and non-committal involvements requires a much more strict organization of volunteer activities, and thus incurs considerable costs to the organization (Handy and Srinivasan 2004). While volunteers experience more choice and self-determination, this flexibility stems from a deliberate restructuring of organizational settings and a more strict organization. Institutionally, individualized volunteering here refers to the more strict and rational organization and management of volunteers on the one hand and the simultaneous presentation of activities in a volunteer-centered way on the other.

However, this does not go without a danger: projects and activities are increasingly tuned to the preferences of the volunteers, instead of putting the

organizational targets and the interests of the beneficiaries first. By narrowing down organizational objectives to the private interests and goals of the individual members or volunteers, organizations risk to drive a wedge between voluntary activity and organizational work. Eliasoph (2011) describes the harmful effects that *plug-in* volunteers, who wish to have a "rewarding, intimate experience" (p.145), had on the disadvantaged youth they worked with. She shows that volunteers who did not interact with the youth, but rather took care of the organizational and financial stability of the organization, were much more helpful to the beneficiaries. Furthermore, Lichterman (2009) shows that flexible, optional and output-oriented volunteering in loose organizational networks fails to fulfill its ideals of nurturing social capacities among participants and circumvents the development of collective civic action.

4. Institutional change: Third-party involvement

Besides innovative VSP management approaches within nonprofit organizations (especially nonprofit agencies; Smith 2015b), in recent years there also has been an increase in more top-down interventions by external parties, such as governments, educational institutes, and corporations. These *third parties* (Haski-Leventhal, Meijs, and Hustinx 2010) use deliberate strategies to enhance and facilitate participation in VSP volunteering. New forms of volunteering that result from this third-party involvement are highly diverse, including funded VSPs for disadvantaged or minority groups, volunteering through employee-based VSPs, and new forms of *collective orchestration* (Hustinx 2010b) of VSP volunteering through mass events like national service days.

   An important trend in recent years has been the increasing popularity among governments of public policies geared toward promoting and facilitating VSP volunteering and civic participation. Particularly since the United Nations announced 2001 as the International Year of Volunteers, volunteerism has gained priority on the public policy agenda. Governments across the Western world have amplified attempts to encourage, support, and sustain volunteer participation in the population, for example, through the establishment of national task forces (Haski-Leventhal et al. 2010). Besides the more general promotion of volunteering as a valuable and desirable activity, policy makers are using volunteering as a key instrument in their active citizenship and social inclusion agendas. The aim is to counter the (alleged) lack of civic-mindedness among citizens through revitalizing the ethos of voluntarism. In some cases, these governmental efforts include mandatory programs or coercive elements that call into question the association of such programs with voluntary participation in civic life (Hustinx and Meijs 2011).

   Besides governments, corporations are becoming active players in initiating and designing VSP volunteer activities. Employer-supported VSPs have now been established in many companies globally as a way to engage employees

in realizing a company's Corporate Social Responsibility goals (Voort, Glac, and Meijs 2009). In the last three decades, corporate volunteering has become popular as national and multinational companies encourage their workers to volunteer in the adjacent communities in order to build relationships and garner local goodwill. Corporate volunteering includes activities such as team assignments or individual volunteering, and can be done in person or over the Internet such as through e-mentoring. Corporate volunteer activities can range from single day events to multiple days or even more long-term events. In each case, the outcomes differ for employees, employers, and other stakeholders (Meinhard, Handy, and Greenspan 2010; Muthuri, Matten, and Moon 2009).

5. New modes of governing volunteers: A critical perspective

The increasing involvement of third parties in facilitating volunteer activities via VSPs contributes to the proliferation of new and hybrid settings of participation. Corporate volunteering, workfare and social activation programs, civic internships, and service learning, as well as alternative community sentences, are all examples of participation settings that mingle roles and rationalities of civil society, state, and market. These hybrid settings contain a civic component, but usually do not result from the purely voluntary activity of citizens, as perceived by the classical civil society perspective. As VSPs, not independent associations, they are frequently initiated and sometimes even imposed by third parties that pursue their own institutional agendas. This signifies a broader institutional change in the relations between the voluntary sector and other sectors, in particular the government and for-profit sectors (Dekker 2009; Eliasoph 2009, 2011; Hustinx 2010b). Here the boundaries between what exactly constitutes volunteering and what not are increasingly blurred.

As a result, the classic civil society thesis seems less adequate for the study of these newly emerging hybrid forms of VSP participation (Dekker 2009). In contrast to the conventional idea of civic participation as an individual and voluntary act, the analytical lens should shift to the strategic *making* of these new types of VSP participation through a complex ensemble of institutions, organizations, individuals, and technologies. Individual acts are pushed in desired directions by means of neoliberal, self-regulatory governing techniques through which individuals align their personal choices with the goals of powerful actors (Rose 1999). VSP volunteering is increasingly subject to such governmental techniques, exercised by alliances of state, market, and nonprofit actors and embodied through hybrid participation settings (Hustinx 2010b).

This evolution is driven by institutional logics and power dynamics. Importantly, market principles are increasingly intruding the public and third sectors through *new public management*. As a result, privatization of welfare services is expanding, and nonprofit agencies offering such services are increasingly confronted with a new contract culture, based on competitive tendering,

outsourcing, and output performance (Bode 2006). A prominent example of welfare marketization combined with state intervention in volunteering is the increasing subjection of welfare recipients to forced forms of volunteering (Krinsky 2007). Furthermore, a corporate managerial logic is becoming a major source of influence on organizational practices in the nonprofit sector: corporate-inspired techniques of management are adopted not only for managing the paid workforce and the overall organizational development but also for managing the volunteer workforce (Shachar 2014).

The implications of these broad transformations on the nature of volunteering, and on the experiences of volunteers and their beneficiaries, still require additional theoretical and empirical exploration. Even so, Eliasoph (2009, 2011) provided an exceptional ethnographic study of the hybrid arena of North American empowerment projects. She shows how the growing emphasis on short-term contracting, competition, and output measurement has led to organizing short-term projects with a predictable success rate, stronger formalization, top-down steering, and instrumentalization of volunteer activities – all of which discipline those who are supposed to be empowered through these programs. Another small number of studies explored the hybrid arena of corporate volunteering in the United Kingdom, Israel, and France. In this arena, the simultaneous shaping of the employees' workplace behavior and relations, as well as their civic participation and identity, posits corporate volunteering as an efficient technique of governing the employees/volunteers (Baillie-Smith and Laurie 2011; Barkay 2011; Bory 2013). Simonet and Krinsky (2012) further describe the hybrid arena that stretches the continuum of volunteers and regular workers in the maintenance of NYC parks; they indicate how the introduction of volunteers, interns, welfare recipients, and other irregular workers/volunteers to the park sector affected the overall labor organization within it and contributed to a deregulation of the urban labor market.

In this context, policy makers are also introducing community service programs for high school graduates as a possible remedy to the increasing unemployment among young people, even though these programs largely fail to challenge structural inequalities (Simonet 2010). The introduction of such programs aligns with the increasing popularity of service learning programs in institutions of higher education, especially in the United States (e.g., Jacoby and Associates 2003; Marullo and Edwards 2000). Such programs are aimed to combine curricular and pedagogical aims with tangible benefits for communities outside educational institutions. They are developed through partnerships with NGOs, state actors, and private companies, and are being professionalized through assessment processes and constant exchange of ideas and practices. Similarly to the other hybrid forms of participation described above, this emerging trend demonstrates how community engagement is becoming a subject

of institutional interventions that shape and govern the civic socialization of young people.

Following the notion of a *neoliberal communitarian citizenship* (Van Houdt, Suvarierol, and Schinkel 2011), we claim that many of the hybrid forms of participation posit the right to citizenship, welfare, and employment as a reward to be attained through *voluntarily* demonstrating the desired forms of civic participation. Some programs posit volunteering as a form of currency to pay back to society, such as in the form of a community service penalty. For example, Transport for London has introduced *Earn Your Travel Back* – a program for young people whose travel card has been confiscated as a result of antisocial behavior. This program offers them the choice to earn back the card by volunteering for a minimum number of hours (Strickland 2010). In this sense, volunteering is not simply a means to reinvigorate active citizenship, civic responsibility, and community engagement, but it frequently involves dynamics of power, coercion, and disciplining. In particular, a bifurcated volunteering field seems to be emerging, where facilitating mechanisms exist for *strong* (i.e., higher educated, economically active, civically minded) volunteers, yet increasing disciplinary measures are taken toward *weak* (i.e., lower educated, economically inactive, civically disengaged) volunteers (Hustinx, De Waele, and Delcour 2015). This new situation requires more nuanced attention by scholars and practitioners alike.

E. Usable knowledge

Our discussion of VSP volunteering reveals two important tensions in the organization of volunteer work, which have practical implications on the work of volunteer managers and other professionals in the nonprofit sector. First, there is a growing tension between the goals of volunteer involving organizations (VIOs) and the individual preferences and needs of VSP volunteers. Often volunteer managers of VSPs struggle with finding a balance between meaningful organizational functioning and volunteers' particularized demands. For example, initiating episodic volunteer opportunities to meet volunteer preferences may pose a threat to organizational stability and increase costs of recruiting and managing volunteers in VSPs. Thus, before undertaking a diversification of VSPs, volunteer managers should conduct a cost/benefit analysis, examine if they are able to recruit and manage sufficient volunteers in all their programs, and consider how to deal with conflicts that may arise between core and episodic volunteers when assigning desirable assignments.

A second tension that occurs between an organization's autonomy and core mission results from increasing third-party VSP interventions. External institutional processes influence and constrain the supply of volunteers. For example, an increase in corporate volunteering programs or government sponsored

programs that mandate volunteer experience has led organizations to confront new groups of volunteers, who often are involved on a one-off basis (e.g., corporate volunteers as part of a team-building activity) or reluctant to serve (e.g., social activation of long-term unemployed or community service for high school students). Some of the new categories of volunteers demand special professional care and expertise for which volunteer organizations are ill equipped; in turn, this could affect the organization's mission (Hustinx, De Waele, and Delcour 2015). Thus, organizations relying on volunteer labor in VSPs need to consider carefully while recruiting volunteers if and how they can be integrated into the organizations' missions.

Volunteer managers' ability to recruit and manage VSP volunteers is thus dependent not only on developing new managerial techniques and recruitment strategies but also on their interaction with external institutions and their ability in setting new agendas when introducing new types of volunteers in the organization. If managers do not act carefully, volunteer labor may become very costly to integrate and the organizations may incur the risk of mission drift and mission creep, as a result of following the governmental and third-party social policy agendas.

Policy-makers should remember that VSP volunteering is not a universal solution for all social ills. Volunteering policies are part of the broad apparatus of governmental tools and are mutually connected to policies in other areas. Promoting VSP volunteering too extensively, and using compulsory and disciplining techniques, might lead to suffocating citizen participation instead of nurturing it.

F. Future trends and needed research

Although solid, comparable multi-national data are lacking, VSP volunteering and VSPs as VIOs (see Leigh et al. 2011) seem to be growing rapidly in recent decades in many nations, especially more developed nations, but also to some extent in developing/transitional nations.

The biographical, organizational, and institutional changes in VSP volunteering, which are discussed in this chapter, are interesting not only in themselves: exploring the relations between them can foster an enriching stream of future research. There is still a need to better assess how these various changes relate to each other in terms of temporality, mutual influence, and degree of dominance. In addition, there is a need to explore empirically how these changes are perceived and dealt with by volunteers, volunteer managers, and policy makers.

Exploring these relations and how individual agents experience them can be of interest to more theoretically oriented social scientists, who may find it a useful terrain not only for exploring major contemporary social trends but also for reflecting on the grand sociological problems of the relations between

individuals and institutions, structures, and agents. At the same time, more pragmatic scholars of volunteering may find this a useful direction for a deeper understanding of contemporary formations and patterns of volunteering, of how they were created, and how relevant individuals perceive them. In this way, we can also learn if there is a need to try and alter these formations of volunteering, and what are the most suitable ways to do so.

Among the problems that still need to be further studied are the changes in individual's motivations to volunteer in the face of organizational, institutional, and technological transformations, as well as changes in the costs and benefits of volunteering to individuals and organizations. The wide range of biographical, organizational, and institutional shifts, and the emergence of new and surprising organizational actors and volunteering patterns, may change the relationships among volunteers and organizations in even more radical ways than we currently expect. Scholars have to be attentive to such changes and continue to develop new theoretical and methodological tools to study them.

G. Cross-references

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Part III

Major Activity Areas of Volunteering and Associations

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17
Traditional Philanthropic Service Volunteering

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A. Introduction

Traditional philanthropic volunteering (TPV) has dominated volunteering practice, research, and policy for the past century (e.g., Joseph 1989; Leigh et al. 2011). Closely related to the concept of *service*, TPV has a number of defining features: it represents a *gift relationship*, with a direct beneficiary who is generally outside of the giver's immediate family; is non-compulsory, largely unremunerated, and often motivated by altruistic impulses; and it occurs largely within a range of nonprofit and public sector social welfare organizations, particularly those within the fields of health, education, and social care.

Most TPV occurs in volunteer service programs (VSPs) as the volunteer departments of larger, parent organizations, usually nonprofit agencies (Smith 2015b) or government agencies, but sometimes also larger businesses (e.g., in corporate volunteer programs). (See also Handbook Chapters 15 and 16.) However, there are also some kinds of membership associations (MAs) that involve TPV (Smith 2015a).

This chapter examines definitional challenges and features of TPV. Following a brief historical overview, we examine some of the key issues facing TPV, including rates of participation, motivation, organizational characteristics, challenges, and variations in the concept. We conclude the chapter by drawing out implications for practitioners and by sketching a future research agenda.

B. Definitions

The set of general definitions in the Handbook Appendix is accepted here.

Defining volunteering, per se, is a tricky business (Bussell and Forbes 2001), although progress has been made in recent years (see Smith, Stebbins, and Dover, 2006). Work to develop "the taxonomy of volunteer work is in its infancy" (Musick and Wilson 2008:33), which is perhaps not surprising given

the complexity of the task (but see Handbook Chapter 3, for recent and prior progress). Volunteering, therefore, is often poorly defined and rarely differentiated, leaving discussions on volunteering "characterized by a woeful lack of precision in terminology and of clarity in thinking" – according to one observer two decades ago (Sheard 1995:115). Smith, Stebbins, and Dover (2006) are more sanguine, having carefully defined over 1,212 nonprofit terms and concepts (see Handbook Appendix for over 80 examples).

Studies that look at variety within volunteering and among volunteers are limited (e.g., Dolnicar and Randle 2007; Van Der Meer, Te Grotenhuis, and Scheepers 2009). General volunteering surveys tend to use a range of categories to delineate different volunteering domains – categorizing volunteering according to the groups of people being served (e.g., young people, disabled people), the types of organizations involved (e.g., church, school), or the causes being served (e.g., environment, health) (Musick and Wilson 2008). We are not aware of any surveys that include "TPV" as a specific category (but see Handbook Chapter 3 for a comprehensive analytical treatment of these complexities and a new set of theoretical typologies of volunteering and associations, including TPV). Indeed, despite describing the form of volunteering that appears to most closely align to lay perceptions, TPV is itself not a commonly used term. There are, in short, no standard definitions of TPV that we can draw on. Here, we provide a definition by exploring different aspects within the concept and by highlighting what TPV is not as much as what it is.

The term *philanthropy* is broadly defined as a gift of money, goods, or, as in this case, time to groups and individuals, outside of the family, for public purposes (see, e.g., Salamon and Anheier 1992; Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006). In the book *Voluntary Action,* William Beveridge (1948) distinguished between two main impulses within voluntary action – mutual aid and philanthropy. He argued that the difference between them was one of motivation: "The first [mutual aid] motive has its origin in a sense of one's own need for security against misfortune, and the realization that, since one's fellows have the same need, by undertaking to help one another all may help themselves. The second [philanthropy] motive springs from … social conscience, the feeling which makes men who are materially comfortable, mentally uncomfortable as long as their neighbors are materially uncomfortable" (Beveridge 1948:9; quoted in Penn 2011:18).

In the run up to the International Year of Volunteers in 2001, work led by the United Nations Volunteers provides us with a fourfold classification of volunteering, one of which is philanthropy (Davis-Smith 1999). Here the distinguishing factors are a combination of motivation, purpose, and beneficiary type:

– Philanthropy or service – where volunteers are recruited by an organization
  to provide a service to an external third party, who is the primary beneficiary

– Mutual aid or self-help – where the primary beneficiaries are within the group as people with shared problems or concerns work together to address them
– Participation – where the activity is political or providing governance, with the focus of the volunteering being involvement in decision-making
– Advocacy and campaigning – where the primary aim is political/policy change, achieved through collective action.

Rochester, Ellis Paine, and Howlett (2010) argue that at least one more category should be added to this list – serious leisure (see Stebbins 2007) – where volunteering is primarily a leisure time activity and motivations are essentially intrinsic.

Alternatively, as part of the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project, Salamon and Sokolowski (2001) divide volunteering into two key roles, reflecting the organizational bases in which they are conducted: *service* (which we read as philanthropic) – volunteering in health, social service, and development and housing; and *expressive* – volunteering in culture, sport, recreation, environment, political expression, advocacy, labor unions, and professional associations. Wilson and Musick (2008) also divide volunteering according to organizational field, although they have three categories: *service* – volunteering in social welfare, youth work, sports, health, and arts; *advocacy* – volunteering in labor unions, professional associations, political, local community activism, third world, environment, women's groups, and peace movement; and *religious* – volunteering in religious organizations. In contrast to other categorizations, sports and arts are included as part of service.

Each of these categorizations of volunteering recognizes philanthropic (or service) volunteering, although each focuses on a slightly different aspect, or defining feature, of it. Together they provide us with a greater sense of what philanthropic volunteering is and how it differs from other types of volunteering, although the varying boundaries between definitional constructs suggest the complexity of the field and fluid nature of service and participation (see also Handbook Chapter 3).

Within this framework, the term *traditional* as a descriptor of TPV suggests a conceptually *formal* activity conducted largely within nonprofit agencies with paid staff (Smith 2015b), rather than within mainly volunteer-operated associations and member benefit groups (Smith 2015a) or on a one-to-one *informal* basis. This paradigm views volunteering as essentially an altruistic act, a gift of time whereby people volunteer in order to help those less fortunate than themselves mainly in the field of social welfare, broadly defined, and mainly in professionally staffed, formally structured organizations within both the nonprofit and public sectors, where volunteers are treated as unsalaried labor (Rochester, Ellis Paine, and Howlett 2010). It has been argued that this is a *flat-earth* view (Smith 2000), as it is blind to the true extent and nature of

philanthropic volunteering that goes on beyond, and indeed within, formal organizational settings. We suggest, therefore, that the *traditional* part of TPV relates to the (biased) way in which philanthropic volunteering has traditionally been conceptualized and reported, especially within academic discourses, rather than the much more diverse way it has, in reality, manifested.

From these different definitions we suggest that *traditional philanthropic volunteering* and *traditional service volunteering* could be used interchangeably. Both imply several distinguishing features of this type of volunteering: TPV can be conceptualized as a *gift relationship*; there is a direct intended beneficiary to whom the service is provided; the beneficiary is outside of the giver's immediate family, household, or membership group (although family members or close friends may also benefit); TPV is motivated (in part at least) by altruistic impulses; TPV occurs within a range of non-member benefit nonprofit agencies, which may also be termed here *welfare organi*zations – particularly within the fields of health, education and social care – which are often formally structured and professionally staffed and within which volunteering is often viewed as unsalaried work. Volunteering within such organizations (including those within the voluntary sector and public sector) often occurs through discrete volunteer departments and/or volunteer service programs (Smith, 2015b; see also Handbook Chapter 15).

Given the definitional complexity, the lack of concurrence among researchers, and the general underuse of TPV as a distinct concept within the literature, this chapter has to rely on the evidence of volunteering within the organizational fields associated with TPV as a proxy. This is not ideal. Not all volunteering that takes places within educational settings, for example, is TPV – it may also, for example, be governance or advocacy; nor is all volunteering that takes place within health-related organizations TPV, where advocacy and campaigning may also be common. We believe, however, that it is the best that can currently be done. Furthermore, it should be noted that developments taking place in a number of countries challenge these boundaries. Privatization of healthcare settings in the United States, for example, has blurred the lines between the nonprofit and for-profit sectors. Many people who may fall within our classification structure of TPV may well serve in proprietary hospitals or nursing homes. Likewise, many nonprofits have emerged out of religious structures forming the category of *faith-based* organizations, blurring lines between religious volunteering and service in the arenas of health, education, and social care.

C. Historical background

Handbook Chapter 1 provides a comprehensive historical overview of volunteering and associations. Smith (2016) reviews the rather recent history of volunteer service programmes (VSPs), where most TPV occurs (see also

Handbook Chapter 15). Formal volunteering, or more specifically TPV as a subtype of such volunteering, has a complex history and has followed different developmental trajectories around the world, making it difficult to provide a comprehensive history. We can, however, gain an insight by looking at a number of individual countries.

In the United Kingdom, for example, charitable organizations can be traced back to the 12th and 13th centuries (see Handbook Chapter 1), although the Victorian period is particularly associated with the development of philanthropic volunteering, reflected in the explosion of voluntary organizations at that time (Davis-Smith 1995). Philanthropy was not, however, the only form of voluntary action taking place, with self-help and political participation significant, although often overlooked (ibid.). This bias toward philanthropic volunteering is something that has continued, skewing our understanding of both the extent and diversity of volunteering. Nevertheless, TPV continues to be a significant form of service in the United Kingdom, and elsewhere. Similar stories with varying timelines could be told for the development of TPV in other Western countries, including, for example, the United States, Canada, and Australia, where the early absence of governmental services led pioneers to organize voluntarily for the common good.

Elsewhere, however, TPV has developed rather differently. In the Baltic countries, for example, it has a much more recent history. Given the suppression of voluntary activity during Soviet occupation and the subsequent outlawing of political and ideological organizations in the late 1980s, environmental organizations became key sites for the development of civil society and volunteering. During the last 20 years, however, TPV has taken root in the Baltic region, supported financially and practically by international interests, although it remains a minority activity. As of 2005, only 3% of Lithuania's population engaged in volunteering, with 55% of those volunteers engaged in the fields of health and social care (Zaltauskas 2010), suggesting that a considerable proportion of volunteers were engaging in TPV. Growing government interest in volunteering, including the consideration of legal frameworks, may further facilitate, or indeed stifle, TPV (see Fonovič and Ender, 2010; Zaltauskas 2010).

In the Nordic countries, volunteering has traditionally been concentrated within the fields of sports and culture and focused on the provision of advocacy, voice, and leisure, rather than welfare service provision, and as such TPV as a specific form of volunteering was arguably underdeveloped. Recent developments within the Nordic welfare regimes, toward more welfare pluralism, and increased emphasis on charities providing public services could increase volunteering involvement within service provision, potentially increasing the scale of TPV (see below) (Hrafnsdottir, Kristmundsson, Jónsdottir 2014; Wijkström 2011).

The development of TPV in South Asia has been influenced by a complex blend of anti-colonialism, missionary, and religious ideas. In India, for example, the modern concept of volunteering evolved from the religious reform movement of late 1800s and the freedom struggle against colonial rule in early 1900s led by Mahatma Gandhi (Bornstein 2009; Gandhi 2012). Local practices of TVP were influenced by Gandhian notions of non-violence (*ahimsa*) and truthful action (*satyagraha*) initially deployed as indigenous strategies for resisting colonial rule and cultural domination by the West. The practices of selfless service (*seva*) and gifts of labor for public good (*shramdan*), introduced by Gandhi and his followers as community mobilization strategies, were later adopted by several nonprofit organizations. Meanwhile, in Sri Lanka the development of volunteering has been influenced by a combination of Gandhian ideas of selfless sacrifice and Buddhist notions of social service, with, for example, Shramadana work camps established for students from urban schools in marginalized rural communities with the dual aims of serving communities while also educating the young volunteers.

Volunteering is on the increase in Asia, contributing to Asia having some of the highest reported rates of volunteering: the 2013 World Giving Index reports that six out of the top ten countries in terms of the proportion of people volunteering are Asian (Charities Aid Foundation 2013). The reported increase in philanthropic volunteerism in selected Asian countries may be attributed to the continuing influence of some religious and communitarian values; the increased ability of some people to donate part of their time for the welfare of others due to increased wealth in sections of the population; and gradual erosion of state services in education, health, and social welfare in light of neoliberal reform agenda in these countries (Bain and Company 2013; Bornstein 2009).

In South Korea, general foreign philanthropic support – received in response to the economic hardships after the Korean War – has influenced the development of volunteering. From the 1950s to the 1970s, it was difficult to find TPV. However, the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games provided new opportunities for TPV, with the government developing and expanding diverse opportunities for volunteering. Simultaneously, in the late 1980s, a democratic transformation and rapid economic growth promoted diverse types of civic participation, including TPV (Kang, Auh, and Hur 2016).

Japan also has a unique history of TPV development (e.g., Pekkanen 2006), influenced by natural disasters, such as earthquakes and tsunamis. According to the Japan Fundraising Association (2013), in 2011 30.2% of the population over 15 years of age participated in volunteering activities. Of those who volunteered, the percentage of citizens who participated in disaster-related volunteer activities was relatively high (19.9%) due to the influence of the Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011, giving an indication of the influence of disasters

on the development of TPV in Japan. Among different fields of volunteering, citizens' participation related to neighborhood community association was the most popular; volunteering for community associations had the largest scale in terms of time.

Whether TPV has been on the increase or on the decline in recent years clearly varies between countries and regions. Societal and organizational changes occurring in many parts of the world, such as greater individualization and secularization, are changing the nature of volunteering in general, with a move away from what may have been perceived to be more traditional forms of volunteering (Hustinx and Lammertyn 2003). Volunteering is increasingly conceptualized as more of an exchange than as a gift relationship, with the altruistic and religious motivations associated with TPV losing ground to a range of less selfless motives (Anheier and Salamon 1999), more associated with other forms of volunteering.

The fields in which people volunteer and the ways in which they engage are also changing. This may mean that the ways in which people volunteer change and/or that the fields and organizational types that they engage in change, again potentially indicating a shift away from the fields associated with TPV and suggesting a revision of the definitional structures offered here.

US data from the biennial Independent Sector Surveys from 1990 to 2001, for example, indicate that environmental volunteering has been a major growth area, as has volunteering in arts-based organizations, work, youth, international, and foundation-related organizations. Meanwhile, volunteering within the fields of health, education, religion, human services, and recreation for public benefit (i.e., those associated with TPV) declined during the 1990s (Wilson and Musick 2008). Analysis of other US surveys, however, creates a more complex picture. Analysis of US Population Surveys, for example, found that volunteering in education and youth services had increased by 65% between 1989 and 2002–2005; social and community service also saw an increase, while volunteering in hospitals and other health services declined (Grimm et al. 2006).

When we examine the historical background of TPV in Canada, we see a different picture. Reed and Selbee (2000) analyzed data from two national surveys in 1987 and 1997 conducted by Statistics Canada. They asked participants to give a maximum of three organizations for which they had volunteered and used thirteen categories to describe the type of work performed by the various organizations. While all the organizations we associate with TPV are in the top five in terms of highest percentage of Canadians volunteering with them, sports and recreation are the most popular, followed closely by religious organizations. In terms of change over time, the research showed distinct trends for the three main organizational types associated with TPV. Solely evaluating the first organization cited, volunteering within health organizations rose by 27% and volunteering in social services organizations rose by 11%; conversely,

education and youth development decreased by 36%. Both arts and culture and environmental and wildlife organizations saw an increase of over 90%. This suggests that, while TPV in some fields has decreased and in others it has increased, the scale of change has been dwarfed by that found within fields not associated with TPV.

In South Korea, a growing trend of service-oriented volunteering is consistently observed. According to the biannual report by the Center on Philanthropy of the Beautiful Foundation (2008), citizen volunteering was mainly concentrated on service volunteering for charity organizations, including social service agencies (36.9%). Secular volunteering through religious organizations was also concentrated on service field (12.5%). Relatively small percentages of participants volunteered in the fields of environment (9.4%), culture and art (4.0%), health (3.5%), and political organizations (2.0%). The report by the Philanthropy Research Center (2013) also shows a similar pattern of volunteering.

D. Key issues

In this section we explore a number of key issues associated with TPV: how it varies, who it involves, what motivates it, how it is organized, what impact it has, and what challenges it is facing.

1. How does TPV vary across societies?

Volunteering is a social institution, shaped by economic, social, cultural, and political forces (Anheier and Salamon 1999). It would be fair to assume, therefore, that volunteering as a whole varies across countries and between organizations. We might assume that individual forms of volunteering – such as TPV – also vary on a range of different scales. Here we focus in particular on variations in the dominance of TPV across countries and world regions.

As part of the John Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project, Salamon and Sokolowski (2001) divide volunteering into two key roles – service (volunteering in health, social service, and development and housing) and expressive (culture, sport, recreation, environment, political expression, advocacy, labor unions, and professional associations). They then look at the prevalence of these roles across four regime types: social-democratic, liberal, corporatist, and statist. Here we look at a few specific examples, using service volunteering as a proxy for TPV.

The United States is classified under the liberal regime, defined as low government social welfare spending and a relatively large nonprofit sector (which includes religious and faith-based organizations). Salamon and Sokolowski's research highlighted a high level of volunteering in general and of service dominated volunteer roles in particular. They attribute these characteristics

to the liberal regime because it has limited government involvement, galvanizing the need for a service sector to address social problems. Furthermore, they found the highest concentration of volunteers in fields directly associated with TPV: social services (37% of volunteers), health (14%), and education (13%).

Mexico is classified as a statist regime where there is a small but increasingly emergent nonprofit sector and low government welfare spending. In statist regimes, it is argued, nonprofits can be seen as a threat to government hegemony and thus the sector is constrained by government regulations and a complex bureaucracy. Contrary to their prediction, the authors found no dominant field of service: the expressive and service roles were equal, each comprising 49% of the volunteers. In general, it has been suggested that a majority of volunteering within Mexico is outside of formal organizational settings (e.g., Butcher 2012), or it occurs within religious structures as part of a *participation* mentality and not formally noted as *volunteering*. Together, this suggests that TPV is neither the dominant nor the recognized form of volunteering.

South Korea is also classified as a statist regime. However, unlike Mexico, the Korean central and local governments have built partnerships with nonprofit sector in dealing with social problems. Since the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games, the South Korean government has attempted to strengthen the voluntary sector by mobilizing diverse resources from the private sector, as it has needed reliable partners in solving social problems such as poor relief (Kang, Auh, and Hur 2016). In this social atmosphere, South Korea adopted the legislation entitled "Framework Act on Volunteer Service Activities" in 2005 in order to promote citizen participation in volunteering. Because solving social problems, such as poverty, is a major issue in South Korea, volunteers are concentrated within service-orientated nonprofit organizations, which have played a major role in serving humanitarian needs. In general, although South Korea is closest to a statist regime, a majority of volunteering in South Korea is found within formal organizational settings.

In the Nordic countries, social welfare is largely provided by government, resulting in a majority of volunteering being directed to culture, sport, and leisure-based organizations (Arnesen, Folkestad, and Gjerdi 2013; Hrafnsdóttir , Jonsdóttir, and Kristmundsson 2014; Matthies 2006). In recent years, however, government strategies of welfare reform have resulted in the voluntary sector starting to play an increasing role in the delivery of public welfare services, and so the number of volunteers in these areas could be growing. In a study of participation in formal voluntary work in Iceland, where findings from three waves of the European Values Study (EVS) were used to measure voluntary work in Iceland and a comparison made with the other Nordic countries, 5.4% in the Nordic region on average did voluntary work for welfare associations in the year 1990/1992 compared to 5.7% on average in 2008/2010. This suggests

that TPV may be on the increase (Hrafnsdottir, Jonsdottir, and Kristmundsson 2014), although some caution is needed in interpreting the survey data.

Based on her ethnographic research in India, Bornstein (2009) argued that Indian and by implication South Asian forms of philanthropy were impulsive rather than purposive or instrumentally rational as was the case in institutionalized philanthropic actions in the West. This, in turn, poses challenges for its possible use in organized philanthropy with clearly anticipated development or social welfare outcomes.

2. Who does TPV involve?

We know quite a lot about who volunteers in general, but less about the detail of who does what and when (Gray, Khoo, and Reimondos 2012). There are lingering stereotypes about who volunteers, reflecting entrenched class-based and cultural assumptions (Wilson, Hendricks, and Smithes 2001), and these are closely associated with TPV: volunteers are often presented as middle age, middle class, and female. These stereotypes are generally not, however, always borne out by the data (Sheard 1995). In this section we pull together findings from various surveys and studies which have analyzed volunteer demographic characteristics by organizational or activity type and so provide an insight into the characteristics of traditional philanthropic volunteers.

As previously discussed, Wilson and Musick's (2008) analysis of data for 58 countries from the World Values Study 1999–2001 identifies three types of volunteering: service, advocacy, and religious. They found that service volunteers (most closely aligned to TPVs) were more likely to be male, single, working part time, highly educated, affluent, and frequent churchgoers. Sex differences between volunteering types have been borne out in other studies, although not always reaching the same conclusion. In a study of volunteering within Nordic countries, different profiles of volunteers emerged according to organizational type: the study found that it was common for women to volunteer in social services, health (aligned with TPVs), and religious organizations and men in sports and rescue services (Haberman 2001; Hrafnsdottir, Kristmundsson, and Jónsdottir 2014). In Sri Lanka, the Sarvodaya Movement relies heavily on volunteers in its programs of preschool education, public health, and community development. A vast majority of these volunteers are moderately educated rural youth, with women outnumbering men in many of the sectors (Bond 2004; Macy 1983).

According to the Philanthropy Research Center at the Community Chest of South Korea (2013), in 2011 21% of all volunteers in South Korea were involved in TPV. Of those participants, there was no significant gender difference in levels of participation – 52% were female – although women's average yearly time spent for volunteering (26.3 hours) was slightly higher than men's (23.2 hours). Adolescents were the most prolific in TPV: about 78% of adolescents between 13 and 19 years of age did TPV. Some of this is the effect of the "Student

Volunteer Activity Point System," introduced and regulated by the Ministry of Education (South Korea) since 1996. Older adults (over 65 years), however, spent the largest amount of time doing volunteering – 46.8 hours on average per year, compared to 14.4 hours for adolescents. Kang, Yu, and Park (2012) reported effects of another interesting variable in volunteering in South Korea: employment status. They found being unemployed was significantly related to volunteering (see also Lee and Hwang, 2013), whereas being employed was significantly related to donation, controlling for other variables.

Using a slightly different categorization and focusing specifically on volunteering in Australia, Gray, Khoo, and Reimondos (2012) identify three main types of organization that people volunteer for welfare and community; education and training; sport and recreation. We can assume that within the first two categories TPV dominates and therefore the analysis gives us an insight into who is involved in TPV. They found that different people tend to volunteer for different groups:

- People who volunteer for welfare, community, and health organizations tended to be women and more likely than those in other organizations to be in older aged groups (especially 55–64 years old), not to have school-aged children living at home, and more likely not to be employed or providing care for someone who is ill or disabled. There was a strong positive association between volunteering in these organizations and higher levels of education, and volunteers were more likely to be religious than those volunteering for sports and recreation organizations.
- Volunteering for education, training, and youth development groups appears to be strongly associated with middle adulthood when people have young children living at home; higher rates of volunteering were found among females and those aged 35–44, and among those who have partners, particularly partners who volunteer and those with school-aged children. There was a strong educational gradient, with participation in these organizations increasing with educational qualifications. There was also an association with religiosity, although it was not as strong as for welfare and community groups.
- People who volunteer for sport and recreation organizations were more likely to be male, aged 35–44, have a partner who also volunteers, have a school-aged child, and be employed either full time or part time. Volunteering in these organizations was highest among those with diploma/vocational qualification, declining among those with either less or more educational qualifications.

Whether or not these studies provide us with an accurate picture of who gets involved in TPV is questionable – without consistent classifications it is not possible to associate a particular group with a particular domain of volunteering

(Musick and Wilson 2008). It is apparent, however, that TPVs are likely to be different from the conventional political volunteers of Handbook Chapter 23, from the protest-activist volunteers of Handbook Chapter 24, and from the self-help volunteers of Handbook Chapter 18.

3. What motivates and triggers TPV involvement?

A relatively large body of literature has been developed by social scientists from a range of different disciplines trying to explain volunteering and philanthropic behavior more generally (see Handbook Part IV). Whereas some studies have sought an explanation in terms of pre-dispositions to volunteer, others have focused on motivations for involvement and others on triggers or institutional factors. Few, however, have systematically sought to distinguish why people get involved in specific or different styles of volunteering.

At the beginning of this chapter we suggested that one of the defining features of TPV was that participants were motivated by altruistic impulses, and this is to some extent borne out by the available evidence. One of the best known and used instruments to assess volunteer motivation is Clary and Snyder's Volunteer Functions Inventory (VFI), which identified six categories of motivation: values, understanding, enhancement, career, social, and protective (Clary, Snyder, and Ridge 1992, 1996). Various studies have been undertaken making use of the VFI to explore how motivations vary between organizational types, giving us an insight to the motivations that drive TPV.

Exploring motivations among volunteers in Nordic countries, for example, Habermann (2001) found that motivations varied according to the types of organizations that volunteers participated in. The *cause* function was found to be the most important motive in sports clubs (non-TPV), whereas the *values* function was the most important in social and patient associations (the category most closely aligned to TPV), reflecting the altruistic impulses associated with TPV. Findings from a smaller study, focusing on volunteering in two welfare organizations in Iceland, reinforced the significance of the *values* function, suggesting that volunteers within these types of organizations may be driven more by helping behavior than in other types of organizations (Juliusdottir and Sigurdardottir 1997; see also Hrafnsdóttir 2006).

Similarly, analysis of the Independent Sector's National Survey (2,671 in-home interviews) in the United States found a significant correlation between the *values* function and volunteers in the area of health. Volunteers in education, however, were more likely to cite *understanding* and *enhancement* functions (Clary, Snyder, and Stukas 1996). This suggests that even within TPV, motivations vary by organizational type. With other studies finding that motivations vary by demographics (see, e.g., Hwang, Grabb, and Curtis 2005; Yeung 2002), we are reminded that individual TPVs are likely to express a range of motivations for getting involved.

Taking a rather different approach and in a very different context, research by Glenton et al. (2010) into a female community health volunteer program in Nepal, which we might assume falls within TPV, found that the primary motivation of volunteers was a sense of obligation to the community, followed closely by religious merit (*dharma*). The study highlighted the importance of recognition and support from the community to sustain motivation and performance. In Sri Lanka, studies have found that while a philanthropic motive is important when joining a volunteer service, participants also enjoy the freedom of movement they gain through their volunteering and the possible advantage they have when looking for salaried employment (Macy 1983). Others have suggested that the outpouring of sentiments during devastating natural disasters and wars in Sri Lanka may also serve as a trigger for enhanced volunteerism in relief and in long-term development operations (Silva 2009; Simpson 2009).

Looking across all these studies we might conclude that values are the predominant function driving participation, reflecting the altruistic impulses associated with TPV. However, it is far from being the only motivation. Most studies highlight mixed motives – individual traditional philanthropic volunteers motivated by a range of factors, but also differences in motivation within TPV according to organizational type, volunteer demographics, and volunteering stage.

This last study quoted above also reminds us of the importance of external factors driving participation. As Bryant et al. (2003) argue, with volunteering there is a need to look not just at the supply of volunteers but also the demand – not just at individual motivations but also at the actions taken by organizations to recruit volunteers. Being asked to volunteer is, for example, regularly shown by surveys to be one key reason that people get involved (see, e.g., Low et al. 2007; see also Handbook Chapter 27). It is also important to remember that, once started, the reasons for staying involved will differ again (see, e.g., Gidron 1985; Locke, Ellis, and Davis Smith 2005).

4. How is TPV usually organized?

Handy (1998) distinguishes between three different types of volunteering organizational settings and provides an insight into the ways in which volunteers are organized and managed therein: *mutual support*, where people with mutual enthusiasms come together; *campaigning or cause specific*, where people seek change; and *service delivery*, where the volunteering is organized along professional lines, with formalized roles. Equating Handy's *service delivery* to TPV, this reflects our suggestion at the start of this chapter that most TPV occurs within relatively bureaucratic, formally structured organizations, which are professionally staffed and within which volunteering is treated as unsalaried work, most notably through a work-based model of volunteer management (Rochester, Ellis Paine, and Howlett 2010). In contrast, a more "home-grown" (Zimmeck 2001),

less bureaucratic approach to volunteer management is more typical elsewhere. As noted earlier, much of the TPV reviewed here occurs in volunteer service programs (VSPs; cf. Smith 2015b, 2016; see also Handbook Chapters 15 and 16), rather than in membership associations (Smith 2015a)

The organization of volunteering according to a work-based approach is typified by a number of key characteristics. In their analysis of more than 1,700 nonprofits in the United States, including 541 congregations, Hagar and Brudney (2004) identified nine *best practices* associated with effective volunteer engagement in VSPs. These practices include "regular supervision and communication with volunteers, liability coverage or insurance protection for volunteers, regular collection of information on volunteer numbers and hours, screening and matching for volunteers to assignments, written policies and job descriptions for volunteers, recognition activities, annual measurement of impacts of volunteers, training and professional development opportunities for volunteers, and training for paid staff in working with volunteers" (p. 8). Furthermore, the authors note that while not all organizations fully employ these practices, those that do generally find that the benefits accrued from effective management continue to justify greater investment in volunteer coordination, including the employment of a volunteer coordinator to oversee service.

The degree of formalization within volunteer management practices, however, varies considerably, even within TPV. While the *volunteering industry* (mainly, VSPs) has grown rapidly over the past decade in countries such as the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and Australia, formalized volunteer management practices remain underdeveloped in many other countries, such as those within the Nordic region. In Sri Lanka, the Sarvodaya Movement has evolved a kinship model for promoting mutual understanding and cooperation among paid and unpaid community workers, but this is clearly distinct from the bureaucratic mode employed in public, private, and even other nonprofit sector organizations in the country (Macy 1983).

5. What impact does TPV have?

With the dominance of *values*-based, altruistic motivations driving TPV, the emphasis is on the impact this type of volunteering has on others, rather than on the volunteers themselves. This is not, of course, to suggest that it does not have an impact on the participants, just that this is not the main emphasis. Here we look at evidence of the impact of TPV – or at least of volunteering within fields and organizations associated with TPV – on different stakeholder groups:

- Impact on the volunteers: Although not the most significant motivating factor, taking part in TPV has been found to make a difference to the volunteers themselves. Volunteers may gain in terms of skills development; self-esteem

and enjoyment; social interaction (Farrell and Bryant 2009); and mental and physical well-being (Morrow-Howell 2010; Morrow-Howell, Hong, and Tang 2009). In conflict settings, TPV may also create opportunities for social mobility for persons from disadvantaged backgrounds and even for some ex-militants who are otherwise prevented from getting back to civilian life (Moore 1993).

- Impact on service users: Evidence from the health field, for example, suggests that volunteers have a significant impact on patients and other recipients, including improving the quality of care and the experience of using a service (Naylor et al. 2013); improved general well-being and lowering levels of social exclusion (e.g., Casiday et al. 2008; Sevigny et al. 2010); and improved health-related behaviors (Casiday et al. 2008; Kennedy 2010).
- Impact on volunteer involving organizations: Within the field of health and social care, volunteering has been found to impact upon organizations through enhancing service delivery (Paylor 2011); improving the engagement of hard-to-reach communities (Kennedy 2010); and improving the quality of interactions between professionals and service users (Paylor 2011).
- Impact on communities and societies: Beyond individuals and organizations, TPV can contribute to broader economic and social policy goals (GHK 2010). It has been found, for example, to have a positive impact on community resilience (Paylor 2011); social cohesion; and the development of social capital.

A positive impact of TPV is not, however, inevitable. Some studies suggest that TPV can be deviant (see Handbook Chapter 53), ineffective, and lead to negative outcomes for volunteers (Grotz 2011; see Handbook Chapter 52). Ensuring volunteers are appropriately supported and the activities appropriately managed can be critical (Casiday et al. 2008).

6. What challenges is TPV currently facing?

Volunteering as a whole is changing, especially volunteering in volunteer service programs (VSPs; Hustinx and Lammertyn 2003; see also Handbook Chapter 16). The context within which volunteering occurs is also changing. These changes are creating a number of particular challenges for TPV, as one specific form of volunteering.

Fundamental changes in the structure and functioning of welfare organizations in certain countries are affecting TPV. Moves toward welfare pluralism with an increasing role for voluntary organizations in the delivery of public services have particular implications for volunteering (see, e.g., Ellis Paine and Hill 2016; Kristmundsson and Hrafnsdóttir 2012; Wijkström 2011). The developments, however, may lead to somewhat contradictory challenges for TPV.

On the one hand, the increasing role for voluntary sector agencies in providing welfare services could arguably lead to an increase in TPV. As well as a potential increase in the overall number of volunteers, in some cases these developments have also led to an increase in the diversity and complexity of volunteer roles (Gaskin 2005; Hutchison and Ockenden 2008; Wijkström 2011). The recent economic crisis has heightened this development and brought particular attention to it, leading to questions of job substitution as paid workers are replaced by volunteers as part of cost-cutting exercises (GHK 2010).

However, a number of the developments associated with welfare pluralism have arguably had rather a different impact. The rise of the contract culture, with associated professionalization of services and formalization of organizational and management structures, has changed the nature of the spaces available for volunteer participation. Indeed, within countries such as the United Kingdom and Australia and those within the Nordic region, it has been suggested that the developments within the voluntary sector have resulted in a growing division between *grassroots welfare organizations*, with their associational, membership model of volunteering and *corporatist welfare organizations* (or *hybrid organizations*) with their TPV model and which are growing increasingly large and effectively losing their voluntary aspects as volunteers are being displaced by paid staff or, where they remain, their roles and terms of engagement are changing (Billis and Harris 1992; Matthies 2006; Milligan and Fyfe 2005; Wijkström 2011).

The increasing formalization of some voluntary roles may deter potential volunteers and put increasing pressure on those who stay to deliver to a particular standard within a particular time period and to be accountable (Matthies 2006; Wilson, Hendricks, and Smithies 2001). In Denmark, for example, volunteer roles within schools were transformed from being a form of additional and informal help within the class to being written into the curriculum with associated monitoring requirements; these developments led to additional controls and performance measurements on volunteer effectiveness, which in turn led some volunteers to quit (GHK 2010).

In some cases, the developments have led to the replacement of volunteers with paid staff (Cloke, Johnsen, and May 2007), or at least a change in the ratio of paid staff and volunteers (Ellis Paine, Ockenden, and Stuart 2010), the emergence of a hierarchy of roles in which paid staff get the risky, high-profile roles with volunteers left with or opting for *ancillary tasks* (Gaskin 2005; Geoghegan and Powell 2006), and an associated shift in power dynamics between the two groups (Weeks et al. 1996). In Australia, for example, Stirling and Bull (2011) reported that ambulance services have developed over recent years from being small locally organized volunteer-led groups to large professional organizations with a mix of paid staff and volunteers. This had led to a pressure to professionalize volunteer management practices and an associated loss of voice for

volunteers within the organization. This finding led Stirling and Bull to con-clude that service volunteers are likely to be closer to a cheap secondary labor force than powerful active citizens because rather than collective agency being their main focus, helping and service are – this had meant that they were unable to resist the changes that had adversely affected them.

The growth in formal volunteer management practices also creates a chal-lenge for TPV. As studies from England have found, while professionalization and formalization are contributing to a general improvement in the volunteer experience, for some the introduction of the work-based model of volun-teer management has meant that volunteering feels too much like paid work and has become off-putting and alienating (Gaskin 2003; Leonard, Onyx, and Hayward-Brown 2004; Low et al. 2007).

The formalization of governmental intervention in volunteering has in some places resulted in the growth of service volunteering in VSPs and has ques-tioned the altruistic motivations of volunteering. In South Korea, where the government-dominant model has been established to promote citizens' par-ticipation in volunteering, formalization of volunteer management systems, such as formal certification programs of volunteering at national and local lev-els, has brought unexpected results (Korea National Council on Social Welfare 2012). Such formalization effort has contributed to increasing students' volun-teering for resume building and to decreasing citizens' participation in informal volunteering, which is essential for balanced development of volunteering.

7. How is TPV different from other types of volunteering?

As indicated in the above sections, it appears that TPV and TPVs are different from other forms of volunteering and the people who engage in them, although it is easy to fall into the trap of exaggerating these differences. A key aspect of these differences is that TPV mainly occurs in VSPs, not in independent MAs. Here are some specific TPV differences:

– Different demographics: To some extent the stereotyped view of who vol-unteers – well educated, middle class, middle aged, women – is true within TPV, although there is far more variety within TPVs and particularly between different types of organization than this suggests, and indeed some studies have found, for example, that men rather than women dominate TPV-type roles.
– Different motivations: TPVs are more likely to be motivated by the *values* function (of the Volunteer Functions Inventory/VFI; Clary et al. 1998) than other types of volunteers, although motivations vary according to volunteer demographics and organizations being served.
– Different types of organization: TPVs are found in organizations within both the voluntary and the public sectors as well as within hybrid organizations.

They are, by definition, concentrated within formal, bureaucratic welfare organizations.
– Different types of behavior: Reflecting their dominant motivations, their demographic backgrounds, and the characteristics of the organizations within which they are based, TPVs behave and are treated more like unsalaried staff than members.
– Different types of management: TPVs are likely to be regarded by their organizations as unsalaried staff – as resources to be deployed through formal management structures, which is a rather different approach to viewing volunteers as owners, members, or co-producers in associations (Ellis Paine, Ockenden, and Stuart 2010).

E. Usable knowledge

Emerging from the above discussions about TPV are a number of implications for policy-makers and practitioners. Over the past decade or so, governments around the world have shown an increasing interest in volunteering. Arguably, it is TPV that has been of most interest to policy-makers, representing a form of volunteering which (unlike campaigning and advocacy) is more about consensus than conflict (see, e.g., Milligan and Fyfe 2005). Indeed, it has been suggested that in Canada, government intervention in volunteering has resulted in the growth of service volunteering at the expense of more politically challenging forms of activism (Arai 2004). Careful thought needs to be given to what role governments could or should play in promoting volunteering.

For practitioners, the following implications emerge:

– Numbers: TPVs represent a significant core group of volunteers. Although there is no consensus, some figures suggest that the numbers of TPVs are declining or at least that the proportion of total volunteers that they represent is reducing. Given the scale of change in volunteering over recent years, it is easy to be distracted by new forms of participation and the demands of a new breed of volunteers. Practitioners, however, ignore their longstanding core group of volunteers at their peril. When attempting to recruit new TPVs, practitioners should emphasize on opportunities to fulfill the values function, while also recognizing that volunteers seldom come (or stay) with just one motivation.
– Diversity: TPVs are not drawn equally from across populations. TPVs tend, for example, to be better educated and more affluent than average. Attention should be paid to the barriers which may exist to participation, enabling a wider cross-section of the population to engage in TPV.
– Management: Consideration is needed as to the most appropriate style of management for TPVs in VSPs. Increasing formalization and

professionalization of the nonprofit sector have affected TPVs. While these changes may enhance the organization of volunteering, there is a risk that they may go too far and become off-putting. In Gaskin's (2003) words, practitioners must ensure a *choice blend* of formalized volunteer management practices, delivered in a flexible and supportive way.

F. Future trends and needed research

TPV seems to be fairly stable in its absolute frequency, but perhaps declining as a percentage of all formal volunteering, which is on the rise globally (see Handbook Chapters 50 and 51).

Although we have found many studies that are relevant, few focus specifically on TPV. Indeed, studies into volunteering tend to either be very general, failing to define or differentiate different volunteering activities, or very specific – focusing on very specific issues or developments or on individual organizational case studies, with little in between.

A further analysis of the salience of different types of volunteering – including TPV – around the world, with regard to the political context, welfare models, and nonprofit sector size, would be worthwhile. Further research into the scale of TPV and trends in its development at national and regional scales would also be beneficial. At a much smaller scale, further research is needed of volunteering within and across organizations to understand whether/how different forms of volunteering coexist, attract different groups of participants, are motivated by different factors, require different forms of management, and result in different outcomes.

G. Cross-references

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18

Self-Help and Mutual Aid Group Volunteering

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A. Introduction

This chapter explores a type of formal volunteering, carried out in groups, by peers who share a problematic health, economic, or social condition or situation. Peers meet together in self-help/mutual aid groups (SH/MAGs) to alleviate or improve their own circumstances. Of particular importance are the reciprocal social relationships in these groups – active participants both give and receive support. The chapter traces the broad history of SH/MAGs, reflecting similarities and differences in the co-authors' regions of the world. The benefits that accrue to people active in SH/MAGs are highlighted at a personal, collective, and community level. The authors explore how self-help/mutual aid is enabled, given the challenges currently facing this form of volunteering, including global economic austerity and the dominance of *professional* and paternalistic modes of help.

We use the dual term SH/MA to emphasize a distinguishing feature of this type of volunteering: SH/MA is an activity based on a kind of reciprocity known as the helper principle. This means that those involved in self-help are themselves helped and enabled while helping others (Riessman 1965).

Citizens meet face-to-face, by phone, or online in groups to engage in a series of freely given exchanges of stories, support, and advice. The process is one of patterned reciprocal exchange. Some studies of SH/MA groups suggest that the reciprocity in groups is not always *direct*, but rather entails what is termed *serial reciprocity*. Here a new member receives support and advice from peers, then *repays* this at a later stage of personal development. This is done by reciprocating the support either to the established peers or to a new member of the group (Richardson and Goodman 1983).

Through their social relations, a community of peers emerges in SH/MA groups. In the best outcomes, no status distinctions separate members. All people present share a common goal of alleviating or improving their own circumstances. In addition, either intentionally or otherwise, all share the goal of improving their broader community (whether based on geography or interest).

SH/MA groups rarely appear in the research literature on volunteering, though their type of activity shows some common features with other types of volunteering such as *gifting* to each other their time, labor, or other skills. Additionally, group leaders are catalysts; they encourage peer volunteers to meet and exchange stories and coping strategies. People attend SH/MAGs voluntarily, providing as members unpaid assistance and emotional support to other members, sometimes doing this outside of meetings (Borkman 2004).

B. Definitions

This chapter accepts the definitions in the Handbook Appendix. However, we focus here on SH/MA groups (SH/MAGs), for which there is no single accepted definition. Nevertheless, researchers tend to agree on three core characteristics: (1) SH/MAGs are run for and by people (nearly always volunteers) who share the same health, economic, or social problem or issue; (2) the primary source of participants' knowledge about their issue is direct experience; and (3) these groups operate *predominantly* in the nonprofit sector. Note that SH/MAGs usually spell out *SHGs* as *self-help groups* with a hyphen, but sometimes the unhyphenated version *self help* appears in publication titles or text.

By using the term SH/MA and focusing on groups, we distinguish this type of activity from individual *self-help* or *self-care*. The latter often involves personal use of a range of books, audio-tapes, DVDs, and TV programs generally written or presented by *experts* rather than peers. Peer- or member-led SH/MAGs are also distinguished from *professionally-led support groups*, although peer led groups can evolve from groups initially instigated by a professional. In SH/MAGs, management and ownership of the group are controlled by those sharing the experience of the issue/problem. Although the distinction between peer-led and professionally/expert-led groups is important, many SH/MAGs run for and by members call themselves *support groups*.

Another definitional distinction is that of *12-step* and *non-12-step* group. Originating in America, many SH/MAGs are based on the 12-step program established by Alcoholics Anonymous (AA). This program, developed primarily for people with addictions, entails adoption of and adherence to a set of *spiritually-informed steps*, the first being members' acceptance of their life-long addiction. Group meetings and *mentors* (often called *sponsors)* with the same addiction facilitate recovery from addiction.

To the United Nations Volunteers (UNV), SH/MAGs are one of four types of volunteering; mutual aid or self-help, philanthropy or service to others, political participation or campaigning, and social movement activism/advocacy – all of which are distinguished by their final purposes or outcomes (UNV 1999; Leigh et al. 2011). As a general rule of thumb, less formal and more "informal support systems and networks of mutual aid and self-help" are more likely to be a feature of less economically developed nations (UNV 1999:5). In line with other forms of volunteering in this Handbook, SH/MAGs can also be seen as a form of grassroots association (GA), as defined by Smith, Stebbins, and Dover (2006:102; see also Handbook Chapter 32).

Compared with other types of volunteering and associations in this Handbook, SH/MA is a most under-researched area with few large-scale or cross-national studies (e.g., Mäkelä et al. 1996; Wuthnow 1994). To ensure comparable subject matter in this chapter, we concentrate specifically on face-to-face SH/MA groups that reflect the authors' world regions and accessible research accounts.

C. Historical background

Mutual support as voluntary action has always been part of human society in one form or other, with anthropologists dating the existence of mutual associations to as early as the Neolithic period – at least 10,000 years ago (UNV 1999; Smith 1997b; see also Handbook Chapter 1). Handbook Chapter 9, on Informal Volunteering, deals with such mutual support as informal helping. Kropotkin (1914) argued long ago that as a result of evolution, mutual aid was built into human genetics. Many more recent authors have echoed his point, with convincing biological and especially genetic evidence (Smith 2016). The form SH/MA takes is linked to the economic, social, and political conditions in which it appears.

Early forms of SH/MA reflected the need for material support. In the medieval and feudal periods, SH/MA was traced to fraternities, confraternities, and religious guilds in the United Kingdom, Europe, and the Nordic countries (Davis-Smith 1995; Jaakkola 1993). Some of the oldest forms of single-issue SH/MAGs can be observed in countries with strong traditions (e.g., Japan). One example is the emergence in mid-13th century of self-help for the blind; they developed independent, hierarchical mutual-help guilds (Groemer 2001).

A tradition of *Tontine* guides self-help rotating credit systems in West and Central Africa; and in Senegal, self-help has been organized around *Mbootaay* groups, translated, "to nurture" (UNV 1999). In Kenya, the *harambee* tradition (translated "let's all pull together"), together with the tradition of interconnectedness embodied in *mtu ni wati,* translated, "a person is because of other people," continue to play key roles in influencing community volunteerism

and mutual help initiatives around health, water, agriculture, and education provision (Caprara et al. 2012; UNV 1999).

Single-issue groups in health and social care constitute a key development in the SH/MA form. They have mainly appeared since the 1950s as part of worldwide social movements centered on civil rights and the rights of women, gays, and the disabled. Most studies of single-issue SH/MAGS were published from the 1970s on, mainly in North and South America, Japan, Europe, and Scandinavia. They cover every conceivable condition from physical to mental health and addiction (Chenhall and Oka 2009).

Although not all SH/MA health groups consider themselves political, their existence still challenges the dominant medical model. Here physicians have the power to name and identify chronic diseases. Therefore, these SH/MAGs became more concerned with emotional aid and, like broader social movements, generated within themselves new perspectives about previously stigmatized or marginalized identities (Borkman and Munn-Giddings 2008).

In addition, the 12-step movement brought explicit recognition that experientially based support of peer mutual aid differs from both kin and professional support. According to Wuthnow (1994), 12-Step groups account for a third of all SH/MAGs in the United States. The influence of AA on other nations is also notable, although it tends to be much lower in Europe. For example, Janßen and Schneider (2013) give an account of 2,800 AA Groups compared to approximately 5,000 non-AA groups for alcoholics, whereas the total number of self-help groups in Germany is estimated at 70,000 to 100,000 (Matzat 2002). The forms that 12-Step groups take in any society can be determined by its national, cultural, political, and welfare systems. AA arose concurrently in the United States and Canada. Although their health-care systems differ, both are open, vibrant civil societies.

By contrast, Montaño-Fraire (1998) notes that autonomy is an essential part of SH/MA, which can be difficult to achieve in less democratic societies. The culturally specific interpretation of 12-step group texts influenced by the Catholic character of Spanish-speaking Latin American cultures offers an example. Here Mexican SH/MAGs have been transformed from a horizontal peer buddy system into a vertical, hierarchical "godfather" (*padrino*) system. Rather than being simply experienced peers, long-term members become surrogate fathers. This process undermines autonomous democratic structure pushing it toward one that is hierarchical (Robbins 1991).

The effect of cultural and political influences on the form that SH/MA takes is also noted by Oka (2013a). He observes that in Japan during the 1920s to 1950s, SH/MAGs were actively influenced by one of two opposing ideologies: Marxism and political conservatism. An example of influence by the former was the "Buraku" liberation movement (Neary 1989). Influenced by Marxist and socialist ideas, Buraku organized aggressive social action against the discriminatory

attitudes of Japanese authorities and society in general (Amos 2007). As the first Japanese anti-discrimination movement, it provided the prototype for later liberation movements for people with physical disabilities, leprosy, and tuberculosis.

We may conclude that political and welfare systems as well as cultural traditions help explain the shape that SH/MA and SH/MAGs take in any country (see Matzat 2010, for a detailed reflection on Germany).

D. Key issues

1. What does SH/MAG volunteering involve and where does it take place?

SH/MAGs are part of what Smith (1997a) terms the "dark matter" of the voluntary sector – the often hidden or unobserved grassroots (local, all-volunteer) associations. In SH/MAGs, people meet with others living in the same or similar circumstances or conditions to discuss and share ways of coping. This is usually done face-to-face, but as use of the Internet increases, some SH/MAGs hold "virtual" meetings online where members discuss issues. Depending on their own finances, face-to-face groups are likely to meet in a variety of places, including homes of members, churches (very common in the United States), community halls and rooms lent by individuals or organizations. As a result many groups fall "under the radar" of official understandings of or statistics on voluntary action and nonprofit organizations (see sections D 2 and 3 below).

Many groups meet weekly or monthly, but limiting conditions of members force some to meet less often. Meetings typically last an hour or two. Still, this pattern varies. For example, in Latin America, the bond of members to specific groups promotes intense participation. For many years, this bonding has been the driving motive for some SH/MAGs to hold several meetings per week, often one a day. There are also *24-hour groups* in Latin America; they commonly start early and continue late into the night every day of the year.

In Zimbabwe for example, Chikoto observed three urban-based women's SH/MAGs in 2012 (two were spinoffs of the original group with one or two common members) – commonly known as *Roundtables* or *Stokvels* in South Africa (G. Chikoto, personal observation, January 3, 2013). The ten members in the original group belonged to the same church, as well as lived within the same geographic area (the spinoffs extended beyond the original groups' geographical boundaries). All three groups were formed in response to the adverse impact the economic downturn was having on families. The ten members meet once a month at each member's home on a rotating basis. At each meeting, each member brings predetermined items of grocery (e.g., rice, cooking oil, sugar, and soap) and USD 20. Once pooled together, these items are divided and shared between two members, one of which is the host. The group also maintains an

emergency fund from which any member can borrow and repay with interest, within a specified period of time.

Apart from Rotating Savings and Credit Associations (ROSCAs; see for example, Anderson and Baland 2002; Benda, 2012; Chamlee-Wright 2002; Gugerty 2007; van den Brink and Chavas 1997), other types of SH/MAGs found in Africa include funeral societies (see Dercon et al. 2006), and health insurance groups (see De Weerdt and Dercon 2006), not to mention more formally incorporated groups such as the National Farmers Association of Zimbabwe (Bratton 1989).

At the core of the processes in all SH/MAGs is the sharing of one's own experience in what may be termed *a sharing circle*. One person narrates his or her story while others comment or juxtapose their own accounts (the order for this is flexible in some groups but, as prescribed by a chair, more formal in others). The sharing of these stories tends to illuminate not only how members are feeling but also how they coped (or failed to) with their situation. Typically, members discuss not only the problem/issue that brought them to the group, but other aspects of their lives as well (their relationships, work, etc.). The latter provides the broader context for understanding the impact on their lives of their health or social condition.

The type of knowledge exchanged is what Borkman (1976:446) calls "experiential knowledge." It is subjective. Such knowledge is based on *truths* learned from personal experience with a phenomenon. They differ from the *truths* acquired by discursive reasoning, reading, formal education, observation, or reflection on information provided by others.

A critical feature of the way in which SH/MAGs work is that members are learning together and building a collective knowledge base that remains in the group even after they leave it. The difference between an individual's experience of a health or social condition and this collective knowledge tends to be much underestimated by professionals and policy-makers. Yet, it is crucial in understanding how some groups have come to re-define their situation or condition. This creates *liberating meaning perspectives*, which challenge mainstream and/or professional understandings of their condition (e.g., Noorani 2012; Rappaport 1993).

2. How widespread are SH/MAGs in the world?

The anarchic, informal nature of SH/MAGs makes it difficult to count groups and members. Moreover, the dispute over definitions, and therefore over inclusion and exclusion criteria, force us to treat national estimates with great caution. To get a flavor of the data available, consider estimates in the United Kingdom and the Nordic countries, which suggest that less than 1 person per 1,000 population participates in SH/MAGs (Elsdon, Reynolds, and Stewart 2000; Karlsson 2002; Mehlbye and Christofferson 1992). In Germany, Matzat (2010) estimated that 100,000 SH/MAGs exist there (population: 82 million).

In Mexico, there are over 21,500 groups in a population of over 112 million and over 14,000 AA groups in the largest of four AA associations (Central Mexicana de Servicios Generales 2001).

The figures are much higher for the United States and Canada. Gottlieb and Peters (1991) reporting on a 1987 Canadian study, where people affiliated with SH/MAGs were regarded as volunteers (which is unusual), found that 20 per thousand (2%) of the population participated. Archibald (2007:2) estimated that 10–15 million people attended an SH/MAG in the United States. With a population at the time of around 313 million, this equals 32–48 people per thousand population (Archibald 2007:2). Wuthnow (1994:76) estimated in 1991 that there were 8–10 million members of 500,000 SH/MAGs in the United States.

In Africa, SH/MAGs are similarly under the radar, so participation rates are uncertain. The literature (e.g., Fafchamps and Ferrara 2012) suggests that SH/MAGs are ubiquitous in rural and urban Africa. Information on ROSCAs also suggests widespread participation. For instance, Bouman (1995) estimated a 50–95% participation rate in ROSCAs in rural Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia, Nigeria, and Togo. Based on a survey in Kenya, Kimuyu (1999) estimated that some 45–50% of the people participated in a ROSCA in Central Kenya. Based on a sample of urban Zimbabweans market traders, Chamlee-Wright (2002) found that 76% participated in a ROSCA, even though 77% had bank accounts.

3. Joining and participating in an SH/MAG

People who join SH/MAGs do so to be with others experiencing the same health problem or social situation. This goal distinguishes SH/MAG volunteering from other forms of volunteering. Diminishing social support and isolation (because of their condition/situation) may be key incentives prompting people to join groups, become active members and get more information bearing on their situation. Their assumption is that group members will be empathic (Charlton and Barrow 2002; Trojan 1989).

A common assumption about the motivation to join an SH/MAG is that people do so primarily because they lack support from existing social networks. This is especially true for countries or areas of countries where governmental support is limited. Studies in countries where there is (or has been) a strong welfare state usually show that people who attend SH/MAGs have the same welfare and family support as non-members, but are looking for something qualitatively different from their peers (Munn-Giddings 2003).

Since SH/MAGs are informal, and often "below the radar" of official statistics, demographic data on them is generally deficient We do know, however, that women in Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom constitute the majority of members of most groups (Elsdon, Reynolds, and Stewart 2000; Gartner 1985; Gottlieb and Peters 1991). Black and minority ethnic (BAME)

groups tend to be under-represented in these countries, not only in SH/MAGs but also in professional treatment (Powell and Perron 2010). Migrants also tend to be under-represented, mainly because of language barriers but also because of cultural and religious traditions. Additionally Seebohm, Munn-Giddings, and Brewer's (2010) research in the United Kingdom indicate that people from BAME communities often prefer to organize around activities rather than single issues. Wuthnow (1994:47) conducted in 1991 a national representative survey of support groups of all kinds, including self-help groups. He found that membership was greater for women, people over 50, college graduates, higher income categories, Hispanics (vs. blacks or White Anglos), and residents of the West (vs. other US regions).A unique feature of the nature of SH/MAGs in Africa is how the poor help the poor (Caprara et al. 2012; Wilkinson-Maposa, Fowler, Oliver-Evans, and Mulenga 2005), suggesting a great deal of homogeneity within groups/MAGs (e.g., across income levels, gender, issue). The various African traditions of *harambee*, *tontine*, *mbootaay*, and *mtu ni watu* noted earlier, all demonstrate the significance and value of solidarity and reciprocity embodied in traditional family and community mutual help (Caprara et al. 2012; Wilkinson-Maposa et al.), as important motivators for participation in risk-sharing SH/MAGs.

Studies on risk-sharing strategies such as ROSCAs (Fafchamps and Ferrara 2012) highlight a variety of motivations for participation. For instance, based on a study in Kenya, Gugerty (2007) found that ROSCAs are likely to be attractive to those lacking a strong capacity to commit to future behavior on their own; hence ROSCAs provide a commitment mechanism. Participation in a ROSCA also allows the poor to commit to savings (Gugerty 2007), in addition to allowing them to cope with income shocks (Fafchamps and Ferrara 2012).

4. How are SH/MAGs formed and organized?

The concept of group is defined in the Handbook Appendix. SH/MAGs tend to be informal in structure and non-bureaucratic. These groups have both active members (they participate, possibly filling a special role like chair or treasurer) and passive members. The latter, sometimes termed *sleeping* or *paper members*, are officially part of the broader membership (e.g., mailing list), but rarely if ever attend meetings.

In North America and some parts of Europe and Scandinavia, two types of groups are evident, each having a sharply different organizational structure and evolution. The *Polymorphic* SH/MAGs conform to the definition of polymorphic nonprofit group presented in the Appendix (see also Schubert and Borkman 1991; Smith, Stebbins, and Dove 2006:178). The 12-step/tradition anonymous groups such as AA with their group template of informal rules and an egalitarian structure based on the 12 traditions exemplify this type of group (Alcoholic Anonymous World Services 1952). This template is available for any

alcoholic wanting to start a new group. New meetings and groups of AA can easily be convened following the 12 traditions as guidelines for organizing and running them.

Informal SH/MAGs – the core self-help activities are conducted here – are all unincorporated. The administrative/business part of SH/MAGs is left to formal organizations having a conventional nonprofit associational structure (e.g., legally incorporated and registered with the government). These service nonprofits, usually covering a metropolitan area, are directed by representatives from various local unincorporated SH/MAGs. The national-level SH/MAG service nonprofit organizations are also legally incorporated.

The *Monomorphic* SH/MAGs conform to the definition of monomorphic nonprofit group found in the Appendix (see also Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006: 146). Some groups are unique and isolated, either emerging spontaneously from the grassroots or convened as an offshoot of some other activity. For example, some professionally-led educational sessions inspire participants to find a common issue and organize their own group.

The two types evolve very differently. The polymorphic SH/MAGs, formed under federated or affiliated national organizations, usually persist as groups for many years. They have clear guidelines and a template for how to operate and maintain the group per se.

The monomorphic SH/MAGs, on the other hand, if they evolve, usually evolve into either a hierarchical nonprofit organization or a form of egalitarian, legally incorporated cooperative structure (thus becoming a self-help *organization*). In the second situation, they are vulnerable to co-optation by professionals, who change goals, eliminate volunteers in favor of professional paid staff, and drop the self-help ethos and practices (Archibald 2007).

How SH/MAGs form may be conditioned on their function and purpose. The formation of ROSCAs, for example, appears to rely on pre-existing social connections which are utilized to reduce the risk of failure, ex ante (van den Brink and Chavas 1997). Whereas South Africa's *stokvels* have been formed on a referral basis (Musonza 2012), the ROSCA observed by Chikoto in 2013 exemplifies a group formed on the basis of belonging to the same religious organization but more importantly, having had prior experience of mutual assistance in the past, albeit ad hoc (e.g., a assisting at a church member's funeral or wedding). Hence members knew each other well enough to rely on the threat of sanctions such as social ostracism and peer pressure as credible and effective strategies for reducing opportunistic or undesirable behavior (see van den Brink and Chavas 1997).

The informal structure of SH/MAGs enables them to form and survive even in communities with restrictive civil societies, among them Japan (Laratta and Borkman 2012). Post-communist countries like Croatia and Slovenia (Dill and Coury 2008) limit the kinds of groups that may form. This gives primacy to professionally-run support organizations.

Considering that face-to-face SH/MAGs are usually formed within specific geographical locations (e.g., specific towns/villages or specific churches within an identifiable neighborhood), members within an SH/MAG are likely to meet, interact, and socialize outside of the group.

5. To what extent do SH/MAG members/leaders meet informally outside of regular meetings?

Most SH/MAGs not only allow but even encourage their members to get together outside of meetings as sponsors/buddies, as experts with extensive SH/MAG experience. Further, SH/MAG members meet even more informally as acquaintances or friends. Mutual aid friendships often develop from these external involvements. The growth in some countries of social media contact within SH/MAGs highlights another avenue for external involvement (ESTEEM 2012).

As an example, the American Self-Help Clearinghouse was regularly asked how groups provide support outside of meetings. In response, this organization developed a list of such activities, including sponsors/buddies, telephone trees, telephone lists, visitation programs at hospitals, newsletters, online message exchanges, and group/organizational liaisons (see http://www.mededfund.org/NJgroups/SupportBetweenGpMeetings_Am.pdf).

6. What are the main factors that influence the impact/success of SH/MAGs?

Determining what may count as "success" in an SH/MAG is a political matter. For example, in the current economic climate, we are aware that funders of groups often examine such criteria as numbers of attendees at meetings and rates of use of services. Since these criteria rarely interest SH/MAG members, emphasis on them tends to confuse their understanding of the role and function of their group (ESTEEM, 2012).

Another way to understand success is to consider the impacts or benefits attributed to group membership over time. Table 18.1 summarizes some common findings on both the individual/ interpersonal levels and the collective level of contributions to community and society. The findings are from self-reports and objectively measured outcomes.

Additionally, a number of studies suggest that attendance at an SH/MAG leads to improvements in health, management of health, or both (e.g., Barker and Pistrang 2002, Pistrang, Barker, and Humphries 2008; see also Handbook Chapter 52).

7. How is volunteering changing in SH/MAGs and similar groups?

There are a number of factors affecting the nature and form of SH/MAGs at present. First, the global economic climate is affecting both the type of support

Table 18.1   Benefits attributed to SH/MAGs

Individual and interpersonal benefits:

Improved confidence, self-esteem, emotional well-being, sense of empowerment

Sharing of experience and coping mechanisms; mutual support; friendship

Gain information, practical coping tips, and new skills

Improve symptoms and health-promoting behaviors, reduce distress of chronic conditions (heart and lung disease, sickle cell, diabetes, HIV, mental illnesses, substance abuse disorders)

Reduce costs of medical and psychological treatment and rates of re-hospitalization

More discerning and cooperative patients for physicians and other clinicians

Opportunities to help others

Parent groups of sick children have increased self-esteem and social support, less distress, reduced child mistreatment, and improved caretaking abilities

De-stigmatized and de-medicalized identities (mental illnesses, alcohol, and other drug disorders)

Collective level that benefits community and society:

De-stigmatized and de-medicalized identities (mental illnesses, grieving, alcohol, and other drug disorders)

Change "patients" into self-determining service-users/consumers

Critique/deconstruct and influence professional practices and services, medical diagnoses/conditions (personality disorder-UK, mental illnesses, postpartum depression, grieving-Japan)

Contribute to national health social movements in the US and UK (women's health, AIDS, disability, mental illnesses)

Source: Adapted from Munn-Giddings and Borkman (2005), SCRA resolution (2013), and Borkman and Munn-Giddings (2008).

and the nature of support that people need. For example, in Japan, Oka (2013a) notes that many people rather than going to SH/MAGs for help with their difficulties, now tend to choose less costly measures. Many people prefer to access information from group websites instead of encountering real members in meeting places. Also, online groups are springing up to fill this gap, while offering interesting cross-national forums.

Nevertheless, in developing nations such as Mexico, access to the Internet is restricted to the more affluent members of society. In addition, online groups may be unattractive in some cultures. For example, in a comparative study of Japanese and Koreans, Ishii and Ogasahara (2007:252) found that, compared with Koreans, Japanese tend not to regard personal relations via the online community as "closely associated with the real-world personal relations."

Another effect of the present-day economic downturn is that people's problems are often more complicated and severe than earlier. Some large self-help

groups are losing members and have let many people attend meetings who do not contribute socially and financially to the group (e.g., without paying membership fees, donating or doing volunteer work). Many would-be SH/MAG members are now jobless, family-less, friendless, and surviving on welfare in an individualized (atomized) society (Ronald and Hirayama 2009; Suzuki et al. 2010). Because SH/MAGs have traditionally been organized around a single issue, they may not help people with multiple problems.

In the United States, the success of SH/MAGs has vaulted them into mainstream health and social services. But success has also pushed SH/MA to accommodate professional services, amounting to cooptation (Borkman 2011). Many member-led groups are disappearing or being converted to support groups run by professionals. In the last 15 years, public discussion uses the term *support groups* – an ambiguous, generic term – to signify both professionally-controlled and led groups and member-owned and member-led groups.

In Mexico, new forms of SH/MAGs have emerged in the context of social, economic, and political instability. Montaño-Fraire (1998) notes a cultural and political trend back to religion, which is manifesting itself in a novel and fast-growing series of 4th and 5th step groups. These smaller groups, largely unassociated, are more akin to strict Catholic-run organizations than to any of the region's other self-help groups. These include participation in rigid spiritual retreats, which may last several days and have the form of the centuries-old Catholic model.

8. What current challenges are being faced by SH/MA volunteering and SH/MAGs?

The impact of the recent worldwide recession might be seen as providing a common challenge to SH/MAGs. However, the form these adaptations took was varied. For example, in the United States, Borkman (2011) has observed a large increase in the number of support groups led by professionals sponsored by hospitals and health-care institutions. In the United Kingdom, the situation is more complex. National policies actively promote and explicitly advocate support for SH/MAGs, which on one level may be a belated recognition of the value of these groups vis-à-vis the broader agenda of civic involvement. Nonetheless, an environment of austerity budgets and a move in some areas (e.g., mental health) to replace some professionally led groups by SH/MAGs or by 1:1 peer support, the unique contribution of SH/MAGs risks being misunderstood. Thus, they are sometimes seen as an inexpensive version of professionally led support groups, if not as a service replacement.

Montaño-Fraire (1998) notes that Mexico faces, in common with other countries of the periphery, daunting challenges: social, economic, and political instability; disregard for the rule of law; and an educational environment where knowledge and empowerment are felt to threaten established interests and

paternalistic modes of interaction and education. Popular disbelief in science reflects a mistrust of research as the only source of objective knowledge. This is often the norm among the poor and those with limited education living in Mexico and other Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America.

These changes have implications for research. In the United States, research on SH/MAGs by social scientists has slowed to a trickle. Conversely, in Europe and the Nordic countries, there is renewed interest in SH/MAGs in relation to broader issues of user-involvement (Matzat 2010). Recently, European and Nordic research networks have emerged, with the potential to coordinate previously disparate but related SH/MAG research. Language barriers exist, however, since most research publications are rarely available in English, and English-language studies are rarely translated. This situation means multi-national conversations among researchers can be challenging.

9. What are the main barriers to SH/MA volunteering and SH/MAGs?

The earlier sections allude to some key barriers/obstacles for SH/MAGs, namely, that government leaders and health professionals alike often fail to understand the fundamental nature and ethos of this type of peer volunteering. Such people may take measures that could damage or undermine the very essence of SH/MAG volunteering. An example from Japan centers on the differences between professionally-led and peer-led SH/MAGs devoted to post-suicide trauma. Professionals regard long-term and even lifelong grief as pathological, prescribing psychological grief care to overcome it. By contrast, peer-led SH/MAGs advocate *living with grief* as their liberating meaning perspective (Oka 2013b).

Across much of the globe, debates and policies are encouraging (for both humanitarian and economic reasons) citizen participation and an enriched civil society, including the formation of SH/MAGs of various types. SH/MAGs grow by themselves anyway. Yet, if further development is wanted, government can promote such growth by providing conditions and structures enabling this outcome.

In some countries, explicit policies underpin and promote SH/MA. For example, in Norway, a national plan for self-help is embedded in governmental plans for fostering resource centers and projects. Other countries have enabling infrastructures such as self-help clearinghouses (once described in recommendations to WHO-Euro 1982). These organizations, prevalent in Germany and some other European countries, network and provide information and developmental support to SH/MAGs. In Germany, perhaps more than any other country, self-help groups, self-help organizations, and self-help clearinghouses are accepted in society, as both people-made contributions to the national health and social system and fora for citizen representation in consultation and decision-making bodies. Consequently, they are financially supported (mainly

by the statutory health insurance funds), and they have legal status in some committees. Joint efforts of self-helpers, experts supporting them, researchers presenting positive results, and politicians of various parties (conservatives, social democrats, and the *Green* party) led to this development (Matzat 2002, 2010). Nonetheless, such governmental intervention is sometimes unwelcome. In Mexico (Montaño-Fraire 1998), the general mistrust of public policy and of people proffering professional expertise (including charitable initiatives) stirs resistance from SH/MAGS and their leaders.

Significant differences can be observed between SH/MAGs and professionals, possibly reflecting the presence or absence of welfare systems in different countries. Karlsson (2002) refers to a continuum between conflict and consensus models. The SH/MAGs toward the left of the political continuum typically grow from disillusionment with existing professional services or their lack. The United States and Mexico are found here. Conversely, SH/MAGs in countries whose welfare systems actively support SH/MA are more likely to fall toward the right of the continuum, particularly some Nordic and other European countries. General as it is, this scheme hides the nuances in any system.

Finally, many people with special behavioral problems or illnesses prefer to keep these issues to themselves, because of the social stigma attached to them (e.g., alcoholism, drug addiction, sex addiction). That is the basic reason why so many SH/MAGs use the anonymous format, with only first names (never surnames; but often the first initial of a surname) used in meetings and real identities protected. Even with this personal privacy format, many people with problems are reluctant to join HS/MAGs because of felt stigma, and ignorance of the details of the anonymous format (Rudy 1986).

10. Can involvement in SH/MAG have negative impacts on members/participants/volunteers?

The SH/MA literature still has a small research base, written (naturally) mostly by advocates. There are few concerted critiques or discussions of possible disadvantages of SH/MAGs. The literature that exists tends to discuss *negative potentials of groups* from either a medicalized perspective (ignoring the social aspects of groups) or raises concerns about possible privatization of what could or should be public concerns and its impact over time on SHG facilitators.

As noted earlier, tensions are likely to arise between professionals and SH/MAGs. Health professionals (without empirical evidence) may not alert service users to relevant groups, fearing *misinformation* or increased emotional distress believed to result from attendance. Wilson (1995), bolstered by more recent studies (ESTEEM 2012), concluded that some health professionals found it difficult to perceive SH/MAGs beyond their own paid-professional frame of reference.

From a different perspective, contemporary policy and practice interests (e.g., integrating previously institutionalized groups into the community) raise concerns that single issue groups may be perceived as stigmatizing. SH/MAGs may be seen as actually increasing isolation from mainstream society, rather than reducing it (Wann 1995). Similarly, some feminists argue that self-help is an apolitical variety of identity politics (Kitzinger and Perkins 1993), stressing private and therapeutic solutions over public and institutional ones. Taylor (1996) and Borkman (1999) strongly reject this view contending it is a partial and inaccurate understanding of SH/MAGs that fails to perceive or acknowledge the broader impact of group membership.

11. How is SH/MAG volunteering different from other types of volunteering?

Whereas Section 1 outlined some similarities with other forms of volunteering, there are also some distinctive aspects of self-help volunteering. While self-helpers are, on the one hand, free-will volunteers (nobody forces or pays them), they are, on the other hand, not completely free to choose their altruistic activities. That is, the *type* of SH/MAG they join is constrained by either their health condition or their socio-economic situation. Additionally, the relationship between helper and helpee develops over time. People apt to join an SH/MAG are usually in despair, fear, confusion, and helplessness. They expect and hope for support from others who are (at least at that moment) in better psychological condition, have more knowledge and experience, can give good advice, and perhaps provide a decent model from which they may learn.

But over time, having developed their own coping style, SH/MAG members/ volunteers often come to serve other participants. Now they are helpers. In these groups and organizations, long-term members continue to participate, because they have learned and internalized the mechanism of sharing as a basis for continued personal wellbeing. Thus participation is motivated, at least initially, more by fundamental self-interest than by purported good Samaritan activity. But continued participation as a peer-helper brings out the social altruistic rewards that accompany the personal psychic benefits.

12. What theories or models of self-help volunteering and SH/MAGs exist?

In relation to their internal workings, a number of group dynamics theories (Forsyth 2006) help explain group processes in SH/MAGs, exemplified by those about organizational change and development which bear on informal groups and formal organizations. Brown and Lucksted (2010) review the theoretical foundations of mental health self-help, covering among others, behavior setting theory, role theory, empowerment theory, helper-therapy principle, experiential knowledge, social comparison theory, and the social support theories. Humphreys and Rappaport (1994) discusses spirituality change,

life history and identity change, friendship-networks, and politicization and empowerment as useful theoretic frameworks for understanding SH/MAGs for alcohol or drug problems.

Borkman's (1976, 1999) decades of research on groups focuses on what is theoretically distinctive about SH/MAGs. She developed the concept of experiential knowledge. She also explored the relevance of collective experiential knowledge that accumulates in groups over time emphasizing its potential not only to help individual members cope with or face their particular condition but also to begin to challenge commonly held assumptions and views about their situation. This is illustrated in Rappaport's (1993) research on identity and norm creation through the development of SH/MAG narratives. New detailed work on discursive practices in SH/MAGs (Noorani 2012) demonstrates how techniques produced in groups render, for example, the experiences of mental distress both understandable and communicable.

Other theories tend to situate SH/MAG activities in relation to their broader civic role. They consider whether the development of SH/MAGs (a) is indicative of a retreat from civic life, as people focus increasingly on their own narrow concerns (Bauman 1999) or (b) creates spaces for reflection on the reality of current politics. This alternative centers on questions of identity, ways of living and personal services. In the case of ROSCAs, references have been made to Robert Putnam's social capital as being central to their success (e.g., Benda 2012; Grootaert and van Bastelaer 2002).

More recently, some scholars have returned to Habermas' (1984) theory of lifeworld activities and communicative spaces as a way of theorizing the types of conversations and processes in SH/MAGs and their nuanced implications for the civic role of groups (Chaudhary, Avis, and Munn-Giddings 2012).

E. Usable knowledge

The most important idea for practitioners and policy-makers to grasp is the uniqueness of SH/MAGs. Such groups are not a substitute for professional services, but rather an activity that provides something that cannot be replicated in professional-client relations. This uniqueness resides in the experiential knowledge, peer-helping social relations, and special, non-hierarchical processes of these groups. Professionals and policy-makers have much to learn from SH/MAGs: Sometimes the knowledge generated within them challenges our pre-conceptions of a health condition or problem situation. At other times, such knowledge can complement and inform professional service development.

Policies that support facilitative infrastructures, such as clearinghouses that link groups and provide them with resources, can nurture this type of volunteering. Equally, facilitative and sensitive practitioners can help an SH/MAG to

blossom. Conversely, policies and practices that fail to recognize the ethos of these groups, particularly the importance of their reciprocal member relations, may be damaging.

These suggestions sound simple. Yet, in nations, where hierarchical relations prevail (e.g., Japan), these principles and practices can be difficult to enact. Similarly, in countries facing economic and political turmoil (e.g., Mexico), SH/MAGs may fill in for professional services but also risk being perceived as politically threatening (unless they adopt a traditional role and format). Finally, existing guidance based on research and practice knowledge could be collated, shared, and adapted across nation states to inform practitioners and policy-makers (ESTEEM 2012; Phillis Silverman in Katz 1992:85; Wilson 1995).

F. Future trends and needed research

Lacking accurate, quantitative data on trends in SH/MAGs for virtually all nations, we cannot say anything concrete about future trends. However, anecdotal evidence suggests that SH/MAGs are growing in numbers globally, and so are the numbers of their participants.

We believe that more cross-national research could illuminate the specific ways that national policies and cultural practices shape the forms of self-help and its SH/MAGs. Given the distinctiveness of SH/MAGs, we must also develop and apply research methods more fitting to the principles of self-help activity. There should be more participatory action research involving self-helpers that is driven by their own as well as academic agendas. It should be conducted on the micro-level (e.g., to benefit the participating SH/MAG), the meso-level (e.g., how to change doctors' behavior in local health units), and the macro-level (e.g., how to make members' voices heard in legislative processes).

Comparative studies of the nature and type of support members get from face-to-face groups vis-à-vis online and professionally-led groups are important in making the case for each (see Barker and Pistrang 2002). More in-depth study of the motivations of SH/MAG members/volunteers is needed, examining psychological variables as well as the demographics of participation. Of special importance is determining whether the motivations for SH/MAG volunteering are different from the motivations for formal volunteering in general, and how. However, it is rare for researchers to study SH/MAGs along with other types of MAs, so that comparative data are lacking. Studying SH/MAG volunteering using S-Theory would be useful, as part of a larger study of formal volunteer motivation (cf. Smith 2015). Also lacking are rigorous studies of SH/MAG impacts on their members (but see Zemore and Pagano 2008, as one exception).

Finally, it is important to build on the new and innovative studies of the next generation of SH/MA researchers. Examples are: Noorani's (2012) detailed look at the techniques and processes underlying the development of experiential

knowledge and Boyce's (2012) study examining the highly stigmatized area of self-harm and the role SH/MAGs play for their members.

G. Cross-references

Chapters 9 13, 17, 20, 23, 32, 38 and 52.

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19
Participation in Trade and Business Associations

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A. Introduction

This chapter focuses on trade and business associations (TBAs) and their general importance in contemporary societies. Such associations differ from other associations studied in this Handbook by having collective or organizational members, usually for-profit businesses, not individual persons as members. Topics reviewed include trade association activities, origins, member motivations, internal structures, factors affecting impact/success, types of positive and negative impacts, variations among types, changes occurring, current challenges, barriers to participation, public policy impacts, and theories. TBAs are major supporters for the business sector in nearly all contemporary societies and often have a powerful influence on government laws and policies in democratic nations.

   We will examine how such organizations are similar to and different from other types of organizations covered in this part of the Handbook. TBAs (including chambers of commerce) are one type of occupational-economic association. Occupational-economic associations in general date back about 2,500 years in human history (see Handbook Chapter 1). Other types than TBAs include consumer and producer/worker cooperatives, farmers'/peasants' associations, trade/labor unions, certain civic clubs (e.g., Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions), professional associations, and academic-scientific-scholarly societies. Worker and consumer/service cooperatives are covered in Part III of this Handbook, but we lack the word count/print space to cover the other types of occupational-economic associations here.

B. Definitions

Most of the key terms in this chapter are defined according to their entries in the Appendix, which are accepted here. The umbrella concept of occupational-economic associations, however, warrants special attention. One

of the oldest purposive types of voluntary associations, this kind of association has as its main goal(s) the protection, maintenance, and enhancement of the occupational and/or economic and financial interests/benefits of its members. Unlike most purposive types of associations, occupational-economic associations in the past century or two have included associations with collective or organizational members, as well as individual persons as members. Guilds in ancient Rome were one of the earliest examples of occupational-economic associations (Waltzing 1895), but guilds were also present in other ancient civilizations in urban areas (see Handbook Chapter 1). In contemporary nations, occupational-economic associations accounted for over 6% of individual member participation circa 2000, according to survey data reported in Dekker and Halman (2003:63), based on the World Values Survey/European Values Study wave of 1999–2001, covering 50 societies. Three percent was labor union participation and 3% was professional association participation.

Within this broad category of occupational-economic associations, we find farmers'/peasants' associations, trade/labor unions, certain civic clubs (e.g., Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions), professional associations, and academic-scientific-scholarly societies as major subtypes with *individual members*. The major subtype of occupational-economic associations with *organizational members* is the trade/business association (TBA, or TBAs) or associations of businesses of a certain type (e.g., the American Association of Manufacturers).

C. Historical background

The historical background of occupational-economic association volunteering as a phenomenon is covered in detail in Chapter 1 of this Handbook (see also Smith 1997). As suggested above, such associations arose quite early in the history of associations and the Voluntary Nonprofit Sector (VNPS), going back perhaps 2,500 years, or even earlier.

Research on occupational-economic associations in general also goes far back into history, with the detailed research on *collegia* (occupational-professional associations) in ancient Rome being one fine example (Waltzing 1895). Handbook Chapter 1 also has many references to more recent but still centuries-old research (see references in Drekmeier 1962; Kloppenborg and Ascough 2011; Morse 1909; Ross 1976; Weisberg 1967). This research from prior millennia and centuries mainly consists of histories of occupational-economic associations, largely focusing on guilds of merchants or craftsmen until the rise of trade unions and employers associations beginning with the Industrial Revolution circa 1800 (Smith 1997).

D. Key issues

Thirteen key issues related to TBAs are discussed in this section.

1. What do TBAs do and where does activity take place?

There are different names used worldwide to describe TBAs. And though different names identify some differences between them, they all embody a type of entity that is established with activities geared toward the improvement of a particular industry or type of business (Reilly, Hull, and Braig Allen 2003). This purpose differs substantially from, for example, that of civic associations, many of whose missions have charitable, advocacy, or political priorities.

Generally, across different countries authors have mentioned a handful of essential roles that TBAs should play to stay relevant to their society and industry. These roles include information and knowledge exchange, licensing, standardization and certification, and consequent activities such as training, improving effectiveness and efficiency of their industry or profession, and increasing general awareness about the importance of the aforementioned activities (Pedraza, Vajaradul, and Alvarez 2011). Pedraza et al. (2011) identified these four roles as specifically applicable to all occupational-economic associations in the Pacific and Latin American regions. Greenwood, Suddaby, and Hinings (2002) indicated that occupational-economic associations, TBAs included, are significant regulatory entities as well as agents of change. In Gråbacke and Kristoffer's (2013) study of trade associations in Denmark and Sweden, their effect on the clothing industry was mixed, for there was growth of the industry itself but a decline in domestic manufacturing.

This pattern of essential roles of TBAs fails to hold in China. In his study of business associations in Yantai, a coastal city in eastern China, Foster (2001) found 38 business associations, or 14% of the total of 267 associations, with memberships including nearly all the major enterprises operating in most industrial and commercial sectors. The link between the association and its membership is exceptionally weak, however. Business associations tended to be concerned mainly with trying to entice their members to take an active interest in the associations and its activities. Those few TBA members who manage to attain high positions in the leadership structure of the association can become actively involved in forging close and beneficial links with the sponsoring government agency and with other members. The benefits for most members of participation in Yantai's business associations are therefore limited.

2. Who starts TBAs, how, and why?

All TBAs emerge where there is a need for coordination that would reduce transaction costs, increase industrial quality, protect property rights, and so on (Doner and Schneider 2000). To ensure that such goals are met, there is need for a strong institutional structure that also includes density of membership in an industry, assured by offering selective benefits. This describes well these associations that have emerged in developed countries.

TBAs in developing countries, on the other hand, oftentimes follow different paths of creation. According to Schneider (2010), the emergence of TBAs in Latin America is to a large extent a result of the state operating with a delegated mandate to help deal with economic recessions. Park (2009) argued that, although TBAs can be self-organized to take collective action on a problem, their cooperation with government is indispensable for successfully dealing with emerging financial stressors.

As examples in China, consider the Self-Employed Laborers Associations (geti laodongzhe xiehui), the Private Enterprises Association (si ying qiye xiehui), and the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce (gongshanglian). Unger (1996) found that at the district level, these groups seemed democratic and *bottom-up* when selecting their leaders, even though those elected were pre-selected by the officials themselves. The overlapping of Federation and Association personnel is repeated at the national level of these two types. Indeed, a TBA can be largely state corporatist at the national level, but much less stringently so at the local level of operation.

Nevertheless, a significant degree of associational autonomy does sometimes occur on a regional level in developing countries. Thus, Yu, Zhou, and Jiang (2012) studied the TBAs in Wenzhou, a city in east China. They found that 87.1% of these associations were established to meet the demands of markets and industrial development, while 4.8% and 3.2% of them were set up because of government decentralization and the needs of large-sized enterprises, respectively. After studying Chinese Associations in general, Ma (2006) concluded that TBAs in Wenzhou are bottom-up organizations, in which the enterprises themselves, which are mostly private, established associations to protect and represent their interests.

In short, trade associations can emerge in bottom-up fashion in developed countries, but in developing countries, they often see the light with the help or instigation of governmental interests.

3. What motivates and triggers individual firms' involvement in TBAs?

Individual firms' involvement with TBAs is triggered by an array of factors, ranging from workplace experiences to social relationships outside of it (Beynon, Davies, and Davies 2012). Generally, prospective TBA members weigh costs and benefits of their involvement in terms of the selective benefits they will receive, as well as broader industrial support and advancement that this relationship can yield (Perry, 2012). For Umapathy, Jamba, and Ritzhaupt (2010), individual firm involvement is motivated by such benefits as networking, information sharing, development programs, and community services, in addition to considering such costs as time, travel, solicitations, and the like. Pyle (2005) also noted that members of TBAs in contemporary Russia enjoy

such benefits as networking, new technology, and training. These benefits also attract new members.

By contrast, because the primary members of TBAs are firms not individuals, their motives for being involved in associations often differ from those characterizing individuals as members of associations. Hedberg (2011) investigated firms' motives for engaging in associational membership in post-communist countries. She found that under strict regulatory conditions firms are, when dealing with the state, driven to cooperate with others to reduce risks of uncertainty. Specifically, the author mentioned such benefits as information dissemination and arbitration mechanisms that help compensate for inadequate legal and enforcing systems in those countries. Heritier and Eckert (2008) came to the same conclusion in their study of European countries, where legislative threat was a primary reason for initiating associations in the paper and plastic recycling industry. Another study by Yakovlev and Govorun (2011) focusing on Russia found that "larger companies, firms located in regional capital cities, and firms active in investment and innovation" (p. 6) are the ones joining business associations more so than others.

4. How are TBAs organized?

Yep (2010) studied the Self-Employed Labourers Associations (SELA, geti laodongzhe xiehui), Private Enterprises Association (PEA, si ying qiye xiehui), and All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce (FIC, gongshanglian) in the local branch of Huantai, a coastal county in eastern China. He found that SELA adopts an automatic membership system under which whoever registers as the owner or worker of a private/individual enterprise becomes a member. By contrast, the admission policy of the PEA and FIC is much more stringent. Involvement and approval of the local party organization is an indispensable part of the member admission process of these business associations.

Pearson (1994) examined the Chinese Association for Enterprise with Foreign Investment (CAEFI). She learned that the national organization has 40 sub-associations (in provinces, municipalities directed under the center, and autonomous regions) and local associations (in provincial or municipal jurisdictions containing large numbers of foreign-funded enterprises). Membership in the association is usually held by the enterprise itself, though individuals may join in some TBAs. Membership appears to be voluntary, since there have been no signs of coercion to join. Nevertheless, CAEFI and its branches are closely tied to the Chinese state with respect to establishment, leadership, and functions.

Suzuki (1995) mounted a study of the peak (umbrella) TBA in Japan (Japanese Industrial Club, Japanese Economic Federation and Japanese Federation of Economic Organization) and the peak TBA in the United States (i.e., National Association of Manufacturers). His goal was to compare inter-organizational

collective action and hierarchy. He found that the Japanese peak associations restricted their membership and exercised authority over their members based on prestige and state support. In contrast, the US association tried to maximize its membership and could not exercise authority over its members.

Kim (1997) investigated the role of TBAs in the textile industry in South Korea. He discovered that the executive vice chairmen and the executive directors of major TBAs are mostly recruited from retired government bureaucrats. In general, executive vice chairmen originate from the bureau director level, whereas executive directors come from the division director level.

The research reported in this section suggests that TBAs vary considerably across the planet according to the ways they are organized. Thus, they seem more likely to face some sort of state control if they are national than if they are local or regional. The degree of control these TBAs have over their members also seems to vary, running from little to considerable control. And variation in this regard occurs depending on whether an association's members are organizations or individuals, with more control likely if the members are individuals (e.g., in professional associations).

5. How else do TBAs vary systematically?

Variations in TBAs within one nation, and more generally in TBAs across different countries, have been studied by Andersen, Curtis, and Grabb (2006) and Curtis, Grabb, and Baer (1992). They found that the level of a country's economic development, which triggers the influx of both material and human resources, gives a boost to industries and professions and their corresponding occupational-economic associations. Another factor affecting systematic differences in TBAs is such industry characteristics as composition and heterogeneity (Perry 2012).

Schaede (2000) examined membership and budget in Japanese TBAs. A database consisting of 1,153 associations in 28 industries was created, based on the biannual publication *Dantai Meikan,* the *Association Directory*, for 1990/91. As of 1991, the median size of membership for the 1,153 associations was 78, while the median annual budget amounted to roughly USD650,000. A median of 20 directors (i.e., presidents of the member companies dispatched to serve on the association's board of directors) was supported by a median of four employed TBA staff. Reflecting the differences in size and number of association members, budgets varied significantly across the several types of associations (Schaede 2000:37).

In sum, all TBAs also vary generally by the level of national economic development, nature and degree of association composition and heterogeneity, size of budget, and size of board of directors.

6. What are the main factors that influence the "success" and impact of TBAs?

Knack (2003) investigated the conflicting claims of Olson (1982) and Putnam (1993) concerning the impact of associational memberships on generalized trust and economic performance. On the one hand, Olson argued that associations act as special interest groups lobbying for preferential policies and imposing disproportionate costs on the rest of society. He maintained that organizations representing the interests of large groups of persons, such as consumers and taxpayers, will not emerge, but that organizations representing the interests of smaller groups will often succeed eventually in overcoming difficulties of collective action, with adverse consequences for economic performance. He included TBAs in this set.

On the other hand, Putnam (1993) saw memberships in horizontal associations in a more favorable light, as a source of generalized trust and social ties conducive to governmental efficiency and economic performance. Associations, he observed, "instill in their members habits of cooperation, solidarity, and public-spiritedness" and participation in civic organizations creates "a sense of shared responsibility for collective endeavors" (Putnam 1993:89–90). Nevertheless, using cross-national data, Knack (2003), in studying the impact of associational memberships on generalized trust and economic performance, found little support for Olson's view of the impact of groups and only mixed support for Putnam's perspective.

Explaining the growth of some Sub-Saharan (Mauritius, Zimbabwe, and Zambia) African TBAs, Bräutigam, Ranker, and Taylor (2002) mentioned three factors essential for success that should be present in both business and government: leadership, ideas or ideology, and capacity. The authors also noted that these external and internal factors played a substantial role in forming business–government relations in the Asian region. Another factor mentioned is associational lobbying activities and effectiveness in representing and advocating for the interests of members and the industry (Govorun 2010). The author found that TBAs can be an effective lobbying tool in Russia for member-firms to use, making membership in their association enduring and attractive. Elsewhere, Schneider and Doner (2000) identified four conditions necessary for a TBA's success both to sustain itself and to be a powerful player in the policy arena. These are stable membership, essential selective benefits, established membership connections, and healthy membership–staff relations.

Unger's (1996) study, described earlier in this chapter, also revealed that an association's degree of autonomy or subordination, effectiveness or ineffectiveness is determined by the combined impact of the following multiplicity of factors: the central government's policy toward each association; genre of agency chosen by the government to stand in a supervisory capacity over an

association; location and bureaucratic level at which the branches of an association operate; and strategic status of the TBA constituency. Among the other relevant factors are the voluntary or compulsory nature of an association's membership (the more elite a constituency the more likely membership in its association is voluntary) and an association's sources of income.

It is evident that there are several essential factors for success that should be present in both TBAs and the government: leadership, ideas or ideology, and capacity. A TBA's degree of autonomy and level of effectiveness (especially in lobbying) are also important.

7. How are TBAs changing?

A main trend worldwide is internationalization, of which there are two main variants: Europeanization and globalization (Schneider and Grote 2006). Europeanization is the internationalization of Europe, whereas globalization is internationalization on a world scale. An increase in cross-border transactions, social and political linkages, culture transfers, and the like are manifestations of internationalization. These processes affect TBAs, as they do many other economic organizations.

For instance, Raynolds (2004:730) describes globalization as it has unfolded for many of the world's organic food TBAs. She observes that in many of the Latin American countries, interest in regulating organic quality claims has come largely from producers seeking access to and legitimacy in North American markets. Citing Scialabba (2000), Raynolds notes that producers in Latin America (as well as in Africa and Asia) have joined with exporters and are now certifying organizations to form organic trade associations that work with Northern distributors to create South–North trade circuits. Many of these individuals and groups have also joined the International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements (founded in 1972) to enhance their position in Northern markets. Since internationally traded items lose their valuable organic labels if they do not adhere to import country or Codex standards, organic trade associations in the South have typically supported local certification systems which apply Northern standards.

Off-shoring – a distinctive expression of internationalization – is bringing another major change to trade and business associations. Klein (2005) writes that "offshoring is moving any business process to a foreign location. It isn't necessarily the same thing as outsourcing, by the way. You could still own that process and offshore it." "Outsourcing," she says, "is allowing any third party to take on a function in your organization." The latter is an old process, whereas the former is much more recent, a child of internationalization.

Between 2000 and 2005, Hahn, Doh, and Bunyaratavej (2009) examined a data set of more than 850 information technology and software off-shoring projects in 55 host countries across the world. From the Duke and Archstone off-shoring study of 2005, the authors learned that competitive pressure was

cited by 71% of executives surveyed as a motive to off-shore. The Hahn, Doh, and Bunyaratavej (2009) study revealed that the competitive environment, as represented by the move by all participants toward country locations with greater risk, creates a climate in which firms feel pressure to consider those same riskier locations. It was concluded that this is especially likely in newly internationalizing and emerging industries, such as information systems. Moreover, and in line with Issue 7, the clustering of firms in a given industry appears to mitigate some of the risks for assets achieved by creating a large and growing constituency that can leverage its influence by establishing trade associations. A prominent example is the National Association of Software and Service Companies in India, a trade association that represents both foreign and domestic firms, many of them involved in information systems off-shoring.

8. What special challenges are currently being faced by TBAs?

After studying the industrial TBAs in the city of Wenzhou, Yu, Zhou, and Jiang (2012) found that the common constraints facing industrial associations were shortage of competent professionals and funds, legal status, relations between the government and the association, self-development, function orientation, and the administrative system. Data from their survey on these constraints revealed that the biggest one was "lack of support from the government" (72.9% of respondents), followed by "lack of funds" (62.7%) and "human resources" (42.4%). The other constraining factors were less important. They included "administrative system," "membership density," and "support from members," accounting for 10.2%, 13.6%, and 23.7%, respectively. The lack of governmental support and shortage of funds and competent professionals have become the leading constraining factors inhibiting further development of TBAs (p. 107).

TBAs in Mozambique were concerned about the quality of services offered by private firms in that country (Rebella and Carrilho 2003). Representatives of these firms have taken training courses and attended seminars in this area outside the country. Nonetheless, the private sector involvement in both the setting of standards and the provision of services to improve equality is quite limited. No consultants or consulting agencies exist that specialize in business development. Thus, it falls to firms and TBAs to give priority to activities that raise quality and to become more active in the production and implementation of activities planned jointly with National Institute of Standardization and Quality at the Ministry of Industry and Trade.

9. What are the main barriers or obstacles to TBAs?

On the organizational level, a main obstacle that TBAs face is the governmental regime. In some countries, TBAs share this fate with professional associations, as Moore and Salloukh (2007) found in their historical analyses of Jordan, Kuwait, and Syria. In post-Mao China, TBAs have been described by a dualism of

cooperation and opposition (Pearson 1994).TBAs, though hardly autonomous under state oversight, have been growing in prominence and also becoming increasingly adversarial in representing their industrial interests. The Farmer's Professional Association (Shen et al. 2006) exemplifies this trend.

Porter (1998) has identified another important obstacle to the effectiveness of trade associations, one that is inherent in them. He notes that

> in the past, collective action in the private sector has focused on seeking government subsidies and special favors that often distort competition. But executives' long-term interests would be better served by working to promote a higher plane of competition. They can begin by rethinking the role of trade associations. (p. 88)

These entities often do little more than lobby the government, compile some statistics, and host social functions. They are missing an important opportunity, because they have become set in their ways.

Porter holds that TBAs are capable of providing forums for the exchange of ideas and focal points for collective action in overcoming obstacles to productivity and growth. TBAs can take the lead in such activities as establishing university-based testing facilities and training or research programs; collecting cluster-related information; offering forums on common managerial problems; investigating solutions to environmental issues; organizing trade fairs and delegations; and managing purchasing consortia.

10. Can involvement in TBAs have negative impacts on members/participants?

The answer to this question is "Yes, they can." For example, Lenox and Nash (2003) examine four environmental self-regulatory programs run by TBAs in the chemical, textile, and pulp and paper industries. They studied a sample of over 4,000 firms within these industries, finding evidence that, in at least one self-regulation program, more polluting firms tended to join, whereas in another association, cleaner firms were more likely to join. Their findings have important implications for firm managers. On one hand, more polluting firms may seek to undermine program enforcement so as to allow their own entry and continued membership. However, any benefit they receive will probably be temporary, as their presence as polluters drives down the value of participation. On the other hand, firms with superior environmental performance should establish strict monitoring and sanctioning mechanisms. This would ensure that self-regulatory programs do not attract polluting firms that have a negative effect on the value of TBA membership. Cleaner, less polluting firms gain from preventing adverse selection into self-regulatory programs.

In another example of negative impact, Bresser (1988) discusses some possibilities for combining collective and competitive strategies. Combinations can be problematic, however, if competitive intentions are disclosed through the information links resulting from these strategies. Thus TBAs provide member organizations with special services at low costs. For instance, they may distribute trade statistics, provide credit references on customers, offer legal and technical advice, or help collect bills. In addition, these associations can aid in removing decision-making uncertainty stemming from interdependence. Since trade statistics generally include prices quoted in recent sales transactions as well as cost developments, member organizations have the opportunity to coordinate their market behavior and thus implement a collective strategy.

Nevertheless, the dissemination of statistical information provided by TBAs may have the *negative impact* of undermining the desire of focal organizations to maintain secrecy regarding their competitive strategies. While firms are often in favor of price and cost reporting activities, they run the risk that other sensitive information about their competitive strategies may also be revealed. TBAs sometimes analyze industry trends regarding product development or marketing strategies, thereby allowing competitors to anticipate each others' moves. Moreover, a focal organization may have little control over the kind of information being disseminated, because trade associations are often dominated by a few powerful organizations.

11. How are TBAs different from other types of volunteering and associations?

Park (1987) found in South Korea an important difference separating TBAs from other types of voluntary associations, namely, the substantial levels of governmental control of these groups. A singular peak or comprehensive association of business exists in the Korean Chamber of Commerce and Industry, which provides for the compulsory membership of businesses in the chamber. The most influential business organization is the Federation of Korea Industry, whose membership is strictly limited to big enterprises and its leadership positions occupied by a tiny circle of the richest businessmen. The interests of small businesses are supposed to be represented by the Small and Medium Industry Cooperatives. All TBAs are extremely susceptible to governmental manipulation, and they spend most of their energies reacting to various drafts prepared by the government rather than initiating their own policies. TBA leaders are occasionally consulted in the decision phase of the policy process, but their effective ability to initiate rational policy is viewed somewhat contemptuously by governmental policy-makers.

Park (1987) says that many big businessmen have other channels through which they can influence the government: personal relationships, power brokering, outright corruption, and political contributions to politicians or the

ruling party. In the professional sector, relatively prestigious or highly income groups such as medical doctors, accountants, lawyers, and pharmacists have created their own associations without help from government, and these have been financially independent and autonomous in their activities. But, for relatively alienated and lower income professionals such as artists, writers, educators, and news writers, their associations were created on the initiative of government and rely heavily on it for their finances. They are usually led by people acceptable to government.

Park (1987) then turns to the peasant/small farming sector where the only nationally organized association for general peasant interests is the Federation of Agricultural Co-operatives (FAC), and approximately 93% of the peasants are members of co-ops. The FAC was designed to provide services rather than to represent peasant interests before the government. Basically, the FAC has four functions: collective sales, collective purchase, credit service, and technical advice, guidance, and education. The FAC is operated as a governmental agency, and the government supervises its organizational activities. About 70% of its budget depends on borrowing from the government. Moreover, all co-operative leaders at each level are appointed by the president of FAC, who is appointed by the government. Apropos this cozy arrangement, the Korean Catholic Peasant Association and the newly organized Christian Peasant Association are not favorably viewed by government and are at least indirectly repressed. Their memberships are small, but they sometimes attract national attention because of their ability to create and gain attention to political issues.

12. How are TBAs related to public policy?

East Asia provides numerous examples of TBAs helping to expand and deepen government policy changes, such as infrastructure innovation, property rights protection, and even reduction of government corruption (Doner and Schneider 2000). For instance, in the 1970s, the Thai Gem and Jewelry Traders Association successfully took the initiative to reduce government corruption in one of its operation cycles. The Philippines offers another positive example. Here business associations such as the Philippine Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Makati Business Club are actively influencing national economic reforms (Mikamo 2013).

The New Zealand Wool Brokers Association has become a prominent policy player in its own country (Ville 2007). On the individual level, Menon and Daftary (2011) found that, compared with membership in social associations, involvement in unions, civic associations, and professional groups was positively related to individual political activity in both Brazil and India.

In his study of Yantai, China, Foster (2001) found that under authoritarian rule there, TBAs provided opportunities for a segment of the business community to gain significant power over the general population of firms and develop close ties with state leaders. After conducting surveys of large

companies in China about their lobbying strategies on national government economic policies, Deng and Kennedy (2010) concluded that the TBAs are less active compared with the large companies, but apparently more influential. The authors contrast the lobbying behavior (information strategy, public relations strategy, trust-building strategy) and lobbying targets (e.g., State Council Agencies, local government) of the large companies and national TBAs. Both the large companies and the national business associations believed they have a substantial effect on Chinese public policy.

After studying the industrial associations in Wenzhou, Yu, Zhou, and Jiang (2012) found that there are three primary channels used by TBAs to participate in making public policy. Two are formal and one is informal. Policy participation primarily involves policy advocacy and formal participation in the policy-making process.

In Japan, Schaede (2000) found two types of TBAs: peak and core. A core association is the central group for a narrowly defined industry at either the national or regional level. A peak association is the umbrella organization, or federation, for several core associations on the national level or in a more broadly defined industry. Japanese TBAs are separated into associations dominated by large companies, and cooperatives consisting exclusively of small and medium-sized enterprises. The umbrella organization, headed by Keidanren and the large industry federations, are in charge of overall business representation in the policy-making process. They represent business interests through three primary routes: *shingikai* (government deliberation councils) participation; informal interest group pressure on politicians and bureaucrats; and contributions to political campaigns. At the level of core associations and cooperatives, the primary associational function lies in the economic and regulatory realm (p. 67). The informality of Japanese policy-making is often assumed to be much more extensive than in Western countries. A more informal way to influence politics is through personal contacts with regulators and politicians (p. 61).

Clearly, effective influence on government with reference to a TBA's mandate is desirable for the association. Depending on the society and its culture, this can be achieved in a variety of ways, among them helping to expand and deepen government policy changes, such as innovations in infrastructure, protection of property rights, and reduction of government corruption. Lobbying pressure on politicians and contributions to political campaigns are some of the other means of TBA influence.

15. What theories or models of TBAs exist?

Two major and opposing approaches can be identified here. One is Olson's (1965) rent-seeking motivation of coalitions, where individuals cooperate to selfishly advantage only themselves. This approach emphasizes individual opportunism. There is an alternative approach set out by Doner and Schneider

(2000), who stress the ability of TBA activity to resolve collective action problems.

Seen from the above-mentioned studies on TBAs in East Asian countries (primarily China, Japan, and Korea), most of the authors use corporatism and civil society to explain state–society relations or criticize their limitations. Besides these two dominant theories or models, some studies (e.g., Foster 1996, 2001, 2002) use an institutional perspective. The latter may someday be shown to have the greatest explanatory power.

E. Usable knowledge

Issues 6, 8, 9, and 10 contain information that may be considered usable knowledge for readers of this chapter. In this regard, Schneider and Doner (2000) identified four conditions necessary for a TBA's success both to sustain itself and to be a powerful player in the policy arena. These are stable membership, essential selective benefits, established membership connections, and healthy membership–staff relations. In Issue 8, we observed that it falls to firms and TBAs to give priority to activities that raise quality and to become more active in the production and implementation of activities.

In Issue 9, Porter enjoins TBAs to rethink their role. These entities often do little more than lobby the government, compile some statistics, and host social functions. But having become set in their ways, they are missing an important opportunity. Porter holds that TBAs are capable of providing forums for the exchange of ideas and focal points for collective action in overcoming obstacles to productivity and growth. Associations can take the lead in such activities as establishing university-based testing facilities and training or research programs; collecting cluster-related information; offering forums on common managerial problems; investigating solutions to environmental issues; organizing trade fairs and delegations; and managing purchasing consortia.

Nevertheless, the dissemination of statistical information provided by TBAs may have the negative impact of undermining the desire of focal organizations to maintain secrecy regarding their competitive strategies (Issue 10). While firms are often in favor of price and cost reporting activities, they run the risk that other sensitive information about their competitive strategies may also be revealed. TBAs sometimes analyze industry trends regarding product development or marketing strategies, thereby allowing competitors to anticipate each others' moves. This is to be avoided where possible.

F. Future trends and needed research

Industrial capitalism in various free and constrained guises will likely continue to expand globally in most nations. Because of financial rewards in such

nations, TBAs of all kinds will likely also continue to proliferate in future decades. What is in some ways remarkable is the growth and effectiveness of TBAs as a distinctive form of occupational-economic association, with for-profit businesses as organizational/collective members, even in authoritarian regimes such as China or Russia. TBAs are a kind of institutional hybrid organizational form, with elements of the business sector as well as of the nonprofit sector often combined successfully.

Unlike all other major types of associations, *occupational-economic associations*, in general, and especially TBAs, in particular, as discussed in this chapter, *are ultimately focused on self-serving, for-profit goals, not on various other types of possible goals that motivate other types of associations and volunteering by their members*. This is *not* to say that member motivations and goals of all other association purposive types are purely altruistic (e.g., Smith 1981). Our point is that the self-serving, non-altruistic focus-goal-motivation is clearest and most blatant in TBAs and in occupational-economic associations more generally, as compared to most other types of associations (see Handbook Chapter 3).

Smith (1981) cogently argued that *all volunteering involves some self-serving motivations, and the same can be said for all associations and association types*. What varies is the *degree* of self-serving versus collective, other-serving (unselfish, altruistic) motivation and its implementation versus *lip service* (mere talk). This aspect of volunteer motivation and association goals needs much more research across all association purposive/goal types.

More generally, much more research is needed on the internal structure and processes/operations of TBAs and how these factors affect external relations, especially with government, but also with other businesses. In particular, research reviewed here suggests that we need to know much more about the extent to which TBAs can be and are independent of government in various nations, and why this is or is not the case. Some TBAs, especially very large, wealthy, or peak associations, are not independent of their national governments, even in non-authoritarian nations. While more frequent in nations practicing corporatism (see Handbook Chapter 46), such cozy dominance relationships can also occur in supposedly pluralist political regimes.

G. Cross-references

Chapters 3, 8, 20, 21, 39, 46, 47, and 48.

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20

Participation in Worker Cooperatives

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A. Introduction

This chapter discusses different models of worker cooperatives ranging from those that are predominantly economic associations, or a form of employee ownership, to those that are more collectivist and emphasize workplace democracy, community commitment, and cooperative ideals. Worker cooperatives that focus upon employee ownership are primarily a variation of a business corporation; worker cooperatives with a more collectivist orientation are primarily a form of cooperative, but with members who are employees rather than consumers of a service or primary producers such as farmers. More recently, hybrid arrangements have been created that integrate a worker cooperative within a business corporation and a cooperative, a multi-stakeholder cooperative or social cooperative. Takeovers of abandoned investor-owned businesses resulting in worker cooperatives are a growing phenomenon in South America.

At first glance, it may seem odd to include a chapter about worker cooperatives within a Handbook on Volunteering, Civic Participation, and Nonprofit Associations, but there are commonalities. Worker cooperatives are member associations, and generally involve high levels of member participation in decision-making, probably more than the norms for nonprofit membership associations. Worker cooperatives are close to the subset of nonprofits that earn their revenues from selling their services in the marketplace. In addition, worker cooperatives must adhere to the first cooperative principle of the International Cooperative Alliance (ICA) – *voluntary* and open membership – and must be open to workers willing to accept, voluntarily, the responsibilities of membership.

As will be seen in the discussion of the worker cooperative models under Key Issues, there are differing worker cooperative models ranging from those without share capital, which have the character of a nonprofit, to those with share capital, that are analogous to a business partnership. Most worker cooperatives fall between these extremes, with some characteristics of a nonprofit, particularly democratic decision-making, and some characteristics of a business.

B. Definitions

In addition to the definitions in the Handbook Appendix, which are suitable for this chapter, we add the key concept of worker cooperative. *A worker cooperative, also referred to as a labor-managed firm* (Vanek 1977)*, is a voluntary association of employees who own the cooperative and operate it democratically*. The employees who belong to the cooperative are its members with one vote each, like citizens in a political democracy (Ellerman 1990). A worker cooperative is an anomaly that differs from the predominant arrangements for cooperatives based either upon consumers of a service (see Chapter 21) or upon producers, typically farmers. In both consumer cooperatives and producer cooperatives, the employees normally have a conventional employment relationship with the cooperative and usually are not members. In a worker cooperative, in contrast, the employees are members and responsible for the firm's governance (Hansmann 1996).

Consumer cooperatives (see Handbook Chapter 21) have had greater appeal because they demand much less from members than a worker cooperative. In a consumer cooperative, members typically pay a nominal fee to join, norms for participation are minimal, and members can choose to purchase the service elsewhere. Worker cooperative members experience a form of double jeopardy: their job is tied to the firm's success, and they may have a financial stake that is at risk. Therefore, exiting may be difficult (Dow 2003). In addition, members of a worker cooperative are expected to make time commitments that are in excess of the normal job requirements through participating in committees, the annual general meeting, and possibly serving on the board of directors; these can thus be additional voluntary activities linked to membership in a worker cooperative.

A worker cooperative also differs from the predominant business arrangement based upon the sovereignty of private property, often in the form of shares, and which seldom engages employees in strategic management. When a business practices democracy, it is usually limited to decisions specific to the employees' workspace and is referred to as participatory management or workers' participation (Bayat 1991). These arrangements differ from a worker cooperative, which typically engages the employee-members in the strategic direction of the firm, including decisions about expansion, asset sales, closure, and election of the board of directors from among their group.

C. Historical background

Informal worker cooperatives have existed from the early 1800s in the United Kingdom and France, but the Rochdale Co-operative Manufacturing Society, a cotton mill started in Rochdale, England, in 1854, is believed to be the first

formal worker cooperative. Since then, the need for private capital has proven to be a major challenge in developing worker cooperatives, particularly in more capital-intensive sectors. This issue was noted by the early 20th-century cooperative theorist, Beatrice Potter (2004). This problem influenced the international cooperative movement to emphasize consumer cooperatives rather than worker cooperatives.

Worker cooperatives were also formed in North America in the latter part of the 19th century. The Knights of Labor, an influential labor confederation, was active in organizing worker cooperatives for their members in the 1880s (Kealey and Palmer 1987). In the United States, Leland Stanford, who made a fortune in the railroad business and served as the governor of California and as a US senator, unsuccessfully put forward a bill in 1886 to create a legal framework for incorporating worker cooperatives and later endowed Stanford University to promote cooperatives and worker ownership (Altenberg 1990).

The worker cooperative also had an early history in France, inspired by the Paris Commune of 1871, which led to worker takeovers of abandoned firms, a practice which has recurred periodically, especially during times of economic downturns or political instability (Bayat 1991; Vieta 2013, 2014).

In Russia, the abolition of serfdom in 1861 and some civil reforms by the tsarist government directly stimulated peasant credit cooperatives and had an important influence on the creation of worker cooperatives, other forms of cooperatives and voluntary associations. In the period following the failed attempt to overthrow the tsar (1905), enthusiasm for developing cooperatives spread. By 1917, just prior to the Russian Revolution, there were an estimated 63,000 cooperatives in Russia with 24 million members (Fain 1998). About 780 of these were worker cooperatives. The first worker cooperatives appeared even before the abolition of serfdom, but their greatest development was early in the 20th century in the processing of agricultural products (e.g., butter-making, cheese and potato processing, and flax milling). Worker cooperatives continued to grow, and by 1932, there were estimated to be 18,600 with about 1.6 million members including forest products and fishing (Fain, 1998).

The late 19th and early 20th centuries represented the first wave of worker cooperatives. A second wave emerged, more international in scope, starting in the 1970s, eventually including countries in Europe (especially in the south), Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Uruguay, United States, Canada, and India (Shaffer 1999). Many factors have given rise to the second wave, including the idealism of the 1960s and 1970s in Western democracies, Perestroika in the former Soviet Union, deteriorating economic conditions in countries such as Argentina, and the publicity received by the striking success of the Mondragón Cooperative Corporation in the Basque Region of Spain (discussed in the next section).

D. Key issues

In this section, we discuss five models of worker cooperatives, followed by the circumstances through which they originate and then other key issues that flow from the discussion.

1. Five worker cooperative models

(a) Model 1: Share-capital worker coop

This is the oldest arrangement for worker cooperatives and it requires that the members purchase shares, though there is only one vote per member. In share-capital cooperatives, outgoing members normally sell their shares to incoming members at a price determined by the market. In a successful company, the purchase price for incoming members can become very high. Therefore, these co-ops can have difficulty recruiting new members and often either become either dependent on hired labor or are sold to private owners (Ben-Ner 1984; Ellerman 1990). Therefore, this model is vulnerable to the market forces that imperil a business and also vulnerable to the consequences of success. The degeneration of a firm into a dependence upon hired labor or its sale is most likely if a group of the members coming to retirement are going to have difficulty realizing the proper value for their shares through a sale to new members. Forestry and plywood cooperatives in the United States have encountered these challenges (Greenberg 1986) as have worker cooperatives in Israel and Western Europe (Russell 1995). The use of this structure may be one reason why so few worker cooperatives are found in the United States (Artz and Kim 2011). However, if worker cooperatives are treated simply as an economic association of employee owners, there may be more advantageous models such as Employee Stock Option Plans (ESOPs). An ESOP is a trust fund analogous to a defined contribution pension plan to which retiring owners gain tax advantages for selling their company (Kruse, Freeman, and Blasi, 2010) and currently embraces about 10% of the US workforce (ESOP Association 2011). However, only a small subset of these ESOPs has a structure that approximates a worker cooperative.

(b) Model 2: Share-capital worker cooperatives with indivisible reserves

Within Europe and Latin America, adaptations to the share-capital worker cooperative have attempted to overcome the long-term weaknesses of the individual share-ownership model and have developed a model more aligned with cooperative values and less with employee ownership (Dow 2003) – a more socially and economically collective model preferred by the ICA. One solution requires that a portion of the asset value of the cooperative be collectively owned as an indivisible reserve. A certain percentage is mandatory in many European countries. In Italy, the law requires that at least 30% of annual profits be allocated to an indivisible reserve (Corcoran and Wilson

2010; Fici 2013). This arrangement allows the cooperative to keep membership entry fees at affordable levels and to have a stable core of finance that can serve as security for bank loans. Moreover, it creates the basis for employee-members' democratic control (Zevi 1990). The maintenance of an indivisible reserve has allowed Italy's cooperatives to gain tax breaks through providing a public good of jobs for future generations – a form of intergenerational solidarity. This more collective orientation can also be seen in the limited distribution constraint on dividends in Italy's worker cooperatives (an attribute recognized in the ICA principles), and the asset lock where upon dissolution the assets pass to another cooperative rather than to the members. Italian cooperatives with an indivisible reserve (called "prevalently mutualistic" cooperatives) also commit 3% of their profits into cooperative development funds and are members of local *consorzi* (consortia) that strengthen management and marketing capabilities (Fici 2013).

(c) Model 3: The Mondragón model

The Mondragón model was started in 1956 amidst desperate conditions in post-war Europe as a small firm manufacturing paraffin heaters. This is *the major* example of a group of worker cooperatives, which has evolved into a mid-level transnational corporation, the Mondragón Cooperative Corporation. This Corporation had USD 19.4 billion of revenue (EUR 14.1 billion) and a workforce of more than 80,000 in 2012 (http://www.mondragon-corporation.com/eng/). Mondragón is a bifurcated arrangement: Within the Basque country, it has a cooperative structure; elsewhere, where more than two-thirds of the employees are situated, Mondragón's subsidiaries, often partnerships with other businesses, have a conventional employment arrangement without the rights of membership. Mondragón has recently introduced associate membership within its foreign subsidiaries and has introduced some of its cooperative practices, such as open information on finance, worker committees, and profit sharing.

Within the Basque country, Mondragón's structure has adapted the share-capital model to conform more to the ICA model with its collective features (Irízar and McLeod 2010; Whyte and Whyte 1988). Within the Mondragón system, the investment by new members is independent of the market value of the firm, the usual measure for share value in a share-capital cooperative, and is fixed at the equivalent of one year's salary or EUR 15,200 in 2012. This arrangement makes entry more affordable to new members. Members of the cooperative each have an account that is retained in the firm until they leave, at which point it is paid to them (or converted into an annuity). The account includes their initial investment and their accumulated share of the firm's annual net income or profits plus interest, which is usually 6%. They also receive a pension.

Normally, 70% of the annual net profit is paid to the members of the cooperative, but it is divided equally between the individual's account and a collective indivisible reserve account that represents the collective wealth of the cooperative. In addition, 20% of the annual net income is set aside immediately for the collective reserve account (which if there was a liquidation would not pass to members but would go toward public benefit). The combination of these factors has given the corporation a vast pool of wealth to invest in expansion and development.

Within the complex Mondragón corporate structure, there is a financial division – the *Caja Laboral Popular* (or *Working People's Bank*) – that shares with outside banks financing the system's development, in effect mobilizing the local population's savings. This arrangement has helped Mondragón overcome weaknesses that have plagued share-capital worker cooperatives: the availability of reasonably priced capital for expansion and the maintenance of the initial member investment at an affordable amount. The *Caja Laboral* also addresses another worker cooperative weakness – entrepreneurship – by providing venture capital for new cooperatives and technical assistance through its Entrepeneurial Division.

Other noteworthy features of Mondragón are its heavy investment in research and development through a series of research centres – Ikerlan, Ideko, and Garaia – and in education, initially through a technical school and then through Mondragón University. Like the Italian coops, Mondragón cooperatives are organized into industrial groups, which facilitate the exchange of labor. These groups are tightly linked to the overall Mondragón federal body.

Mondragón has a strong, collectivist value system of creating employment and development in the Basque country. For example, normally 10% of the net income is dedicated to an Education Fund to promote cooperatives, the cooperative university, and general community development. This amount of community contribution is staggering compared to the average corporation, where 1% is considered excellent. Mondragón is a bold and highly successful initiative in community economic development, much like the cooperative network in the Emiglia-Romagna region of northern Italy (Logue 2006). However, Emiglia-Romagna and other integrated systems of cooperatives (see Wilkinson and Quarter 1996) are based upon consumer, financial and producer cooperatives, with some large worker cooperatives; Mondragón is based upon an integrated system of worker cooperatives, with some other forms of cooperatives included. Mondragón's worker cooperative core makes it unique.

(d) Model 4: Non-share worker cooperative

Non-share worker cooperatives represent an idealization of the cooperative model – high levels of member participation and a strong collectivist orientation – that is, the anti-thesis of capitalist business. Non-share worker

cooperatives shun equity investments by members as a means of financing because of the concern that member equity creates a capitalist dynamic with greater preoccupation with share values than the conditions of work. Most non-share worker cooperatives are micro-businesses in alternative services, such as whole foods, and have a strong sustainability ethic and are often rooted in broader social movements. These organizations are democratic collectives, similar to other nonprofit collectives, and with a membership that is likely to accept wage flexibility at times of crisis.

In the United Kingdom, the non-share worker cooperative was inspired by the alternative economic and social movements in the 1970s that led to the formation of the Industrial Common Ownership Movement (ICOM). ICOM was founded in 1971, with encouragement from an eccentric industrialist and devout Quaker, Ernest Bader, who in 1951 converted his privately held chemical firm into a non-share worker cooperative called the Scott Bader Commonwealth and gave it to his employees (Hoe 1978; Quarter 2000). By 2001, when ICOM merged with Co-operatives UK, ICOM had 2,000 member cooperatives. However, that was the high point for the movement. In general, this form of organization has remained on the social margins, albeit still of great practitioner and intellectual interest.

Non-share worker cooperatives tend to be small because they finance their development through loans and retained earnings, without member equity investment and often without the benefit of indivisible reserves (Ellerman 1990). Some economic disadvantages to this approach are: the coop can be burdened with debt payments that are a financial drain; the ability to raise external financing is hindered by a lack of member investment; and a non-share structure creates a disincentive to retain the firm's earnings for modernizing equipment, because such investments become social property over which workers have no claim. In summary, the non-share worker cooperative tends to be underfinanced (Vanek 1977). Not having shares may also be unfair to the founding members because even though their labor has contributed to developing the cooperative, if they departed before the firm has earned a good income, they are unlikely to receive an appropriate financial return for their labor and would have subsidized those who entered the firm after them. However, non-share worker cooperatives emphasize their social advantages of a highly democratic and egalitarian workplace; they may view themselves as a radical collectivist organization that is part of a political movement to change the economy. To ensure this commitment, upon dissolution their assets are transferred to another cooperative.

(e) Model 5: Hybrid worker cooperatives

At first glance, a hybrid arrangement could be viewed as compromising the ideals of a worker cooperative, but there are some apparent advantages, given the

struggle of worker cooperatives to establish a presence in modern economies. There are two relevant categories of hybrids: a worker cooperative within a business corporation; and the multi-stakeholder cooperative where employees are one of several categories of people who may be members (Spear 2010). We shall discuss each of these in turn.

(i) A Worker Cooperative within a Business Corporation. This arrangement may seem unusual, but it has existed within Québec since 1985, encouraged by provincial legislation and a tax credit program. This program allows the employees of an existing company to form a worker cooperative, and then to purchase a portion of the stock and enter into an agreement with the other shareholders (Canadian Co-operative Association 2011). The employees are members of the worker cooperative and govern it according to the cooperative principle of one member/one vote. In addition, the cooperative has representation on the board normally proportional to its company stock. The worker–shareholder cooperative makes it possible for groups of employees to participate economically in larger, better financed enterprises than is usual for worker cooperatives. Some worker–shareholder cooperatives are buyouts of financially troubled companies, but most involve companies in good financial shape.

There are variations of this arrangement in Argentina (Ruggeri 2009) and in France, where a worker cooperative, known as SCOP (Société coopérative ouvrières de production), need not own a company in its entirety, but must own a minimum of 51% (Craddock and Kennedy 2006). Again, this recognizes the challenges that groups of workers have in financing ownership arrangements of any scale. However, there are also risks of degeneration and less member democracy in these arrangements (Côté 2001).

(ii) Multi-stakeholder Cooperative. One of the first initiatives of this sort was Eroski, founded in 1958 and currently the Retail Division of the Mondragón Cooperative Corporation and among the largest retailers in Spain and the south of France. Eroski has two stakeholders or membership classes: the workers and the consumers. Both in the general assembly and the board of directors, the votes are split evenly between these classes of members, but the chairperson of the board must be a consumer (Irizar and McLeaod 2010).

This hybrid arrangement has also taken root among cooperatives in social services – typically referred to as social cooperatives. In Italy, these social cooperatives have grown in popularity (Borzaga, Depedri, and Tortia, 2010; Defourny 2001), often serving people with disabilities and on the social margins. These cooperatives have a strong collectivist orientation with tight *asset lock* rules ensuring that the firm's assets are always engaged in *socially entrepreneurial* activity that meets the interests both of their multi-stakeholder members and

of the broader local community, while protecting the co-op's members during economic downturns. In the Type-B social cooperative, a unique form of state-supported *work integration* co-op, at least 30% of employee-members must consist of otherwise unemployed or unemployable people who benefit also from national insurance contribution exemptions. The co-op receives exemptions from certain taxes and the organization must focus on "programs, activities, and services related to labor force integration" (Gonzales 2010:227).

Type-A social cooperatives provide other social services such as care for children, the elderly and disabled, and immigrant integration. Most of Italy's social cooperatives also rely on member and non-member volunteers (Becchetti and Borzaga 2010). Both Type-A and Type-B social cooperatives have highly constrained distribution rights and therefore may be considered like nonprofit social enterprises, incorporated as a cooperative, with membership also open to users, volunteers, community leaders, and employees. This model, or variations of it, has been picked up in Sweden, the United Kingdom, Belgium, France, and Poland. The terminology also varies by country. For example, Québec refers to such organizations as solidarity cooperatives (*les coopératives de solidarité*; Girard 2008); in France, they are referred to as SCIC (Société coopérative d'intérêt collectif).

2. How worker cooperatives originate

Worker cooperatives originate in differing ways, the most common being a start-up of a new enterprise via *social entrepreneurship*, which includes collective risk sharing and workers' pooling of start-up funds (Connel 1999; Spear 2010). The challenges for worker co-op start-ups tend to be financing and, as for small businesses in general, surviving the early years in a highly competitive market and drawing a decent income for the members (Ben-Ner and Jones 1995; Sauser 2009).

Worker buyouts of failing firms are another way that worker co-ops emerge. They often generate more publicity than start-ups, particularly if the firm is high profile – as in the case of Chicago's former Republic Windows and Doors. This buyout resulted through a workers' occupation and conversion to the New Era Windows worker co-op (Alperovitz 2011). Buyouts also draw publicity if many jobs or the survival of an entire community is at stake (Jensen 2011, 2012), as has been the case recently in Italy, France, Spain, Greece, and Argentina. But buyouts are more precarious than planned start-ups, because businesses fail for a reason, and often the workers have to take large wage sacrifices to make the business viable (McCain 1999).

Conversions of healthy companies into worker co-ops – either via a retiring owner's selling or bequeathing the firm to employees – have better prospects and come about for many reasons, including idealism by the owner (Erdal 2011) or the desire of retiring owners to see their firm continue (Quarter 2000).

Conversions of businesses into worker cooperatives have also been facilitated by ESOP legislation in the United States (Freeman 2007). The Marcora law in Italy (Legge Marcora), and the *pago único* (single payment) model and the Sociedades laborales (SALs) in Spain – where workers can draw advances on their unemployment insurance to contribute capital into a new worker cooperative or a buyout – also facilitate such conversions, specifically for transforming failed or failing capitalist businesses. In 2008 in Spain, for instance, there were 17,637 SALs providing 133,756 jobs, while Marcora law co-ops in Italy have seen a resurgence in recent years (CentroStudi 2012; Vieta, Depedri, and Carrano, Vieta, Depedri and Carrano 2016).

Perhaps the most fascinating dynamic is the worker-recuperated enterprise in Argentina (Atzeni and Ghigliani 2007; Ruggeri 2009; Vieta 2010, 2013, 2014; Vieta, Larrabure, and Schugurensky 2012), in which hundreds of businesses abandoned during the sharp economic downturn in the late 1990s and early 2000s were taken over – uninvited – by groups of employees, who struggled to save jobs and make the business successful. Over 95% of these firms have become non-share worker cooperatives, a recognized business model that facilitated restarting the business and made it possible to access some government subsidies and value-added tax exemptions on revenues (Ruggeri 2009). Only around 9% of these firms have since closed; nevertheless, they subsequently experience hardships in raising capital and renewing aging machines (Rebón 2007; Ruggeri 2010). Although there have in recent years been reforms to Argentina's bankruptcy laws, which now make it easier for employees to take over troubled firms, the government still lacks consistent policies for assisting worker-recuperated firms. Given these challenges, in recent years these firms have been assisted by cooperative federations, some unions, and myriad community groups and social movements (Ruggeri and Vieta 2015).

Underscoring how worker co-ops often emerge in moments of distress (Birchall 2003, 2012 Briscoe and Ward 2005), similar experiences, but with more state support, exist in Uruguay, Brazil, Venezuela, and to lesser extents in Paraguay, Peru, Mexico, and Bolivia (Novaes 2007; Vieta and Ruggeri 2009). Older worker takeovers, dating back to the 1970s and 1980s, have also existed in Spain, France, the United Kingdom, and Italy, emerging from similar situations of market crises and severe unemployment (Jensen 2011; Paton 1989; Vieta et al. 2016). And, as direct responses to the lingering post-2008 crisis, most recently new worker-recuperated firms have emerged again in Southern European countries, including experiences in Serbia, Greece, and Turkey (Jensen 2011, 2012; Vieta 2013). These are fascinating examples of grassroots-driven and social movement-affiliated worker cooperatives with strong labor struggle dimensions.

Another arrangement that leads to the development of worker cooperatives is through a government initiative, as occurred in the former Soviet

Union under Perestroika and more generally in Eastern Europe as communism collapsed (Ellerman 1990). Soon after the fall of the Soviet Union, worker cooperatives were converted mostly into conventional businesses. Examples of government initiatives are new cooperatives and cooperative-like labor-managed firms in Chavez's Bolivarian Revolution and, since 2013, with Cuba's new, "non-agricultural co-ops" in sectors such as tourism, public transport, and construction, which have been encouraged by the economic reforms of the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party (Donéstevez-Sánchez 2013; Vieta 2012; Vieta, Larrabure, and Schugurensky, 2012). It is too early to determine the outcome of the experiments in Venezuela and Cuba (Malleson 2014; Piñeiro-Harnecker 2013).

3. Why members/people participate

As can be seen from the discussion of the five models, worker cooperatives are associations of members with the common contribution of labor (Webb and Cheney 2014). But compared to most nonprofit associations, they have a greater economic emphasis. They earn their revenues from the market, though some – such as social cooperatives in Italy – also obtain government revenues, like nonprofits that function in partnership with government programs (Gonzales 2010).

Generally, worker cooperatives have high levels of member participation compared to other nonprofit associations. The financial investment by members and the link between member employment and the firm's success probably enhances member participation (Webb and Cheney 2014).

Although the motivations for joining differ, research in the United Kingdom suggests that worker cooperatives may appeal more to workers with social and political motivations (Cornforth et al. 1988). More recent research into participation in worker co-ops emerging out of moments of distress – especially from takeovers – is also suggesting that workers' strong sense of camaraderie arising from having to self-manage a firm and overcoming crises and difficulties together radicalize some workers as they informally learn to self-manage firms cooperatively "through struggle" (Vieta 2014; also see: Delahaye 2005; Jensen 2012; McCain 1999; Paton 1989). In that respect, their members' motivations to participate may be similar to members of nonprofit associations or ideologically driven collectives.

However, research undertaken in US plywood worker cooperatives gives a different perspective and suggests that the motivations are largely monetary and that the members are conservative in their orientation (Greenberg 1986), and research in Israel (Russell 1995) found that the members were very pragmatic. The difference between these findings may reflect the circumstances of these worker cooperatives. The UK study and research into workplace takeovers and conversions were undertaken with the non-share type of worker cooperatives

(model 4), a very idealistic approach that seemed to attract young activists or distressed workers threatened by job loss and permanent unemployment; the US and Israeli research was undertaken with share-capital worker co-ops, and, in the case of the plywood co-ops, with buyouts of conventional firms where they had mostly consolidated and entered a mature stage of development by the time of the research. Put simply, there does not appear to be one motivation for why members participate and the variation seems to be related to the different models that we presented above.

4. Impact of worker cooperatives

The impact of worker cooperatives varies. In countries such as Spain and Italy, their impact has been very significant. Worker cooperatives in Spain are widespread, with over 18,000, including the Mondragón Cooperative Corporation and providing 221,844 jobs (2008). Italy also has some of the largest worker cooperatives in Europe with 25 cooperative groups each having an annual turnover greater than EUR 100 million (CentroStudi 2012; Euricse 2011). In other parts of the world such as the United States and Canada, the worker cooperative is but a fringe player in the economy (Artz and Kim 2011; Quarter, Mook, and Armstrong 2009).

As noted, worker cooperatives are businesses that are normally based upon more collectivist values than conventional businesses (also see: Ben-Ner and Ellman 2013; Navarra 2010; Pérotin 2006). They function within the context of modern capitalism, but the fit is not ideal and seems not to appeal to business leaders, nor to management faculties, in most business schools (Whitman 2012). They seem not to be an ideal fit within the communist or state-controlled economies either, though there are episodic examples (Ellerman 1990; Fain 1998; Harrington 2013; Piñeiro-Harnecker 2013).

Given this lack of fit with any of the predominant ideologies, it could be argued that worker cooperatives represent a utopian ideal that is achieved by groups of determined workers in response to appropriate social conditions (Melnyk 1985). Examples include the economic despair resulting in Argentina's workplace takeovers by ex-employees, mentioned above (Atzeni and Ghigliani 2007; Ruggeri 2009; Vieta 2010; Vieta, Larrabure, and Schugurensky 2012), or the post-war destruction in the Basque region of Spain that led to the birth of the Mondragón Cooperative Corporation (Whyte and Whyte 1988). It is impossible to predict whether worker cooperatives will become more salient in the future, although increased interest in labor-managed and community-owned organizational forms might be pointing to a revival in worker cooperatives (Atzeni 2012; Alperovitz 2011; Curl 2009; Vieta 2010, 2013; Webb and Cheney 2014). There is also increased recognition that worker cooperatives and labor-managed firms show strong resilience during economic troughs, varying wages rather than furloughing worker-members, as workers express intrinsic

psycho-social benefits from owning and controlling their firms (Birchall 2003; Birchall and Kettilson 2009; Pérotin 2012). At minimum, they continue to represent an ideal to which select groups of workers subscribe and are willing to work toward.

E. Usable knowledge

Worker cooperatives vary, but their norm is an idealistic attempt at putting a democratic workplace into practice. Nonprofits struggling with issues of member participation can learn from worker cooperatives – in particular, how to engage a membership in decision-making and the experience of an employee board of directors elected by other employees.

For nonprofit housing social enterprises, worker cooperatives are a model that they could adopt. In every country, there are umbrella associations for worker cooperatives who can assist with development. An innovative model of social enterprises being structured as worker cooperatives is Common Ground, an organization in Toronto set up to employ the persons with intellectual disabilities, and operating services in catering, coffee outlets, and cleaning (Quarter, Mook, and Armstrong 2009).

Social cooperatives created in Italy also are a structure that nonprofit leaders could utilize for both social services and for creating employment opportunities for persons on the social margins. The social cooperative is analogous to a nonprofit that works with government programs and also relies heavily upon volunteers. It is an idea with legs, existing in Italy since the late-1980s and having been picked up in other parts of Europe and the world increasingly since the early 2000s; it is also an outstanding example of community mobilization. Their multi-stakeholder governance represents a model that nonprofit organizations can study and utilize, especially as they engage different constituencies on their board.

F. Future trends and needed research

It is difficult to predict whether worker cooperatives will grow in the future. At this point, they remain on the economic margins, even more so than other forms of cooperatives. Nevertheless, understanding the participative governance and the member commitment in worker cooperatives could be of value to nonprofits.

For businesses engaged in market activity, worker cooperatives demonstrate that a company that is governed by its employees can be successful in competitive markets. Possibly, this important lesson may influence the functioning of conventional businesses, especially given the interest and deployment of workplace participation models in recent decades (Cheney et al. 2010).

Another central concept for cooperatives and nonprofit associations is membership. The assumption is that membership leads to greater employee commitment, but is it membership per se or engagement in the organization? Worker cooperatives generally demand a high degree of member engagement. Recent research suggests that more engagement means more commitment to the firm (Cheney et al. 2010), more participation in the interests of surrounding communities (Pateman 1970; Pérotin 2012), and even increases in employee health and well-being (Erdal 2011; Wilkinson and Pickett 2010). The idea that members' engagement with their jobs is related to the success of their organization and to the well-being of workers and communities is tantalizing. But more longitudinal and comparative research, across regional and national boundaries and economic contexts, needs to be carried out in this regard.

Relatedly, do organizations that make greater demands of their members achieve greater commitment to the organization than organizations with nominal demands? This would be another issue worth exploring. Cooperatives and nonprofit associations generally are based upon the premise that membership involves a commitment, but does it, if the membership fee is nominal and participation is optional, as in other forms of cooperatives? By definition, and via anecdotal evidence, worker cooperatives seem to be organizational models primed for increased workers' participation and commitment. And, finally, another issue that has been barely researched and that would be worth exploring is the comparative benefits of the different models of worker cooperatives presented in this chapter.

G. Cross-references

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21

Volunteering in Consumer and Service Cooperatives

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A. Introduction

This chapter deals with consumer co-ops (co-operatives), while the preceding Chapter 20 deals with Worker Co-ops. Consumer and service co-ops basically differ from Producer/Worker co-ops by virtue of the economic relation their members have with the cooperative, as consumers versus producers or workers, and the related interests and benefits they promote. We review research on Consumer Co-op historical developments in Asia, Latin America, Europe, and North America. Other topics reviewed include activities of co-ops, origins, locations, getting involved, volunteering, sustainability, current challenges, internal organization, variations among co-ops, relations with other co-ops and national coordinating bodies, barriers to participation and effectiveness, and relations to public policy. The chapter provides definition of special terms, suggestions for usable knowledge, and ideas for future research.

Co-ops have long been regarded as a special type of organization that operates on the market, but with the aim of serving the social or cultural needs of their members rather than generating profit for investors. They are organizations that attempt to unite associative and business elements by bringing together various stakeholders and pursuing a variety of goals. They are subject to the same tensions that are inherent in all hybrid organizations and clearly illustrate the challenges of balancing various interests and pursuing multiple goals. Learning from their strengths and weaknesses is important, as many voluntary organizations today are encouraged or forced to pursue their own economic activities in order to achieve their goals and some of them attempt to become social enterprises (Defourny and Nyssens 2014).

B. Definitions

This chapter accepts the set of definitions in the Handbook Appendix.

The Appendix defines a co-operative as "a group engaged in cooperation as a process wherein a number of people collaborate in an economic activity so that all may share in the benefits of their efforts." It continues that a co-op "[u]sually has a participatory management, and functions as an association" (ibid.). Craig (1993) distinguishes between five types of cooperation: automatic, spontaneous, traditional, directed, and contractual. The latter is the prevalent form of cooperation in modern societies and is both formal and voluntary. The worldwide body for co-operatives, International Co-operative Alliance (ICA), defines co-ops as "an autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly-owned and democratically-controlled enterprise." They are based on the values of self-help, democracy, equality, equity, and solidarity. However, by combining both business and associational pursuits, they open themselves to tensions and conflicts that, if not resolved successfully, can lead to their demise.

Unfortunately, there is little dialog between scholars doing research on co-ops and researchers focusing on other types of voluntary associations. One reason for this is perhaps the dominance of economists in the American tradition of nonprofit sector research. An economic-legal emphasis on the *non-distribution constraint* usually excludes co-ops. This chapter seeks to contribute to a greater understanding of the similarities between voluntary associations, more generally, and cooperatives, particularly consumer co-ops. Moreover, co-ops normally apply a limited and fixed interest rate on member's modest shares and the annual surplus is divided according to their participation in the economic affairs of the co-op or returned as a member dividend. Furthermore, this is combined with the rule of "one member/one vote" in their internal decision-making. Taken together, these three features can successfully reduce or eliminate a profit-maximizing motive. However, social or solidarity co-operatives are nonprofit organizations in which no profits are shared. What motivates them is the delivery of services at a good price, often not only to members but also to the larger community. Today, in many countries and cases, the concept of *member* has opened to encompass all persons who contribute, in one way or another, to the operation of the co-operative (Gijselinckx 2012; Smith 1972, 2010).

C. Historical background

Because the consumer culture is a recent phenomenon in history, characterizing industrial and post-industrial societies, consumer co-ops have arisen only recently in history (beginning in the 1800s), compared to many other activity or goal types of associations. Craig (1993) discusses five stages of co-operative development from the 19th century on. Stage I, from 1817 to 1840, involved the experiments with co-operative communities by Robert Owen, William King,

and Charles Fourier. Stage II, from 1844 to World War I, was the era of spreading the ideas and model of the Rochdale weavers, who opened the first co-op shop in England in December 1844. Consumer co-ops became the dominant form of cooperation, overshadowing efforts to establish worker and housing co-ops and later agricultural co-ops.

In Stage III, from Word War I to the 1950s, agricultural, housing, and workers co-ops challenged the dominance of consumer co-ops. Then, in Stage IV, from the 1950s to the 1970s, mergers became the order of the day for consumer co-ops in industrialized countries, where many traditional consumer co-ops disappeared under heavy market pressure. Finally, in Stage V, from the 1970s to present, social service co-ops, utility co-ops, integrated producer/consumer health food co-ops, and so on increased notably in many countries. Meanwhile, during the 1990s, large multinational wholesale and retail companies expanded. These processes exacerbated the forms of competition in the retail sector and emphasized the customer–client profile instead of membership. This became a worldwide phenomenon, brought on by globalization and led co-ops to copy extensively from successful models in private enterprises that could provide greater legitimacy and cost savings. Below, we note developments in various regions.

1. An overview of consumer co-op developments in Europe

Since the inception of the co-operative movement, Europe has experienced major social, economic, and political developments that have had an impact on the attractiveness of the consumer co-operative model. Differences can be observed between different areas and countries with different political regimes, welfare state models, and civil society models, as well as different internal markets, living conditions, culture, demography, and geography. Thus, the legacy of half a century of state socialism and communism in Central and Eastern European countries had a prevailing negative influence on the development of co-operatives in those countries until recently.

The history of the consumer co-operative movement in Europe reflects a slow but steady shift from a class to a society-wide focus. The first co-operatives – established roughly from the mid- to late 19th century, such as worker, consumer, credit, and so on – were firmly tied to social movements in many European countries. In the course of the 20th century, two related developments can be observed: the weakening of class ties in traditional co-operatives, mainly due to changes in social structure, and the progressive shift from member benefits to more general social goals. Today co-operatives can cater to the needs of a whole community, such as water or electric co-operatives, credit unions, social service co-ops, and some types of agricultural co-ops. Similarly, the membership base of the older co-operatives became more and more heterogeneous (Mori 2014).

Since the 1970s, many European consumer co-operatives have disappeared, under the pressure of a highly competitive market, or they have undergone major transformations in an attempt to meet the exigencies of the market. Thus, we can see the growth of social co-operatives linked to the crisis of the welfare state that reflects citizens' progressive loss of confidence in the government and regulatory bodies in many European countries (ibid.). Also, a renaissance of co-operative awareness can be noted in some mature consumer co-operatives.

2. An overview of consumer co-op development in Asia

Most of the South and South East Asian territory was colonized in the 19th century by the European powers, while East Asia experienced a different trajectory under the pressure of Europe. The British Empire gave India the Co-operative Credit Societies Act in 1904 that became a prototype of co-operative legislation in the developing countries and had a lasting impact long after their independence, while Japan's Industrial Co-operative Act in 1900 adopted a similar top-down approach. The evolution of consumer co-operatives depended on the gradual rate of industrialization, urbanization, and formation of the working class, and they had a slow start in the overwhelmingly agrarian societies that characterized the Asian region until the 1960s.

After the 1960s, Asia revived as a major industrial power with strong governmental support. Four dragons, later labeled as NIES (newly industrialized economies; Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and South Korea), followed Japan. Then ASEAN nations took off transforming previous battlefields into markets by the export-driven industrialization. But, following the financial crisis in 1997–1998, hyper economic expansion was witnessed in China, India, and Vietnam since the 2000s.

Such an economic expansion resulted in the emergence and expansion of the working and middle classes in the region. They expressed dissent to the authoritarian governments, which were both interventionist and protectionist, and were often associated with military intervention in politics. So, citizens urged a shift to more democratic regimes, pursued political reforms either through the parliamentary channels or by mobilized demonstrations on the streets, and they succeeded in changing the political leaders in the late 1980s.

Under such circumstances, consumer co-operatives started growing in some countries. First, the Japanese co-ops increased their membership and turnover with double-digit growth since the mid-1960s. They developed a business model that combined neighborhood groups of housewives and home delivery (joint buying clubs). Housewives started the clubs to obtain pure milk for their children from reliable suppliers that later became consumer co-ops. The management skills were often provided by university co-ops, which found new

possibilities outside their campus. This housewife-centered model was copied by some movements elsewhere, like India, South Korea, and so on.

Currently, the impact of consumer co-operatives varies largely from country to country. They represent an important part of Asian food retailing and society. While the Japanese movement showcased the development based on consumer participation, its turnover stagnated in the shrinking retail market since the mid-1990s. The market share of co-ops is growing in Singapore and Vietnam, while it is stagnant or declining in other Asian countries.

3. An overview of consumer co-op developments in Latin America

European migration made a decisive contribution to the formation of institutions and national identities in Latin America. The European influence, from the colonial period until the mid-20th century, produced migratory flows whose direct presence is still noted in most Latin American countries. Consumer co-operatives began developing, foremost in countries receiving large migratory flows from Europe, such as Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, and Chile. However, today consumer co-operatives are not very important in Latin America,[1] but one trend can clearly be identified since the mid-20th century. In the Latin American countries where co-ops were most highly developed, their massive commercialization, together with repeated economic crises and aggravated inflationary processes, had a negative impact on them and generally led to a decline of the consumer co-op movement.

Due to this competitive environment and uncertain situations, co-operatives adopted isomorphic mechanisms of institutional change (Bager 1997; Birchall 2000; Bradza and Schediwy 2003), but these mechanisms undermined their identity. In Argentina and Brazil, for example, these processes led to the disappearance of many small co-operatives, leaving room for the consolidation of larger organizations (Coop in Brazil[2] and La Obrera[3] in Argentina). The influence of market logic promoted economic goals and strategies that privileged the enterprise and weakened ties among its associates and employees. In these cases, the consumer-client profile was given priority over the relationship between the co-operative and its members. Similar to the trends in other countries, particularly Europe, the case of consumer co-operatives in Latin America appears to replicate this situation.

In consumer co-operatives, the employees are mainly affiliated to the Retail Workers Union, although in some cases they may also be members of the co-op and therefore are "owners." Their relationship with co-operatives is established by collective bargaining agreements and through negotiations between their union and the co-operatives. Bargaining is generally guided by the economic information provided by the co-operative to the union. These collective bargaining agreements can set wage rates and economic benefits, and so on. However, the most important aspect of a collective agreement is job security

and good salary levels, sometimes above those of the commercial retail sector. It should be noted that when the workers are also members in the co-operative, they receive an additional compensation that comes from the distribution of the co-op's surplus.

4. An overview of consumer co-op developments in North America

Co-operatives and mutual help societies arose early in the new world in the form of mutual insurance companies starting already in the mid-1700s. A century later, farmers, miners, and urban laborers, predominantly from Northern Europe, who were familiar with co-operative models, quickly adapted them to the North American context. By the end of the 19th century, there was a wide variety of co-operatives in both countries. Expanding on their experience with agricultural co-ops, farmers organized retail grocery and clothing stores, funeral societies, and health care, utility, insurance, credit, and service co-operatives. Urban workers were most successful at organizing credit unions and housing co-operatives, particularly in New York and Quebec.

In the United States, consumer interest in co-operatives has ebbed and flowed. During the Depression of the 1930s, middle-class interest in consumer co-operatives grew rapidly, fueled by a need to save money, combined with a strong sense of disillusion with a profit-making system. In the 1930s and 1940s, the US government also played a strong role in supporting and promoting consumer co-operatives in food, housing, and utilities.

Following World War II, general prosperity, a conservative political environment, and the development of multi-store supermarkets and centralized shopping centers lured consumers away from smaller, independent retailers and co-operatives. Relatively few US retail food co-operatives survived, and those that did developed co-operative supermarkets in urban areas and were often associated with a university. However, by the mid-1990s, nearly all of them and their associated wholesale societies had failed (Fullerton 1992). Enthusiasm for co-operatives waned in the 1980s, but it revived again in the 2000s as a consequence of the Great Recession, public distrust of large multi-national corporations, repeated food safety violations, and a strong interest in developing locally sustainable communities.

Similar social, political, and economic forces impacted the Canadian consumer co-operatives, but the Canadian experience has significant differences. Two types of consumer co-operatives are unique to Canada: multipurpose and multi-stakeholder. Multipurpose co-operatives provide a wide variety of consumer goods and services, particularly among the aboriginal people of the Arctic north. They can operate a retail store, provide cable TV and local transportation services, and sell furniture and appliances. Multi-stakeholder co-ops are found primarily in Quebec and often provide social services. Their members include consumers, workers, and others who support the goals of the

co-op. Retail goods, leisure, transportation, and communication co-ops are among the more than 500 multi-stakeholder co-ops in the province.

By the 1960s, Canadian retail consumer co-operatives had become a major force in many communities, had a national presence, influenced both provincial and national legislation on behalf of co-operatives and had strong educational, technical, and intellectual support from numerous universities. However, their influence in most provinces declined over the past 50 years as a result of competition from better capitalized multinational corporations, shifting consumer loyalties, new technologies, and, recently a more conservative political environment.

D. Key issues

Consumer co-operatives face a number of key issues or challenges that will determine whether they survive and thrive or face gradual demise. These issues are related to their hybrid character: being at once a member organization and an enterprise, having both social and economic objectives. The two main schools concerning the development and future of consumer co-ops reflect their dilemma as hybrid organizations. According to the associational or democratic school (see Böök 1992; Craig 1993; Pestoff 1991, 2012, among others), co-operatives are primarily associations that pursue social goals by economic means. In the business school (see Birchall 1999; Birchall and Simons 2001, 2004; Gijselinckx 2012, among others), co-operatives are mainly business firms that have some unique social and associational features. Both these interpretations were included in a recent volume called *The Co-operative Model in Practice: International Perspectives* (McDonnell and Macknight 2012). The associational school focuses on the role of co-operatives as membership associations in a rapidly changing world, their members dramatically changing needs and the need to strategically balance various stakeholders and goals (Pestoff 2012). The business school considers co-operatives as a "member-owned business" that need to modernize and professionalize in order to meet the growing competition from private firms (Birchall 2012).

We will briefly note some key issues facing the consumer co-ops before turning to important generic issues for better understanding co-ops as voluntary associations. The first set of key issues and challenges facing the consumer co-ops in various parts of the world is related to their unique identity as organizations that attempt to combine associative and business elements. This is reflected in (1) tensions between the associative and business parts of the co-ops or the logic of cooperation and the logic of bureaucratic organizations. When they come into conflict, the latter often squeezes out the former. This leads to a loss of co-op identity, declining member participation, less solidarity with the co-op movement, and eventually a loss of business. This, in turn, is related

to (2) mobilizing members by facilitating and expanding their participation in all parts of the co-op, on both the associational and business sides, which, in turn, reflects (3) the relationship between the members and the management of co-ops. This can be seen in attempts at (4) promoting innovations of organizational structure to facilitate communications and promote greater membership participation. Furthermore, this is also seen in (5) expanding the relationship with employees, perhaps even turning consumer co-ops into multi-stakeholder organizations; as well as (6) how should co-ops best account for their economic and social responsibility, and finally (7) women's changing gender roles as housewives, consumers, activists and board members, and so on.

A second set of issues is related more closely to economic and financial aspects of co-operatives. It concerns (8) financing operational capital, investments, as well as (9) realizing economies of scale and other advantages, for example in co-operative networks and second (or even third) tier co-operatives. This emphasizes the challenges mentioned above, since it stretches the relationship between members and management in decision-making structures.

A final set of issues is related to cooperation with various organizations in their environment. Here it is important to consider (10) relations between the established and newer forms of consumer co-ops, including health and social service co-ops, energy and utility co-ops, ecological food co-ops, joint production and consumption co-ops, and so on; and also (11) promoting greater cooperation among and between co-ops of all kinds; and (12) relations with other types of voluntary associations and nonprofit organizations, including worker co-ops, labor unions, social enterprises, social movement organizations, and nonprofit agencies.

Today issues of sustainability and climate change are very important for the future of consumer co-ops. They need a holistic view of sustainability based on three pillars: economy, society, and environment. The engagement of a co-operative and especially of its members in this direction can help to ensure that all three relevant aspects are taken into consideration. Sustainable consumption and production are key objectives, especially since 2009, when the European Community of Consumer Co-operatives (EuroCoop)[4] engaged in a program of action against climate change. Thus, the common European framework can help reinforce previous initiatives of co-operatives at a national level.

Many consumer co-ops have in fact intensified their efforts to source more goods bearing sustainability certifications in the areas of ecological production; sustainable fishing; organic farming, and sustainable managed forests. The Co-operative Identity Working Group of EuroCoop (2013) emphasizes bio- and eco-production as a way to answer sustainability and climate change issues and meet new members' motives and values, particularly for younger persons whose basic needs are fulfilled.

1. What does consumer co-op volunteering involve and where does it take place?

The extent of volunteering in consumer co-ops remains uncertain. According to the best of our knowledge, there are no official, public or private directories, lists, registries, or online databases that include most consumer co-ops. EuroCoop does have an overview of consumer co-ops, primarily in retail, for some countries. In 2011, there were 5,138 consumer co-ops in 18 countries throughout Europe, with nearly 27.4 million members (EuroCoop 2011). The Japanese Consumer Co-operative Union (JCCU) served 590 consumer co-ops with 26.7 million members in 2011; however, only a minority of its members are active as volunteers. Member participation in more than economic terms (as a customer) is a key challenge for Japanese consumer co-operatives.

2. Challenges of co-op participation

More important for participation than size is the nature of the co-operative endeavor. While participation appears low in many traditional retail co-operatives, it is normally much higher in new co-operatives operating in the fields of energy, organic food, and Fair Trade and social services. Thus, European consumer co-operatives face a difficult challenge to renew their membership. In particular, young people are not necessarily attracted by formal participation, except for economic rewards and dividends. However, informal participation opportunities provide a major tool to attract younger members and promote innovative forms of informal and tailored participation. This might lead to a renewal in formal participation (EuroCoop 2011).

Members' participation nowadays appears more stimulated by personal values and motives than satisfying their basic needs, although some differences can be observed. Thus, in countries experiencing severe economic crisis, such as Greece, we now find cooperation between producers and consumers as a response to urgent basic food needs. Moreover, members' motives have shifted over time: formal participation was more easily understood by members until the 1980s; but starting in the 1990s, new members seemed more interested in issues like Fair Trade, environmental issues and climate change, locally sourced products, and so on (EuroCoop 2011).

(a) Participation in decision-making: voting

EuroCoop notes that there is no clear correlation between size and participation in Europe. Some mass-membership co-operatives suffer from very low participation, for example, Coop Italia, while others have more voting members, for example, the SOK in Finland. Equally, members in some small co-operatives may be very committed, like the CCU in Bulgaria, while others are less active, like Fenacoop in Portugal.

(b) Elected members (sitting on boards and committees)

Through a process of amalgamations in the 1980s and 1990s, many elected offices simply disappeared. Not surprisingly, the average age of elected officers is high: for example, in Sweden it is 62 years, in the United Kingdom it is 56 years (EuroCoop 2011). However, education and training of elected members is crucial for good governance of a co-operative, and it also provides an incentive to potential candidates, as they feel more confident to participate if there is a support system available to them (EuroCoop 2011).

3. What does volunteering in consumer co-ops involve?

Birchall and Simons argue that there are three types of participation in co-operatives (Birchall 1988, 1999; Birchall and Simmons 2001, 2004). They are: (a) taking part in decision-making of the co-op; (b) carrying out tasks that further the co-op's aims; and (c) taking part in the social life of the co-op. We will consider each of them briefly.

(a) Taking part in the decision-making of the co-op encompasses active participation in formal and informal structures and chains of decision-making. This is voluntary and (often) without remuneration. It can also involve participation in the board of directors, a committee of control, other advisory committees, user groups, attending the Annual General Meeting (AGM), and the General Assembly. Sometimes there are also informal decision-making structures.

(b) Carrying out tasks that further the co-operative aims involves all kinds of unpaid services that members can volunteer for. Particularly in small co-ops, this is often crucial to the organizations' survival, but even in larger co-ops it can be important as a supplement to paid work. These tasks can involve co-production of the services provided to/with members. Numerous examples can be found, like in housing co-operatives where tenants/members are involved in the management of their homes; in health-care co-ops where beneficiaries or their families volunteer in the co-operative facilities; child care co-ops where parents offer support in terms of logistics, administration, practical support at peak hours; co-operative village shops where members voluntarily work at the shop or take care of the transport of the products to the village; or it can be an active contribution to the social activities arranged by the co-op in order to create a wider sense of community (Birchall 1988, 1999; Birchall and Simmons 2001, 2004).

4. Who starts consumer co-ops, how, and why?

Traditional consumer co-ops were established in general and specialist retailing, housing, pharmaceutical distribution, and insurance. More recently, consumer co-ops have been established in utilities, especially sustainable energy, telecom

and water, education and social and health care. Co-operative village shops and community co-operatives are set up in order to meet local needs, particularly in remote areas. However, one important difference can be observed between the traditional and newer coops. The traditional co-ops tend to be established by local elites, often from the labor movement, that set up co-ops *for* the people. Newer co-ops are often established *by* the people themselves, whether organized in civil society organizations, or in informal groups. Elsewhere the state may even promote the establishment of consumer coops, as often is the case in China.

Consumer coops, as other coops, are usually borne out of necessity, when market or government failures are observed and a vacuum needs to be filled (Van Dijk and Klep 2005). However, to get people involved, it is important to have (or develop) a strong sense of community, shared values, and shared aims (Birchall 1999; Simmons and Birchall 2005). Thus, in Greece and other European countries facing severe crises, many social ventures have been developed bottom-up to create local or national exchange markets based on virtual currencies, co-ops, fair trade unions, social health clinics, social schools, and many more. In Japan, a similar phenomenon is found in the Sanchoku model.

5. Who gets involved as volunteers and leaders of consumer co-ops?

In co-operatives, members are involved as volunteers and leaders, although in large-scale co-ops professional management is often engaged. An overview of research on this topic provides a detailed classification of theories about membership and volunteering in co-operatives. They include: (a) mutual incentives theory that combines individual and collective motivations; (b) a synthesis of sociological and political science theories; (c) an individual focused approach of social exchange theory, benefits, habits, costs, satiation, and opportunity costs; (d) a collective focus based on theories of social cooperation, sense of community, shared values, shared goals, the participation chain; (e) resource-based theories; (f) mobilization theories; and (g) a combination of theories about motivations and mutual incentives (Birchall 1999; Birchall and Simmons 2001, 2004; Simmons and Birchall 2005).

6. What motivates and triggers individual involvement?

Informal and formal participation are usually intertwined, as informal participation often precedes formal participation. Informal participation enables consumer-members to become aware of being part of a co-operative community of people, through which they are able to solve problems important to them by their combined effort (EuroCoop 2011).

7. How are consumer co-ops organized?

Consumer co-operatives take different legal forms in different countries, depending on whether national laws recognize their unique role and provide

a special status to them. Their core characteristics are that they are member owned, member controlled, and they benefit their members. They are usually registered under national laws, with the exception of joint purchase associations or groups that are often not incorporated. They often enjoy tax exemptions, with different regimes in different countries. Their meetings comprise an Annual General Meeting once a year, board meetings, and meetings of various committees more frequently. They must balance the interests of several stakeholders, in order to survive on the market. Thus, they often strive to promote efficiency, where the leading principle is the lowest price for the best quality products. Moreover, professionalism is growing in co-ops, and large co-ops often employ professional management that, at least in theory, is controlled by the members.

8. How else do consumer co-ops vary systematically?

They vary from very small local village co-ops to large co-op conglomerates with more than USD26.8 billion turnover. These large co-ops are organized around local co-op societies, where member participation and volunteering is organized – often multi-stage in decision-making. Their revenues come mainly from the market. Social and health-care co-ops, as well as co-ops tackling poverty and social exclusion, also receive government grants or public tenders for providing such services. They also receive private gifts and donations, but also rely on voluntary work by members.

9. What are the main barriers or obstacles to consumer co-ops and their members/volunteers?

The lack of knowledge about co-operatives, what they are, and how they function comprises a major hurdle. Few colleges or universities anywhere in the world provide courses on co-operatives, how they are organized, and what they do, in spite of the popularity they share among some academics. Robert Dahl often mentioned worker co-ops when discussing democracy, while Robert Putnam (1993) used credit unions as a major illustration of the role of civil society in promoting sustained economic, political, and social development. Unfortunately, few academic conferences, even among specialists in the third sector, include streams or panels on co-operatives. However, the ICA, CIRIEC, and the European EMES[5] research network held international research conferences in recent years that help to gradually spread knowledge about co-operatives and social enterprises, particularly to younger scholars.

In Central and Eastern European countries, the legacy of communism and state-socialism weighs heavy on co-operatives of all sorts and has resulted in reduced trust in most collective enterprises, including co-operatives. In other parts of Europe, the image of co-operatives is often considered old-fashioned, although this appears to be changing in times of crises and financial turmoil.

10. How are consumer co-ops and their members/volunteers related to public policy?

In the United Kingdom, the Co-operative and Labour Party fielded candidates in General Elections and held seats in Parliament for most of the 20th century. For several decades, the Swedish consumer co-ops were a mainstay of the Swedish government's active consumer policy, similar to its active labor policy, supported by trade unions. However, when Sweden joined the European Union, it abandoned this policy and the consumer co-ops no longer have a privileged position in terms of consumer policy today.

E. Usable knowledge

1. Historically, consumer co-ops developed in conjunction and harmony with their environment. Their roots are often found in the urban/industrial working class and they developed in close collaboration with the labor movement and other working-class organizations in many parts of the world. However, during the past 150 years, society has also changed significantly, so today consumer co-ops must learn to adapt to major social changes, broaden their social base, and develop new allies and skills to meet new challenges and opportunities of tomorrow. As retail commerce becomes more competitive, they must consider re-orientating their retail business in order to address their members and societies' changing needs and values for sustainable consumption. Consumer co-ops should learn how to promote co-operative solutions to major social needs and citizens' growing dependence on welfare services, such as education, childcare, elder care, handicap care, health care, and so on. This will help them meet their members' needs and interests, as well as those of other citizens. Voluntary organizations also need to develop strategies for adapting and adjusting to major social changes in their environment in order to thrive and survive.

2. Consumer co-ops are hybrid organizations with multiple and sometimes conflicting goals and stakeholders. They must learn to balance them in order to thrive and survive. Today, many voluntary organizations are attempting to expand their economic base in order to pursue their goals. However, they could gain many insights into the benefits and risks of becoming hybrid organizations. They could, therefore, learn some valuable lessons by studying how the consumer co-ops succeeded or failed to balance various interests as hybrid organizations.

3. Consumer co-ops must successfully balance their associational and commercial interests in a fashion as not to lose their unique social and democratic identity and values. Today, when many voluntary organizations are trying to develop new economic sources of income and become social enterprises, they too must learn to balance their traditional associational and newly won

commercial interests, in a fashion as not to lose their unique social identity and retain the support of their members.

F. Future trends and needed research

The worldwide trend is toward bigger, but fewer, consumer co-ops in most countries, which is seen as an answer to economic exigencies. A loss of cooperative identity in the future is likely if this trend is not combined with innovative organizational structures for effective member participation and reflexive renewal of the co-operative identity by members and management alike. Organizational democracy and business efficiency need to be balanced, amplifying the commitment of co-operative social responsibility to articulate an integrated vision (ecological, economical, and social) that responds to the current challenges and reaffirms its co-operative identity. This invites them to think about the roots of the co-operative in their local environment and as a key element to its future development. In order to build a cohesive culture, for mature co-operatives, it was previously necessary to reference and actualize the historical purposes of the organization whose legitimacy is obvious. The need to strengthen organizational effectiveness requires an awareness of co-operative identity and an ability to act like a democratic organization of consumers (Böök 1992; Craig 1993; Pestoff 1991, 2012).

With regard to needed research, we suggest the following:

1. We need more research on the unfolding transformation from an industrial to a service society and what consumer co-ops can do to promote their members changing needs under these changing circumstances? How can the co-op model provide a valuable economic opportunity to voluntary organizations in order to promote their members interest?
2. In the changing welfare mix, how can consumer co-ops promote and assist their members to become co-producers of long-term welfare services that the latter use on a daily basis? Co-production is the mix of efforts from public sector professionals and citizens who use such services. How can consumer co-ops promote collective and democratic solutions to the changes between the state and its citizens, and thereby promote a viable co-operative alternative to rapid commercial privatization of welfare services seen in many countries today?
3. We need large sample studies that include both volunteers in consumer co-ops as well as participants in regular voluntary associations, focusing on the differences in motivations and other influences on why individuals volunteer. The comprehensive S-Theory discussed in Handbook Chapter 31 should be applied in this effort.

G. Cross-references

Chapters 17, 20, and 44.

Notes

1. Today there are only 123 consumer co-operatives in Brazil and 47 in Argentina, or only about 2% of existing co-operatives.
2. The largest consumer co-operative in Latin America was created in 1950 for the purpose of selling products to employees working in a textile company. The co-operative has 1,600,000 members and 28 stores located in São Paulo, Brazil.
3. In 1920, the consumer co-operative was created by workers trying to avoid intermediaries and speculation on the price of bread. The co-operative has 1,017,314 members and 90 stores located within several provinces.
4. Created in 1957, the European Community of Consumer Co-operatives, Euro Coop, represents more than 4,500 local and regional co-operatives which are based on 29 million consumers-members across 18 European countries (website: www .eurocoop.coop).
5. EMES provides graduate level training through its PhD Summer Schools every second year.

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22

Volunteering in Religious Congregations and Faith-Based Associations

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A. Introduction

This chapter juxtaposes the vast knowledge regarding volunteering and voluntary associations with the world of religion. We start with the premise that more people volunteer within, and on behalf of, religious organizations than in any other organizational setting in the United States and certain other nations. We review the history of religion and religious volunteering, followed by a typology of the various forms of religious volunteering. We discuss how religious associations are formed, distinguishing between local religious congregations and faith-based organizations. Given the importance of local religious congregations, we discuss congregational volunteering, lay-leadership, and member volunteering in these voluntary associations. One section looks at monasteries/convents and communes/intentional communities as residential religious associations. We conclude with new challenges and relevant policies that affect religious volunteering.

Religion in all its forms and variations has been part of human societies since the earliest times. As soon as societies were formed and people divided labor by expertise and capabilities, religion became an integral part of human existence. It was and has been evolving and transforming ever since. What is important in this Handbook is the centrality of religion in the history and development of human compassion, welfare, and volunteering. The principle of compassion (to treat all others as we wish to be treated ourselves) exists in all world religions and spiritual traditions, and this principle motivates and mandates helping others. In fact, many services in the fields of health and social welfare have been provided by religious bodies, clergy, and lay leaders alike, and these are motivated by religion in most parts of the world.

Religious organizations are among the oldest human organizations (Bellah 2011). Throughout history believers have provided their religious organizations with donations and volunteer work. This chapter focuses mainly on contemporary religious volunteering and related associations, particularly local religious congregations and other faith-based associations. Religious volunteering is similar to all other types of volunteering with one important caveat: it is done under the auspices of religious organizations and influenced by religion and faith. We will discuss the impact of faith versus participation in a religious organization as a motivating factor that enhances volunteering. In addition, the chapter will focus on religious volunteering as an influence on secular volunteering. Where possible, we will use cross-national data.

B. Definitions

This chapter accepts the general definitions set forth in the Handbook Appendix.

Religion is notoriously difficult to define, especially in a way that captures the full range of religions and their expressions in the huge variety of human societies and cultures in which religion has manifested itself, as studied mainly by anthropologists. However, we cannot duck the obligation to define religion here, if only tentatively. Typical of many limited, Western, developed society definitions is that by Johnstone (1992:14): "[R]eligion can be defined as a system of beliefs and practices by which a group of people interprets and responds to what they feel is sacred, and, usually supernatural as well." In an alternative textbook on the sociology of religion, Hamilton (1995:chapter 1) reviews the problem of definitions of religion in much greater depth, with extensive anthropological examples from preliterate tribes, noting that definitions including the sacred or the supernatural as essential do not really fit some religions very well, and these come from a modern and Western cultural perspective (pp. 13–15).

Looking at all the options, the definition of Bellah (2011:1) seems the best, even though it still mentions the *sacred*: "Religion is a system of beliefs and practices relative to the sacred that unite those who adhere to them in a moral community." He goes on to define the *sacred* very broadly as a "realm of non-ordinary reality," enlarging on Durkheim's definition of "the sacred as something set apart or forbidden" (p. 1). Note that neither divine beings nor the supernatural are entailed, although this definition includes both of these concepts when relevant.

This definition can be supplemented by the theoretical and empirical work of Stark and Glock (1968:14–16), with others in a larger project, who identified five key dimensions of *religiosity* or *religious commitment*. Either of these latter terms refer to being significantly, often deeply, concerned with some existing

religion or with religious ideas and/or practices more generally, possibly one's own, personal religious philosophy. The five dimensions or facets of religion identified and studied were "belief, practice, knowledge, experience, and consequences" (p. 14). This chapter focuses especially on the two of these dimensions of religiosity – religious practice and consequences of religiosity for daily life.

Distinctively, in this chapter we use generally the neutral term *congregation*, which is more commonly used in North America. A congregation is a local place and community of worship in which people come to worship in a joint manner and follow a specific set of agreed-upon norms and rules. *Congregation* is thus a generic term that includes churches, mosques, synagogues, temples, meeting houses, house churches, storefront churches, wards, and so forth for all religions. Congregation also implies that the people who attend know each other to a certain degree and form a community of fellowship. Congregations can be seen as religious grassroots associations, as defined in the Appendix. However, it is important to note that in some parts of the world people come to worship not as a community but as individuals, as is the case in most Hindu and Taoist temples.

Religious volunteering is similar to other purposive types of formal volunteering with one distinguishing feature: it is done under religious auspices and/or is motivated by religious-related factors, mainly religiosity as a personal commitment to some religion or to religious ideas and/or practices more generally or personally. Religious volunteering includes sheer attendance at and participation in co-producing religious services, as well as more specific service roles in a congregation, both during worship services and at other times.

C. Historical background

Religious associations are one of the oldest types among all associations, having been found in various (pre-European contact) preliterate tribes and hence probably originating as early as 10,000 years ago (Anderson 1973; Bellah 2011; Smith 1997; Tyler ([1873]1903; see also Handbook Chapter 1). Religious associations made an early appearance in ancient agrarian civilizations as well (Bellah 2011). For instance, religious cults as types of local associations were present in ancient Egypt circa 5,000 years ago (Shafer 1991). There were religious buildings (temples, shrines, synagogues, etc.) in all ancient civilizations (Dillon 1996). Each such building had a corresponding religious association, formal or informal, of people who participated in worship, as well as many people who helped with the building's upkeep and preparation for religious services (e.g., Gutmann 1975). Regardless of society, people provided the religious organizations of their locale with goods such as food and labor. While the labor was not defined as volunteering, it is what we define today as volunteering (see the Handbook Appendix).

Almost every faith tradition in the world has clear tenets that ask adherents to behave ethically, not to cheat, not to harm others, and to exhibit charitable behavior (Cnaan, Wineburg, and Boddie, 1999). Helping the needy and seeking out justice are essential tenets of most religions. Members in good standing of religious congregations often demonstrate it by donating money and by performing tasks that are required or desired by the religious group.

Such religious volunteering was directed toward places of worship that were originally and usually very local in nature. People in small villages/towns congregated for religious purposes in some building and supported it as needed. In Judaism, first the community supported the holy temple and then other places of worship and also places for studying religious texts (Gutmann 1975). Community members were expected to donate and volunteer. Christians, for example, initially met in member's houses known as *house churches* (Banks 1994). The host family provided the place and related labor. As with other ancient religions and with increased social acceptance, within a century or two, Christian churches were built (Esler 2000; Hinson 1999). These edifices soon became centers in which members worshiped and associated with other members. Other major world religions, such as Islam (Berkey 2002; Lapidus 2002) and Buddhism (Reat and Reat 1994), followed similar paths to social acceptance, and local congregations had their own holy buildings. In earlier historical periods, such behavior was not labeled as volunteering. Furthermore, in many societies, such religious activity posed a threat to the ruling classes, who attempted to minimize free association and the right of people to assemble and produce goods without public supervision. As such, religious volunteering is a socially constructed modern phenomenon.

Research on religious congregations and related volunteering goes back millennia (e.g., early documents cited in Bellah 2011; Berkey 2002; Borgeaud 1988; Dillon 1996; Duchesne 1912; Fowler 1911; Godwin 1981; Gutmann 1975; Lapidus 2002; Reat and Reat 1994; Shafer 1991; Zaidman and Pantel 1992). As we come toward the present day, such research has intensified, from studies of medieval heresies and dissent in Europe (Lambert 1992; Moore [1977] 1994) or the Crusades (Wolff and Hazard 1962) to extensive research on denominations in America (Finke and Stark 2005; Greeley 1972; Littell 1962; Niebuhr [1929] 1957) and on specific congregations (Cnaan et al. 2006; Harris 1998).

One interesting recent approach to research on religion has been to study its evolution, as partly biological and partly cultural, for these have been intertwined in the past 50,000+ years (Bellah 2011; Broom 2003; Wade 2009; Wilson 2003; Wright 2009). Similarly, recent biological studies have investigated how neuroscience and the functioning of the brain can help explain religious belief and faith (e.g., Alper 2008; Newberg, D'Aquili, and Rause 2002; Newberg and Waldman 2007; Shermer 2012).

D. Key issues

1. Types of religious volunteering

Several different types of religious volunteering can be distinguished.

(a) First, volunteer work for and within the religious organization to enhance the religion. Such volunteering includes activities such as missionary work, Sunday school teaching, and sweeping the floor after services (Belanovsky 2012). The running of any congregation is often predicated on the availability of volunteer members to support its work (Harris 1998; Hodgkinson, Weitzman, and Kirsch 1988). Cnaan and Curtis (2013) showed that congregations are highly dependent on volunteer work. Indeed, congregations and faith-based organizations are very efficient at enlisting such volunteer labor.

(b) Second, one can volunteer through a religious congregation or group to support social services, such as having a congregational-based day-care or an Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) support group. Such volunteer work under religious auspices attempts to improve the quality of life of others, including counseling, staffing a food kitchen, helping ex-prisoners, and helping an environmental cause (for Russian social volunteering, see Knorre 2012).

(c) Third, one can volunteer to do political activity either to serve one's congregation or religion or as a reflection of those affiliations (Dalton and Klingemann 2007:chapter 25; Smidt et al. 2008; Wilcox and Robinson 2010). The role of the religious right in American politics is one recent example (Wilcox and Robinson 2010).

(d) Fourth, one can be motivated by religious motives to do secular volunteering as good deeds outside his or her place of worship. For example, one can help an environmental organization on one's own volition or as a member of a religious congregation. In both cases, the environmental volunteer work will be similar, but the latter type of volunteer is likely to perform the task along with friends from the congregation or as an expression of religious faith.

2. Religious volunteering patterns

(a) *Congregational-support volunteering*: Religious participation and religious faith are linked, but are two different phenomena. In the United States, while about four in five report that they never doubt the existence of God, only two in five attend places of worship on a regular basis (Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life 2012). In a study of volunteers to social services in the United States, Cnaan, Kasternakis, and Wineburg (1993) found that the key explanatory variable for who volunteers is congregational attendance and not level of personal faith.

According to the Eurobarometer Survey,12% of Europeans volunteered in religious or church organizations (European Parliament Special Eurobarometer 75.2, 2011). Participation levels in religious volunteering are relatively high at least in Austria (14% of active volunteers), Finland (16% of active volunteers), Ireland (26% of active volunteers), and the United Kingdom (24% of active volunteers). The overall volunteering rate in European Union countries is 23%. High levels of participation in religious or church organizations are more common in countries with a strong religious tradition, where the church is actively involved in the community (Volunteering in the European Union 2010).

The operation of the religious congregation is usually predicated on the availability of volunteer members to support or perform its work. Cnaan and Curtis (2013) showed congregations are highly dependent on volunteer work. Chaves (2004:223) found that 40.4% of all religious congregations had no full-time paid staff and that the median number of full-time paid staff was 1. Some 23.5% of congregations had no paid staff at all (p. 224), hence depending entirely on volunteers, including for their clergy or lay leaders. In the Philadelphia Census of Congregations, Cnaan and his colleagues (2006) found that more than a third of the congregations (38.6%) reported having no full-time clergy. Indeed, congregations and faith-based organizations are very efficient at enlisting such volunteer labor.

Hodgkinson, Weitzman, and Kirsch (1988) report the results of an earlier national sample survey of American congregations. In their data (p. 33), "34 percent of total congregations reported that they had no full-time paid employees," which was far more likely in smaller congregations. In addition, "42% of total congregations reported engaging one or more nominally paid employees" (p. 35), who were thus quasi-volunteers. Further, more than 99% of congregations reported using volunteers other than clergy each month, with 57.5% of congregations reporting having 25 or more volunteers each month (p. 36). An average of 36.2 volunteers were reported per congregation (p. 37). Findings from Chaves (2004), Cnaan and colleagues (2006), and Hodgkinson, Weitzman, and Kirsch (1988) confirm the assertion of Cnaan and Curtis (2013) noted above.

(b) *Congregation-based service volunteering*: One can volunteer through a religious group to support social services, such as having a congregational-based day-care or AA support group. For example, Cnaan et al. (2006) reported how Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America and a parallel reentry program (Rational Emotional Spiritual Therapy/R.E.S.T.) each recruited eight to ten volunteers from local congregations. The volunteers were all religiously affiliated and motivated, but the service and supervision were social and separate from any congregation. Cnaan, Wineberg, and Boddie (1999) and Cnaan and Boddie (2002b) review many studies of such social welfare volunteering by members of religious congregations.

(c) *Congregation-linked and/or religion-linked political activity*: One can do political activity linked to one's congregation or to one's religion/denomination more generally (Smidt et al. 2008). Smidt et al. present a highly nuanced and well-supported empirical approach to examining how religion affects political participation. Their key concept is the degree to which one's personal religious expression approach is private versus public, with attending worship services and getting involved in a congregation being the more public type of expression versus private prayers, and so forth (ibid.:chapter 7). Using data from two national sample surveys, the authors show that both religious tradition and one's form of religious expression (especially the public form) are statistically significant predictors of political participation in the context of many other demographic variables as controls in a multiple classification analysis (ibid., p. 221).

(d) *Religion-linked secular volunteering*: Finally, one can be motivated by religious motives to do good deeds as secular volunteering outside his or her place of worship. For example, one can help an environmental organization on his or her own volition or as a member of a religious congregation. In both cases, the environmental volunteer work will be similar, but the latter is likely to perform the task along with friends from the congregation or as an expression of being a person of faith.

Ample research in the United States shows that religious people, especially those who attend places of worship and do more voluntary work within their congregations as well as in wider society (Bekkers 2004; Bowen 1999; Lam 2002; Park and Smith 2000; Ruiter and De Graaf 2004). Such research found that the norm of congregational volunteering spills over to volunteering in secular organizations. In a study of volunteering in 53 countries, Ruiter and De Graaf (2006) found that in more religious communities, people are more involved in volunteering even if they themselves are not religious. In other words, percentage of congregation goers in a given society is strongly and positively correlated with percent of members in that society who volunteer. This implies that when other people in one's social network volunteer; the likelihood that an individual will also volunteer increases. Ruiter and De Graaf (2006) also found that across countries, non-Christians volunteer more than Christians and that among Christians, Protestants volunteer more than Catholics.

However, Ruiter and De Graaf (2006) found that religious participation only weakly explains secular volunteering rates among nations. With very few exceptions, when controlling for religious volunteering, church membership shows negative rather than positive effects on secular volunteering. As noted above, this is not the case in the United States, where Putnam, Campbell, and Garrett (2010) found that "religion boosts total volunteering so substantially that in addition to their higher rate of religious volunteering, regular churchgoers are also much more likely to volunteer for secular causes" (p. 445). Putnam et al.

(2010) also found that churchgoers are more likely to donate blood, give money to a homeless person, help someone find a job, help someone outside their own household with housework, and offer a seat to a stranger.

It is much more difficult to assess the scope of religious volunteering in faith-based organizations. A huge part of post-Hurricane Katrina volunteer work came from religious organizations (Michel 2007; Pant et al. 2008). It is also the case worldwide that after earthquakes, cyclones, and military devastations, religious organizations such as World Vision International or Catholic Relief Services are among the first to come with supplies and volunteers (Bane 2011). While there is no way to assess the scope of this volunteering, all observers agreed that religious-affiliated volunteers were the first on the ground, provided invaluable services, were the largest group of helpers, and kept sending volunteers years after the disaster. In the American context, Wuthnow (2009) reported that a large number of American Christians are personally involved in the developing world, with perhaps 1.5 million per year participating in direct short-term missionary or humanitarian efforts overseas. For a detailed analysis of the role of religion in international development volunteering and organizations, see Heist and Cnaan (2016).

Similarly, it is difficult to assess the scope of international religious volunteering. Rieffel and Zalud (2006) estimated that, in 2006, out of 43,000 Americans engaged in international volunteering, only 8,000 were affiliated with specific religious organizations, such as Caritas international, Habitat for Humanity, Catholic Relief Services, and the Presbyterian Hunger Program. However, this estimate excludes missionaries whose primary goal is to propagate the religion of the sending agency, such as the many missionaries sent annually by The Church of Jesus Christ and Latter-day Saints (LDS Church) or the Assemblies of God. If one adds missionaries to this statistics, then the majority of international volunteers are religious.

What is close to impossible to assess is the scope of religiously motivated social volunteering. What people do outside religious circles but highly influenced by them was not studied and can only be guessed. But religious volunteering also enhances people in the community to volunteer. In Cnaan and colleagues (2006), it was found that congregational social programs are carried out, on average, by eight congregational members and five non-members who just joined the program as volunteers but who are not affiliated with the congregation.

3. The formation of religious organizations

Many religious congregations are affiliated with a national or even international religion or denomination. Most world religions and denominations use missionaries and follow members' locations. They decide where to build a new congregation and what faith-based nonprofit organization (NPO) to establish.

This affiliation with central bodies does not mean that lay leaders do not have a say. Local adherents of a certain religion or denomination can pressure and finance the formation of a local (polymorphic) branch of the larger association. Only in rare cases are the religious places of worship and/or the faith-based organizations unique and unlinked (monomorphic). This is usually the case of independent churches, cults, charismatic churches, new gurus, and religious innovations. The latter form of forming religious organizations often involves a quest for "true" faith and leads to a more strict type of religious organization. Iannaccone (1994) argued that the strictness of religions reduces free riding and stimulates additional commitment from members. Members are expected to volunteer more hours, donate more money, and fully adhere to the religious rules. Individuals who are not willing or who are unable to display the high level of commitment expected of members of strict congregations either do not join the faith in the first place or drop out.

In some countries like the Unites States, Canada, and in Western Europe, the process of starting new congregations or faith-based organizations is ongoing and does not reflect fast growth. However, in other parts of the world and especially in African countries and in ex-communist countries, congregations and faith-based organizations are quickly growing and evolving, and as such they find it more difficult to establish a culture of congregational-related volunteering, so the majority of the burden is on leaders (Črpić and Zrinščak 2005).

4. Members and leaders as volunteers

In most cases, people join religious groups either through birth and family tradition or through conversion. As Pond and Smith (2009) demonstrated, converts are stricter and more committed to their faith than those who were born into the faith. These individuals take the teaching and expectations of their new religion more seriously and record higher rates of volunteering. A related group is that of new immigrants. New immigrants tend to search for a congregation composed of people like themselves; that is, of the same origin and of the same station in life and in this context often volunteer to help their own members and also volunteer in wider society to get local experience and social connections (Foley and Hoge 2007; Handy and Greenspan 2008). Similar findings are reported for the Netherlands (Carabain and Bekkers 2011). Finally, studies of American congregations found that the more a person is in a leadership position the more likely the person is to volunteer for and through the congregation (Cnaan et al. 2006).

5. Motivations for religious volunteering

In many countries (especially nations with high proportions of religious residents), religious people volunteer more than others. Religious practice is

associated with increased levels of volunteering in general in the European context. In a study by Voicu and Voicu (2009), religious practice was one of five main predictors of volunteering in almost all Western European societies alongside with education, social network, income, and age. Also individual country-level studies confirm the connections between religious practice and volunteering (Vermeer and Scheepers 2012; Yeung 2004). For example, in the Netherlands, volunteers are almost three times as likely as non-volunteers to be active in religious activities (Dekker and Halman 2003).

Furthermore, as we noted above, it is the people who are affiliated with congregations that volunteer at higher rates and not just people strong in their faith. This is also the case in Europe, including in ex-communist countries, although there are significant differences among different European countries in that respect (Bahovec, Potočnik, and Zrinščak, 2007). So what is the process? To understand religious volunteering, one needs to understand group dynamics and processes, as well as the impact of norms and values. Congregations are the places where people hear about being pro-social, where they see people act altruistically, where they find out about many needs, and where they are asked to volunteer. In most congregations, and especially in the United States, congregations hold volunteering as a mark of belonging and acting according to the group's norms. So the proposed model starts with the religious teaching and goes through wanting to be a valued member of the group (congregation) and meeting its behavioral expectations.

Drawing on Cnaan and colleagues (2002), the following flow of influences and development takes place in a congregation to produce high levels of volunteering:

Religious Beliefs and Religious Meaning ---->Congregational Attendance ---->

Formation of Face to Face Links and learning what the other congregants do ---->

Congregational Involvement (wanting to be part of the group)---->Acceptance of Group Norms for Serving/Volunteering ---->Volunteering in the Context of the Congregation and the community

There are two classical explanations as to why religious congregation members are more pro-social and volunteer more in other associations. We will distinguish between faith as a motive for volunteering and membership as a motive, but we will take the debate one step further to include culture as a critical component. In studying what moves people to be pro-social and generous, the literature distinguishes between "religious conviction" or "faith" and "community" or "social networks" as two distinct explanations (Jackson et al. 1995; Putnam, Campbell, and Garrett 2010; Ruiter and De Graaf 2006; Wuthnow 1991). The former refers to religious beliefs and norms that support generosity.

The latter refers to embeddedness within a religious group, such as a congregation, that exerts clear and measurable expectations, places social pressure, and provides a forum for personal solicitations. However, we argue that the two polar positions are both insufficient. To reach the high level of commitment that is required for such high rate of donations and volunteering, a strong set of norms and an organizational climate that sustains giving are required. The norms that are sustained and amplified in congregations are the sources of both the focus on religious volunteering and the opportunities to do good deeds.

6. Organization of religious congregations and other faith-based associations

Cnaan and Curtis (2013) have recently asserted that local religious congregations are membership associations, as other scholars have noted 40+ years ago (e.g., Robertson 1966; Scherer 1972), but many voluntaristics scholars still tend to ignore this, as previously (cf. Smith 1983). Congregations in most countries are organized around a religious leader(s) who is (are) assisted by lay leaders. In most contexts, these are the congregational leaders and then there are the members. Most congregations are characterized by a large level of informality and are not necessarily organized in a logical organizational structure. Some congregations are more formal, and without a formal ceremony (often baptism) a person cannot be counted as a member. When volunteers are needed the clergy often make a pitch from the pulpit or lay leaders talk with prospective volunteers. Lay leaders are by default volunteers, and they often energize others, including non-members, to join the congregational activities. Volunteerism both for the congregation and for social causes is secondary to the primary purposes of providing worship opportunities and teaching the tenets of the faith. Given that they have to provide the same level of transparency and accountability as other NPOs, they are usually first and foremost NPOs and then religious. Regarding volunteers, faith-based organizations treat them like other NPOs, and it starts with official recruitment. The difference is that non-religious NPOs cannot access congregations to be allowed to recruit volunteers.

   In some European countries, the majority of Christian churches have a privileged position, either financially and/or by being close to political power. In these countries, we find that state churches, for example, have the right to collect membership fees through taxation. This has resulted in financially secured churches that emphasize professionalism and can be bureaucratic. Thus, opportunities and needs for volunteering can be lower compared to other contexts, although many European churches have tried to increase volunteering in recent years as church memberships have been in decline and secularization and professionalism have become powerful. Minority churches are in a different position in relation to financial resources and are often more dependent on the activity of members at all levels. In their study based on a

sample of 24 European countries, Traunniuller and Freitag (2011) concluded that state support and government involvement in religion weakens religious volunteering (i.e., crowding it out).

Religious voluntary contributions of both time and money have acted as a strong force within Hinduism and Buddhism, but less than in Christianity and Islam (Salamon and Anheier 1997). Early Indian voluntarism was very much inspired by religious beliefs, ideology, and sacred writings. According to the *Bhagwad Gita*, charity is valid if it takes account of *desh* (place), *kal* (time), and *patra* (recipient). Sen (1993) found that religious-based philanthropy was very active during the 1950s in India. Besides the domestic religious contributions (29%), external contributions made up nearly half (48%) of total foreign funding directed toward religious NGOs for different welfare activities in India (Government of India 2012). The followers of all major religions of the world live in India, and there are strong impulses for religious voluntarism. There is a deeply rooted religious history of Hinduism involving charity in India, with later shifts to socio-religious reform from the 15th century onward (e.g., sufi, the Nirankari Movement, Namdhari Movement, Atmiya Samaz, Brahma Samaz, Theosophical Society, Ram Krishna Mission, Anjuman-Himayat-i- Islam, and so on; Sundar 2002).

In the South Asian region, Hindu voluntary organizations (NPOs) emerged across India and Nepal mainly in two forms (Sundar 2002). First, some religious NPOs developed as trusts for temples where huge individual cash or in-kind regular contributions were made as tribute. Other forms of NPOs working for betterment of poor people, like Bhartiya Vanvasi Kalyan Parishad, also arose. Similarly, Sikh religious organizations with egalitarian principles provided community food and active participation either in *gurudwara* or in other localities. Dera Sachha Sauda, a Sikh NPO, extended its welfare programs in the northwestern region of India. Christian NPOs are also spread across India, such as the Christian Auxiliary for Social Action, World Vision of India, especially in southern India and the tribal belt. Their contribution to education has been widely acknowledged. Islamic NPOs and their contributions involve both obligatory and voluntary contributions, called *zakat* and *sadaqa*, respectively (Sundar 2002). Furthermore, there is also a major focus in Indian Islam on *madrasa* activities (Islamic educational institutions).

7. Success and impact of religious congregations and faith-based organizations

As noted above, Cnaan and colleagues (2006) found that congregational social programs are carried out by non-members who have just joined the program as volunteers but who are not affiliated with the congregation. In addition, in societies where the number of actively religious people is high, we find higher rates of volunteering among people who are not affiliated with religious groups.

This is known as the spillover effect (Ruiter and De Graaf 2006). This implies that religious volunteering is capable of influencing the immediate society to be more pro-social and to be further engaged in volunteerism. However, this is not the case in all countries; for instance, this finding has been challenged by Lim and McGregor (2012). In Russia, for example, the Russian Orthodox Church does not focus on enhancing volunteerism and as such, its impact on the rest of society in this regard is limited (Knorre 2012).

Religious communities cannot survive without heavy reliance on volunteers. The number of functions that are to be carried out – from maintenance to music, from bookkeeping to teaching the faith to new members, and from securing the premises to spiritual counseling – mostly relies upon volunteers. Congregations that cannot foster the spirit of volunteering are required to purchase these services and, unless they are very affluent, are doomed to collapse. Thriving religious groups produce high levels of volunteering and are able to get members engaged even in programs outside the congregation (Ammerman 2005). Faith-based organizations from schools to international relief organizations are all performing with heavy reliance on volunteers. Their access to congregations and to their potential volunteers is a major advantage over other NPOs. For example, when a Mormon relief organization needs 100 volunteer to ship emergency supplies, all they have to do is call local clergy and the volunteers will be there early the next day (Rudd 1995).

8. Religious residential communities

One very special kind of religious association is a religious residential community. Such a community, as defined here, is a set of adults, and sometimes their children, who have chosen to reside together because of religious reasons and have formed an association to pursue their version of the right way to live to please God or serve some other religious ideal. The joint residence may be in a single, usually large, building or in a complex of buildings in close proximity on a single plot of land (owned by the community or by one or more early members or founders). In every case, there is some special kind of moral, life-style ideology about the best/right way to live one's life according to the association's religious principles/values. There is an explicitly religious ideology, usually involving a deity or revered religious leader. Although not usually considered to be associations, intentional communities qualify according to our definition, but these are simply residential associations. Religious intentional communities are the main focus here.

One may ask, what is the nature of volunteering in religious intentional communities? First, there may be informal volunteering in such residential associations, as in any other context of daily life. Second, the entire daily activity pattern of residents can be viewed as quasi-volunteering (Smith, Reddy, and Baldwin 1972:168–169). Quasi-volunteering is volunteering where the volunteer receives significant remuneration for work done, but still significantly

less than the market value of such work. In religious intentional communities, there is rarely any pay, but participating members receive payment in kind in the form of lodging, food, clothing, and sometimes a special, luxury object (e.g., a wristwatch). Participants also receive substantial psychic benefits (ibid.), such as a sense of belonging, of serving God, of helping each other live the right way, and so on. This *net cost approach* to defining volunteering has been substantiated as fitting with popular/lay conceptions of volunteering in several nations (Handy et al. 2000).

Third, some ordinary formal volunteering can *in theory* occur in a religious intentional community, but this seems to be very rare in practice. For instance, a small group of participants in a commune could decide to form a singing or theater group, if this were permitted. Those who participated in the sub-group would then be formal volunteers in that group, helping co-members to enjoy the recreational activity and possibly also performing for the enjoyment of non-member commune participants, as a service to them. Unfortunately, suitable ethnographies could not be found to see if such recreational subgroups of religious residential association participants actually have existed.

Christian monasteries and convents, as intentional communities, go back two millennia (Dunn 2003), continued through the European Middle Ages (Venarde 1999), and continue to the present day in most nations with a substantial Christian population. Similar, very long, monastic (intentional religious community) traditions exist in other world religions (e.g., Benn, Meeks, and Robson 2011; Herrou 2013). Communes, as intentional communities, have arisen in the West in the past three centuries (especially in America, France, and Britain), usually based on some religious ideology and faith (Holloway 1951; Kanter 1972). In the past 60 years, communes have spread to many nations of the world, often with more secular than conventionally religious ideologies, but always with some moral ideology as a secular religion (Oved 2012; Zablocki 1980).

We could find no comparative, social scientific studies of monasteries and convents, but a few such studies exist for religious communes. Kanter (1972:chapter 4) compared long-lived (*successful*) versus short-lived (23 of 30 being religious) communes in the 19th century in the United States in terms of many structural mechanisms, such as aspects of sacrifice (e.g., abstinence, austerity) required, degree of personal investment required (physical residence, financial investment, irreversibility of investment), renunciation of outside relationships and limitations on leaving the commune physically, group ritual, communal sharing and labor, and other factors. Many such *costly* factors clearly distinguished successful from unsuccessful communes. Sosis and Bressler (2003) did a further quantitative test of the role of cooperation mechanisms in commune longevity.

Many of the commitment mechanisms examined in both studies can be seen as relevant to why conservative, stricter but often new Christian

churches in America have been growing in recent decades and also in past centuries, while more liberal and mainline ones have been declining (Finke and Stark 2005:249–253). Studying religious intentional communities as residential associations is important for understanding the depth of commitment that can be achieved by religious associations, as contrasted with most (not all) other purposive types of associations. Social movement/activist associations (Handbook Chapter 24) and deviant voluntary associations (DVAs; Handbook Chapter 53) are two other purposive types of associations that can generate similar depth of commitment and cause huge changes in their members lifestyles, social relationships, and perspectives on the world. Some DVAs have also been religious communes as intentional communities, such as the Peoples Temple, Jim Jones' suicidal commune eventually located in Guyana (Layton 1998), and the Branch Davidians, led by David Koresh (Breault and King 1993).

9. Challenges faced by religious volunteering and associations

In many parts of the world, secularization is one of the biggest challenges to religious volunteering (Ruiter and De Graaf 2004). This is especially the case in Western Europe. Societal processes like individualism, professionalization, secularism, old and new types of solidarity, and diverse communities are all chipping at religious commitment and by extension at religious volunteering. As part of modernity and post-modernity, increasing individualization processes have led people to focus on their own lives and careers. Accordingly, people reject old binding organizations such as congregations and engage in activities that are self-gratifying, including volunteering. However, these types of volunteering are short-lived, sought to satisfy and enhance the individual volunteer needs, and done without commitment to the organization (Hustinx and Lammertyn 2003). Furthermore, in societies where modernity-type individualism is on the rise, religious communities are shrinking and often congregations and faith-based organizations are merged or outright closed. In such contexts, volunteering tends to decline and religious volunteering becomes negligible.

   In ex-communist countries where religion was prohibited or suppressed, as was in general suppressed any civic initiatives we observe the reverse phenomena. In post-communist European countries, China, and Russia, religiosity has a renaissance and more people openly practice their faith, belong to a religious community, and slowly engage in volunteer work (Mitrokhin 2006). This trend, however, is in its infancy and often faces political opposition, and its future impact is unclear.

10. Main barriers to religious volunteering

Two key barriers are identified that limit the scope and magnitude of religious volunteering. First, as noted above, there has been a decline in interest in

religion in many Western countries, and without the individual religiosity component, religious volunteering rarely takes place. This can be viewed as an issue of supply. Second, in many parts of the world, religious organizations, particularly if they are part of the public welfare and funded mainly by the state (state-based religion; *state churches*), prefer to rely on professionals and avoid the reliance on volunteers. This is also true for many faith-based organizations and especially the large-scale ones. This can be viewed as an issue of demand. While the supply issues are similar to problems facing many NPOs, for religious groups conversion and retention are strongly associated with maintaining a volunteer pool. As for the demand issue, in some instances it is indeed wiser to rely on professionals; however, often it is not the case. Directors of faith-based organizations should know the merit of working with religious volunteers and how to recruit them from local congregations. In some parts of the world such as Russia, various religious nonprofits are also discouraged from collaborating with congregations or with other faith-based organizations and as such are discouraged from using religious volunteers (Knorre 2012).

11. Religious volunteering and public policy

In some countries, most notably the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia, governments changed policies to encourage religious organizations to use volunteers and help poor and needy people. In the United States, the passage of Welfare Reform in 1996 introduced charitable choice that was predicated on transferring welfare contracts to religious organizations that employ volunteers (Cnaan and Boddie 2002a). In England, the Blair government pushed for what they called welfare mix (Taylor 2004), and in Australia the Howard government transferred welfare services to churches, instructing them to use religious volunteers (Garran 2004; Maddox 2005). Though religious charitable organizations had been important parts of the welfare state in many European countries for a long time, recently and despite the secularization process "the role of the churches in the delivery of welfare is expanding rather than contracting" (Bäckström and Davie 2011:155). Other governments around the world are also looking to religious bodies and their pools of volunteers and assess how to harness them into the public social services delivery system.

In other countries, like China and Russia, religion is still not fully embraced by the government and although many religious organizations provide social services and also use volunteers, governments view it with suspicion and there is no interest in recognizing religious services and religious volunteering. However, in congregations, volunteering that sustains the place of worship is accepted and allowed. Furthermore, in many such countries religious volunteers are engaged in the provision of many public goods, but without any special public policy or legal arrangement.

E. Usable knowledge

Community leaders and directors of secular organizations should pay close attention to the phenomena described in this chapter. If high levels of volunteerism are found in religious congregations, these are good sites for recruitment. Almost all NPOs are in need of hardworking volunteers. Collaboration with religious organizations may enable the recruitment of a group of volunteers and not just one at a time. In times of disaster, governments and large organizations such as the Red Cross should approach religious congregations in the area and faith-based service organizations to help in the recovery process. There is no other group of people who can give so much for so long as religious volunteers responding to disaster. Most importantly, it is not faith alone that brings people to volunteer. It is the group experience of belonging to a place of worship that values volunteering and service that produces this high rate of religious volunteering. People who are religiously strong but practice their faith alone are as active in volunteering as all others in society.

F. Future trends and needed research

Religion produces much energy among its active adherents. In the name of religion, people volunteer to do wonderful deeds such as helping strangers in times of disaster and also the most horrible deeds such as killing, maiming, and suicide bombing. In both cases, members of the religious group are giving themselves, their time, and their resources in a manner unparalleled. Since the dawn of civilization, religion managed to extract labor from its members. While in some countries secularization is on the rise, in other countries religiosity is on the rise. It is unlikely that in the 21st century religion and religious organizations will not play central roles in most countries. The challenge, thus, for most religious groups and governments is how to channel the energy embedded in religious participation into pro-social targets.

Comparative multi-national research is needed in all key world regions that seeks to understand and explain the full set of motivations and influences on religious volunteering and other religious activities. This needs to be done in the context of studying many other types of associations, so that valid comparisons can be made and also so that the mutual influences of religious and secular associations can be carefully studied. Current research rarely has large samples from such a variety of nations. The insights and research on motivations and other influences from Handbook Chapters 30 and 31 should be utilized, along with Handbook Chapters 25–29. Comparative multinational research is also needed in all key world regions, which seeks to understand and explain the internal structure and functioning of religious congregations in such societies. At present, only the United States has been well-studied

in this regard with large sample surveys of congregations (e.g., Chaves 2004; Hodgkinson, Weitzman, and Kirsch 1988).

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23
Political Parties and Political Volunteering/Participation

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A. Introduction

Political volunteering refers to civic engagement, citizen participation, political association and political party involvement, political campaign activity, political meeting attendance, voting, and other participation in conventional political activities (vs. in social movements, activism, protest, other unconventional political activities; see Handbook Chapter 24). We also examine briefly the nature of political parties and political pressure (interest) groups, their internal structures, membership, activities, external relationships and collaboration, and impacts. The S-Theory of Smith (2016c, 2017a, 2017b) is applied as a comprehensive, interdisciplinary model of why people do political volunteering. Related multivariate models like the Civic Voluntarism model of Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995) explain much variance in political volunteering/participation. Even in strong democracies there is a tendency for political volunteering to be done mainly by higher status and more educated people.

In this chapter, we suggest an approach that distinguishes among at least three dimensions that have a significant impact on who, how, and why a person takes part voluntarily in political life, in the public domain, and in community affairs:

1. a top-down dimension focusing on the polity environment that sets the frame and provides legitimacy for political volunteering;
2. a bottom-up dimension highlighting the social embeddedness of political volunteering by focusing on the links between the individual citizens and society at large; and
3. a cultural dimension that locates political volunteering in a certain regional environment and/or social milieu that is defined through a specific spirit of time.

There is no doubt that – depending on the era, region, and hence culture – instruments, motives, forms and purposes of political volunteering

differ significantly. However, before going further into detail, we want first to discuss some definitions and then provide a sketch of the historical development of when, why, and where political volunteering as an activity of individuals as well as groups became an established aspect of democracies, quasi-democratic states, and even corporatist and authoritarian states.

B. Definitions

In general, this chapter accepts the set of definitions in the Handbook Appendix. It is not possible to provide an encompassing definition of all those civic or political activities that – directly or indirectly – aim at influencing one or both of (a) the political realm – specifically policy, politics, and the polity at the different levels of government (local, regional, national, international), and/or (b) the societal sphere in terms of community building at home or in a broader and international context. Therefore, some definitions specifically address the genuine political context. These are covered by the terms *political participation* and less frequently, but important here, *political volunteering* (Matonyte 2011; Rod 2010). In contrast, those civic activities seeking to further the well-being of the community as regards neighbors, friends, and more generally all those people with whom a person is sharing a common interest are summarized under the terms *civic engagement*, *civic activity*, or *civic action* (Moro 2010).

In common with the other chapters in Part III, this chapter is concerned centrally with volunteering in formal groups, usually termed *organizations* (Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:164–165). Common examples of the kinds of conventional political associations and volunteering this chapter is concerned with are *political parties*, *political pressure or interest groups*, and *political campaign groups*, as studied in political science and political sociology. In addition to some focus on the structure/processes of political associations, this chapter is mainly concerned with volunteering in such *political* associations, by which is meant volunteering in organizations that are somehow involved in seeking to influence or achieve the goals of the polity, government, and political processes in a nation or society at any territorial or geographic level. Further, by contrast with the next chapter on social movement and unconventional (activist, protest) political volunteering, this chapter focuses on political volunteering in conventional political activities in a nation or society. By *conventional* is meant political activities that are broadly acceptable to the political regime and leaders in power at that time. Thus, conventional political activities can vary markedly over historical time and across nations/societies at the same time in history.

The meaning and the modes of both citizen participation and civic engagement have significantly changed over time. It is not possible to detach the notion and the modes of civic engagement and political volunteering from

time and societal environment. As a European, one has a certain idea of what it means to become and remain active in politics. This does not necessarily correspond with the concept of citizen participation in North America. Neither does political volunteering mean the same in Russia, Eastern Europe, or nations in Africa, Latin America, or Asia. Even between individual countries there are marked differences as regards the epistemology of civic engagement, citizen participation, and political volunteering. While it is normal to go on strike in France, citizens are very reluctant to engage politically in this way in neighboring Germany. Moreover, the meaning of civic engagement and, in particular, political volunteering varies across historical periods in any nation or society. Compared to today, it was very different for a woman to engage in politics through political volunteering in the 18th century or earlier. As regards women, still today political rights and eligibility to participate in the public domain are very unevenly distributed among nations around the world. Hence all things considered, how are we to come to grips with such a fuzzy set of ideas, concepts, and distinctive approaches?

C. Historical background

Political volunteering is closely connected to the development of modernity in the sense of modern statehood and a democratic or liberal society. Of course, in ancient Greece and in the Roman Republic, engagement in politics constituted an important segment of a free nobleman's life. The notion of civil society goes back to citizen participation and political volunteering at the Agora in Athens or the Forum Romanum in Rome. However, we should not forget that in ancient Greece and Rome, the privilege to participate in the public domain was restricted to a relatively small and elite segment of society, perhaps only 10% (e.g., Osborne 2010). Political parties, political campaign groups, and political pressure/interest groups in the modern sense have arisen only in the past two centuries or so, and then mainly in authentic multi-party democracies of one degree or another.

Political parties and political pressure/interest groups only arose as part of the *Industrial Revolution* (Polanyi 1944), and especially the *organizational revolution* that accompanied it (Boulding 1953). One new kind of organization that began to arise often in Western European nations was the constitutional monarchy, or parliamentary democracy, as a wholly new form of government organization. Prior to this time (*c.* 1800), nearly all nations/societies had been led by autocratic, divine right emperors, kings, queens, dukes, and the like who could act virtually without restraint on their personal attitudes, wishes, and whims. Now there was a parliament or legislature that debated and enacted laws, serving as the main policy-making body and the enforcer of its own laws, delegating enforcement powers to various, less powerful, government agencies. Only

in this new parliamentary/legislative context did political parties and pressure groups now make sense. The same was true, without the history of monarchies, in the United States, and to a lesser extent in certain other colonial regimes (e.g., Canada, Australia, New Zealand).

D. Key issues

1. The top-down perspective: The nexus between citizen participation and the political regime

In the early 1990s, two seminal books were published *The Third Wave: Democratization in the 20th Century* by Samuel Huntington (1991) and *The End of History and the Last Man* by Francis Fukuyama (1992). Both prognosticated a bright future for civic engagement and citizen participation in accordance with the Western model of democratic government and market economy. After the crumbling of the Berlin Wall, it was indeed widely assumed that democratic governance of the liberal pluralistic kind is the one and only institutional frame under which civic engagement, citizen participation, and political volunteering can take place. Moreover, is was also assumed that any nation, state or community around the world was moving toward the *one-size-fits-all model* of a liberal pluralist regime providing citizens with a standard repertoire of legitimate means for civic engagement, citizen participation and political volunteering. Accordingly, these features are very closely related to the political system of the Western Hemisphere, which is based on a market model of decision-making and policy formulation. Competition between individuals, groups, and organized interests constitutes the core or the driving force of this model.

Its constitutional setting has been developed in the course of time. It is based on a combination of market economy and representative democracy. Key features of this model of democratic governance are parties and elections, pluralistic societal organizations, and numerous associational groups that are active at the local, regional, national, and international level of governance representing interests, ideas, and claims. The repertoire of civic engagement, and political volunteering enhanced by liberal democracy of the Western style, is very much in accordance with the features of Robert Dahl's (1989) polyarchy that, however, had been broadened by new forms that had become popular through the social movements since the late 1960s and the technological revolution since the 1990s. The repertoire encompasses the following features and opportunities for civic engagement, citizen participation, and political volunteering:

(a) taking part in elections,
(b) running for office,

(c) being a member or supporting an organization influencing politics (party, union, NGO),

(d) being affiliated with a social movement,

(e) taking part in protest activities (rallies, strikes),

(f) using tools of e-government (e.g., signing petitions through the Internet).

"Citizen participation…reflects the way that people use the opportunities existing within a political system" (Almond et al. 2007:63). Frequency and intensity of citizen participation across nations and regions vary significantly, partly due to the character of the political region, and partly due to the political culture of the region.

2. Structures and processes in political parties, pressure/interest groups, and political campaign organizations

Given the new existence of parliamentary or legislative democracies, beginning mainly in the early 1800s, political parties of the modern variety arose for several good reasons (Aldrich 2011): to regulate which people should become candidates for elective offices at different territorial levels, especially national leaders; to mobilize voters for specific candidates; and to mobilize public support for key policies and legislation once in office. Parties have a crucial role to play in democracies, but this role has been changing in recent decades, especially beyond the Western democracies (Cheeseman 2015; Diamond and Gunther 2001; Webb 2009). The idea of political parties has appeal even in dictatorships and authoritarian states, where one party rules and sham elections are held regularly (e.g., Brooker 1995; Magaloni 2008). Nonetheless, parties continue to be essential features of genuine democracies and involve millions of participants as political volunteers (e.g., Dalton 2013; Maisel and Berry 2010; Sartori 2005). Related to the party and electoral system are political campaign organizations (temporary associations) in which many volunteers work to help elect the candidates of their choice (Hetherington and Larson 2009; Medvic 2013).

Another key feature of genuine democracies is the active, effective presence of political interest/pressure groups (e.g., Cigler and Loomis 2007; Nownes 2012). The interest level of political scientists in pressure/interest groups as a topic of study varies over time without relationship to their continuing importance in the polity (Baumgartner and Leech 1998). Many pressure groups are operated by business associations, which have for-profit businesses as collective members. However, many other groups are operated by individuals, often volunteers, although there are usually paid staff at the top (Ainsworth 2002). In spite of having a negative public image in the United States, many pressure groups represent the public interest, not special business or occupational interests (Grossman 2012). On the whole, however, pressure groups tend to operate

to benefit the wealthier, more educated people in a society and their interests and organizations (Bartels 2012 Schlozman, Verba, and Brady 2013).

3. Variations in political volunteering across nations

The political science literature differentiates between *traditional* and *new forms* of citizen participation. Traditional forms are by and large connected to the feature of membership and made possible through the concept of freedom of association. The coming into being of the concept was closely linked to modernity in terms of both the development of modern statehood and societal differentiation. Today, the concept of participation constitutes an integral part of the majority of the constitutions of modern democracies, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations, stipulating that (a) everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association and (b) no one may be compelled to belong to an association (Article 20).

Currently, citizen participation and civic engagement are increasingly disentangled from the notion of membership, and hence becoming more and more volatile and individualized. Compared to those avenues for civic engagement that are facilitated and made possible through the institutional setting of the respective political regime, currently more societal-based forms of activity that are not necessarily aiming at having an impact on the broader political environment are gaining importance. This trend is clearly reflected in the worldwide discourse on the importance of civil society.

The prognosis of the success of the Western model failed. The forecast put forward by famous political scientists did not come through. Instead, the world of today's political regimes is more complex than previously assumed. In accordance with political scientist Juan Linz, we can at least distinguish between democratic, authoritarian, and *sultanistic* regimes (2002). Even democratic regimes differ significantly as regards the opportunities for citizens getting engaged in political affairs. Doubtlessly, non-democratic, autocratic, or authoritarian regimes tend to limit and to control public spheres where people might become active as political volunteers.

But this is not to say that there are *no chances* for civic engagement in authoritarian regimes. Indeed, it is a feature of today's complexity that we can observe a growing number of so-called *hybrid regimes* in which civic engagement and citizen participation are possible, but are simultaneously limited and restricted (Diamond 2008). Elections take place and hence voting is a regular civic activity in these regimes. However, members of opposition groups might be hindered even by force to run for office. By law, it may be allowed to form and to join associations, and certain associations are not allowed to operate because they are in political opposition to the current political regime or are receiving foreign donations, and they are therefore declared to be unconstitutional. Any civic

activity that constitutes a potential threat to the regime is not considered to be legitimate. Finally, *sultanistic* regimes, by definition, are applying pre-modern modes of governance and control. Free-will constitutes a foreign word, and the right to associate is not respected or even understood. Instead, civic activity is based on bonds of kinship and clientelism.

4. The bottom-up perspective: From civic culture to social capital

Making things happen is the keyword for the bottom-up perspective of civic activity research. Accordingly, the opportunity structure provided by the state or government is not the point of departure. Instead, researching civic activity from a bottom-up perspective translates into going to the very roots of civic activity by asking the question of who and how he or she gets civically active in order to achieve societal change. Here is a key problem of the social sciences, specifically the so-called micro–macro problem or the *so-what-question* is addressed: How is society at large and government in particular affected by civic engagement, citizen participation and community-related activities? Results of surveys show that worldwide engagement in politics is not a central concern of (even) the very active population enjoying volunteering.

Indeed, people by and large prefer non-political engagement covering a broad spectrum of activities from leisure and sports to altruistic and service related actions. However, there are prominent advocates, ranging from Alexis de Tocqueville ([1832] 2000) to Robert Putnam (1993), who convincingly argue that whenever people get active in public, and whenever they are working together in order to follow a common interest, they are simultaneously working on behalf of their community. This means that any activity that goes beyond privacy and which is not directly related to market or commercial issues has at least in the long run a societal as well as a political impact.

In accordance with de Tocqueville ([1832] 2000, Almond and Verba ([1963] 1965), and Putnam (1993), many social scientists and political philosophers perceive civic engagement in its multifaceted forms as a driving force of societal development and democratic governance. Against this background, it becomes understandable that a downturn in civic engagement and citizen participation, predicted by Putnam (1995) in the mid-1990s, seemed to pose a definite threat to the well-being of modern society and democratic governance. However, as it turned out, civic engagement globally had not diminished at all, according to many studies (e.g., Smith and Robinson 2016). On the contrary, the world has witnessed an *associational revolution* (Salamon 1994) since the mid-1970s. Smith (2016b) sees this as the *fourth*, global, associational revolution, not as the first one, as Salamon seems to state or imply (see Handbook Chapter 50). Moreover, citizens worldwide have become more active and increasingly engaged in community affairs.

However, it also became clear that the modes and forms of citizen participation and civic engagement have changed quite significantly during the last decades. In a nutshell, at least in the Western Hemisphere, the classical form of civic engagement was based on the notion of membership (see Handbook Chapter 1, for the 10,000-year history of association membership). In particular, in Europe the universe of voluntary associations from unions to sports clubs was divided along ideological and normative lines for a long time. The cleavage structure of Western, and in particular European, societies was replicated in organizational infrastructures composed of numerous voluntary associations that were part of ideological camps and societal milieus, such as the social-democratic, the Catholic, the Calvinistic, or the liberal milieu. In the United States, cleavages were not organized primarily on ideology but on ethnicity and on community feelings of the migrant populations. Nowadays, civic engagement and citizen participation are far more individualized than they used to be some decades ago.

As clearly worked out by Theda Skocpol (1999, 2003), the modes of organizing civic activities have changed dramatically: "Where once cross class voluntary associations held sway, national public life is now dominated by professionally managed advocacy groups without chapters and members. And at the state and local levels 'voluntary groups' are, more often than not, nonprofit-institutions through which paid employees deliver services and coordinate occasional volunteer projects" (Skocpol 2003:7). The significant change of civic engagement does not show in the results and figures of large-scale surveys. However, research at the local level, as well as at the organizational level, indicates that the infrastructure of civic activity, political volunteering, has become highly professionalized in many instances. Accordingly, central sources of funding have shifted from membership dues to donations acquired through fund-raising campaigns, again organized and put in place by professionals. The transition "from membership to advocacy" (Skocpol 1999:462) is a worldwide phenomenon. The so-called *old organizations* – unions, parties, traditional charities – are particularly affected by the new trend.

The *new organizations* of civic engagement, sometimes termed *non-governmental organizations* (NGOs), differ from the traditional membership associations in terms of organizational structures, funding, and working procedures. Instead of working mainly with volunteer members, they are professionalized with paid staff. Instead of relying on membership dues, they operate on external funding. Moreover, instead of being multi-level, federated associations, with local branches, state associations, and national peak associations, NGOs are by and large hierarchically structured organizations with only a national entity – no state or local branches. Hence, for many people citizen participation no longer constitutes a by-product of membership in these

advocacy organizations that have no real members, but instead citizen participation is often a loosely affiliated component of a professionalized NGO that might widely use the Internet for its political campaigns pressing for single issues. A further new development is related to *community organizing* taking place at the local level. Again, there are professional *organizers* who, supported by donations and foundation funds, aim at empowering local citizens to get active on behalf of certain community issues. Currently, the most prominent representative of this new mode of getting civic engagement started is US President Barack Obama, who used to work as a community organizer in Chicago.

Skocpol's thesis, as described in prior paragraphs, has been put to extensive, quantitative, empirical testing with national sample data on associations in the United States by Walker, McCarthy, and Baumgartner (2011). They found no evidence for Skocpol's thesis, which has been based mainly on qualitative examples and special samples of associations or non-associational nonprofits. Specifically, national advocacy associations continue to grow and proliferate, with no evidence of non-associational (i.e., memberless) non-profit advocacy agencies (NPOs) crowding out or diminishing the numbers of such advocacy associations. Advocacy NPOs without members (which are *not*, by definition, associations at all) also continue to grow. Clearly, advocacy is increasingly popular for all types of organizations in the US nonprofit sector.

Despite the significant transformation of civic life suggested above, the active citizens who volunteer on a regular basis for local associations (GAs) and who are interested in community affairs as well as in politics in general have not changed significantly since the early 1950s, when the first surveys were conducted investigating the socio-economic background of those who are civically engaged. Civic engagement, citizen participation, and political volunteering constitute core domains of well-educated members of the middle class. Compared to the 1950s, female participation has significantly increased with respect to every mode of activity, from voting up to taking part in protest drives. However, this is due to the fact that women's access to institutions of education has become much easier than it used to be worldwide since the late 1960s.

5. S-Theory used as a multivariate, interdisciplinary model of political volunteering/participation

Smith (2014, 2015, 2016c, 2017a, 2017b) has recently developed a very general, quantitative, interdisciplinary, and comprehensive theory for the explanation of human individual behavior, especially pro-social behavior and voluntary action. His S-Theory (or Synanthrometrics) is presented briefly in Handbook

Chapters 2 and 31. [The next paragraphs of this Section #5 are quoted from Smith (2017b), with permission.]

"Perhaps because political science lacks a single, overarching, and quantitative theory of political behavior, this academic discipline has been fairly receptive to new independent variable (IV) types that can help explain political behavior. Such receptivity has been enhanced also by the fact that after 50 years of trying, not all that much of the variance (30%–50%) in voting and other important dependent variable (DV) types of political behavior could be explained by traditional Socio-Cultural Roles (demographics) combined with political ideology (as Felt General Attitudes). The part of political science focused on explaining political participation has been termed *behavioral politics*. The subfield called *political psychology* has been the most active in pursuing new types of IVs to help explain such behavior, usually with a quantitative analytical strategy.

A recent, high-quality handbook on political behavior is a good place to begin here (Dalton and Klingemann 2007). Use of socio-cultural roles and demographics as traditional IVs to explain political participation is a baseline starting point in the quantitative theory of political behavior, as in S-Theory. For instance, the Handbook has chapters on such demographic factors as social class (Chapter 24), religion (Chapter 25), race (Chapter 26), and various other dimensions of *political cleavage*, new and old (Chapter 28). *Political cleavages* is the general term for effects on political participation of these kinds of socio-cultural roles and demographic categories. Similarly, another traditional starting point in explaining political behavior has been the focus on political beliefs, values, and ideology (Chapters 3, 8, 12, and 22) and party preferences, especially left–right orientations (Chapter 11) as Felt General Attitudes/FGAs in S-Theory. But there has also long been a focus on preferences for specific political parties (*partisanship*; Chapter 29), and more recently, a focus on preferences for specific leaders as personalities (Chapter 30). Both of these IVs are Felt Specific Attitudes/FSAs, in the Motivation/M IV as part of the Psyche mega-IV in S-Theory.

Chapter 27 reviews economic models of voting, showing how political science is reaching out in the direction of economics, but not for basic economic theory. This approach (p. 518) focuses instead on how voters assess the current economic situation in their nation or smaller territory, then either voting to approve present leaders, if the situation is seen as good, or voting to elect other/new leaders, if the current situation is seen as bad or negative. However, voters can also assess the probable future economic situation and take that perception into account (p. 526). Empirical studies support both approaches, finding retrospective and prospective

cognitive effects on voting, even with other IVs/factors controlled statistically (p. 532). Such research validates the inclusion in S-Theory of Cognitions/C as part of the Psyche Mega-IV and also validates inclusion of the Mega-IV of Environment/E, particularly the macro-context of the individual. Chapter 31 examines more sophisticated multivariate statistical analyses, which use *multi-level models* to assess separately the effects of individual factors and contextual (especially macro-context) factors. Statistically significant effects of both the individual factors and macro-contextual factors of various kinds have been found in recent research. Such research and theory further validates the inclusion of the Cognitions/C Macro-IV in the Psyche Mega-IV and also the Mega-IV of the Environment/E in S-Theory.

Chapter 3 reviews research and theory showing the importance of Affect/A or emotions in political psychology and choice, validating the inclusion of the Affect IV as part of the Psyche in S-Theory. That chapter also reviews research and theory on the improving methodology of political psychology, moving gradually beyond self-report measures from survey interviews to the use of implicit measures that tap unconscious and emotional influences (p. 92). This validates the recommended S-Theory methodological practice of measuring both explicit/conscious (self-report) and implicit/unconscious (usually sub-liminal) version of all Psyche IVs (Mlodinow 2012; Smith 2017b: chapter 8; Vedantam 2010). Dalton and Klingemann (2007: chapter 10, p. 190) note the importance of personality traits, seen here as the S-Theory IV/T, and also of certain modern values, which are Felt General Attitudes/FGAs, both seen in S-Theory as Meso-IVs embedded in Motivation/M, as one Macro-IV in the Psyche Mega-IV.

Insofar as political behavior has had key theories, *Rational Choice Theory* (RCT), borrowed from economics, has long been a favorite one (Chapter 32, pp. 610–611). However, Chapter 23 reviews research on a particularly interesting and new aspect of individual decision-making. It is now clear from much research that the psychological approach to decision-making is superior to the economic RCT approach, because political choice has at least two levels: (1) choice among the ballot alternatives offered (e.g., the menu of specific available choices in voting), at the individual level of analysis, and (2) choice among alternative *menus of choices* that might be offered to voters (the variety of possible menus as options for those leaders who construct for all voters a specific menu of choices for a specific voting process), as determined by the nature of the political system and by current political leaders. Economics never deals with the level #2 choices, only with the level #1 choices, and most political scientists have done the same, until very recently.

These two different levels of choices are captured in S-Theory by including both the full range of Macro-IVs (M, A, G, I, C, π, S) comprising the Psyche Mega-IV of individuals, but also including the Environment/E Mega-IV. This more nuanced approach to political decision-making includes both the "attributes of the chooser, but also ... the properties of choice sets" (p. 439).

Multivariate theories of voting and of other key types of political participation by individuals have become very sophisticated. Recent empirical-statistical results generally support the Mega-IVs of the Environment/E, and especially the various Macro-IVs comprising the Psyche/Ψ in S-Theory (Dalton and Klingemann 2007:630–633, 667–669, 793–794; see also Leighley 2012). Turning to two specific multivariate research examples, based on national sample survey data in the United States, the excellent study by Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995:389) *explained 45% of the variance in a highly reliable index of overall political participation*, using demographics, some of the S-Theory Psyche Macro-IVs, and one Environment IV (recruitment by others, as a Micro-Environment IV), but no Body IVs. *With voting intention as the DV, the multivariate theory of Marcus, Neuman, and MacKuen* (2000:121) *explained 69% of the variance*, using national samples of the United States. The latter authors contrast the superior explanatory power of their *affective intelligence theory* over the traditional RCT approach (p. 132).

Although survey research cannot adequately assess implicit (unconscious) versions of the S-Theory Psyche IVs, other researchers and theorists make it clear that such implicit IVs are potentially important IVs in explaining political participation (e.g., Lakoff 2008:196–197 and chapter 16; Marcus 2013:168–174). This further validates the S-Theory methodological proposition that appropriate implicit measures of all Psyche IVs need to be obtained, to fully explain behavior (Smith 2017b: Chapter 8). Similarly, survey research finds it difficult to measure directly most relevant Body IVs, depending on self-report, but they are nonetheless important factors potentially affecting political behavior, as for any other kind of behavior. For instance, Tuschman (2013:401) makes a strong case that three measurable clusters of personality traits clearly affect an individual's political orientation (e.g., right–left on the party and ideology spectrum), which in turn influence voting. Further, "Each of the three personality clusters has roots that reach even deeper into evolutionary origins." At the level of the brain and neurology, Hatemi and McDermott (2011:chapters 4 and 11, especially) show clearly that there are neurobiological influences on much political behavior, contrary to the long-prevailing and still current *sociocultural transmission paradigm* in political science, as in sociology."

Smith (2016f) analyzed Russian national sample survey data (see Handbook Chapter 31 for a description of S-theory and the methodology used in the Russian research; N = 2,000) using his S-Theory to predict political activity/volunteering as a criterion variable. Political activity/volunteering was measured by the respondent's answer to a question about how much leisure time in the past 12 months had been spent in "political activities like political meetings or campaign work," with five fixed answer options, ranging from *very often* to *never*. Some 24.3% of the variance was explained, a very substantial and highly significant result statistically, with 15 significant predictors (.05 level, two-tailed). The most powerful predictors, in declining order of beta weight strength, were as follows: β = .22 do more socially approved leisure; β = .19 not socialize in bars; β = .17 more local helping goals; β = .16 more formal volunteering.

6. Deviant political parties and deviant political volunteering

In any contemporary society with one or more political parties, there can be one or more deviant, stigmatized parties as well as the mainstream, acceptable one(s). In a one-party state, such as China, only the dominant party (e.g., the Communist Party of the Peoples' Republic of China) is mainstream and acceptable, and all others are stigmatized as *deviant* and potentially harmful to the party-state (unless actually dominated by the one party). This situation of dominance was true in the Soviet Union and the Nazi Third Reich, as well as in all other one-party states (e.g., Brooker 1995; Brown 2011; Magaloni 2008). Apparent exceptions usually involve sham (fake) opposition parties controlled by the party-state, as in China today, not genuine and independent parties. Even in multi-party nations, there may be deviant, stigmatized political parties, as for the Communist Party in the United States.

Hitler's Nazi Party (NSDAP), formed in 1918 by others, began with him in full control in 1921 as a revolutionary party, seeking to overthrow the democratic Weimar regime. After a failed coup attempt in 1923, Hitler went to prison, and was released a few years later only with his promise to not engage in violence, only to use the ballot box. When he ascended to being Chancellor of Germany by the appointment of President van Hindenberg in 1933, Hitler performed another, this time successful, coup, and installed the Nazi Party as the sole legal party until Germany was defeated by the Allies in 1945 (Smith 2017c).

Many other nations have had revolutionary political parties active within their borders, often as underground or guerrilla movements. Daniel Ortega and his Sandinistas were successful in Nicaragua, as was Robert Mugabe and his Chimurenga guerrilla movement in Zimbabwe (Smith 2017c). But as often

elsewhere, both leaders installed brutal, long-term dictatorships, which many citizens have found to be little, if any, improvement over the previous authoritarian regimes. Dictatorships are easy to install, hard to dislodge, and appeal widely to revolutionary and guerrilla leaders in nations with little or no experience of democracy in their histories (e.g., Bueno de Mesquita and A. Smith 2012).

Alijla (2011) wrote an interesting socio-political analysis of Hamas in Palestine as a political party, armed militia (some would say, terrorist group), and social movement. He emphasized that Hamas initially depended mainly on political volunteers to accomplish it goals and routine activities as a voluntary political association. He points out that Hamas involved informal political institutions (North 1990; O'Donnell 1993, 1996), rather than formal ones, as is often the case when new associations and institutions arise and seek formal power in any society. Alijla's study of volunteering for Hamas is the first one focused on political party volunteering in an informal political institution in Palestine. The quasi-formal volunteering principles discussed seem to apply to many other cases of militant Islamic resistance movements, guerrilla, terrorist groups, and informal political parties (cf. Smith 2017c). All of the foregoing are viable, if deviant, approaches to gaining greater political power, public recognition, and donations of money and other resources in a situation where resources are scarce for many poor people and there is a dominating regime or opposition to the given association's aims.

E. Usable knowledge

The cumulated research on why people do political activity/volunteering, as summarized and organized by S-Theory and tested on Russian national sample survey data, can be very useful to leaders of political parties and for specific campaigns in trying to mobilize more volunteers and also more favorable voters to support a given candidate or issue/cause on the ballot. For idealists who seek greater political participation by the poorer and less educated segments of the population in any nation or by other people effectively excluded from full participation because of gender, ethnicity/race, or religious affiliation, the same S-Theory determinants/influences can be useful, where relevant determinants can be manipulated, in encouraging more involvement than usual.

Much research, not reviewed in detail here, focuses on how to set up and run a successful election campaign or even form a new political party or, more likely, a new pressure group or a local branch of an existing one. Where national or state/province political parties or pressure groups already exist, it is fairly

easy to set up a new, local branch (if one does not already exist), simply by showing both interest and competence to the appropriate higher-level leaders.

F. Future trends and needed research

Where permitted by civil liberties enforced in a nation or other territory, we can expect the continued growth not only of local branches of political parties but also, and especially, of various kinds of interest/pressure groups at all territorial levels.

As noted in Section F of Handbook Chapter 32:

"Given the well-understood determinants of association prevalence, as revealed by the research of Smith and Shen (2002) and of Schofer and Longhofer (2011), the main future trend for [local associations] is increasing prevalence in the world. Association prevalence for groups with all territorial levels of geographic scope (local, supra-local, national, and international) will likely increase in all world regions and for all nations that have increasing population size (which includes the vast majority of nations). Growing formal education levels and GDP per capita levels in many nations also portend greater association prevalence, as do strengthening national governments and increasing civil liberties in many nations."

All of the foregoing association prevalence growth factors (see Handbook Chapter 50) apply to political associations, especially at the local level, and hence also to political volunteering by active members of these associations. Insofar as Skocpol's thesis about increasing professionalization of advocacy organizations at the national level is correct, and also if such organizations tend to drive out genuine membership associations in the advocacy area, then there should be some decline in national advocacy associations. However, careful, systematic, quantitative research testing the Skocpol thesis does *not* confirm her qualitative conclusions (Walker, McCarthy, and Baumgartner, 2011). There may be more professional advocacy organizations these days, but such organizations, as NPOs (*not* as associations), are not driving out genuine advocacy associations on the national scene in the United States, contrary to Skocpol's claim.

We need much future research on this last noted issue, not just in the United States, but also in other nations. We also need research testing the full range of S-Theory independent variables (IVs) or predictors as explanations of various kinds of political participation/volunteering, and with a reliable composite index of such activity as a dependent variable (DV) as well. The insights of

Handbook Chapter 5 needs to be applied to understanding political volunteering/participation, investigating the extent to which such activity is actually part of the larger Leisure General Activity Pattern that is so well documented in that chapter. The results of the Smith (2017c) survey research in Russia, as described above, clearly suggest that political activity/volunteering is part of the LGAP, as expected. All of these types of future research need to be done on large samples of nations, not just in the United States and in a few European nations. Too much socio-behavioral science research is based only on samples from Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic (i.e., WEIRD) nations that are clearly unrepresentative of humans on earth (Henrich, Heine, and Norenzayan 2010).

G. Cross-references

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24
Social Movements and Activist-Protest Volunteering

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A. Introduction

Scholars of volunteering have long excluded the radical, political forms of formal volunteering from their analytical gaze, especially more contentious social movements and collective activist-protest volunteering. This false dichotomy hinders scholarship by perpetuating analytical blinders. The present chapter helps remedy this oversight by reviewing research and theory highlighting overlaps between conventional volunteering, including conventional political volunteering, and unconventional, social movement activism as volunteering. Conventional political volunteering and unconventional political activism are both means for inclusion, participation, accountability, and change (sometimes even democratization) of polities. Both conventional political volunteering and protest activism rely on commitment, values, solidarities, and often altruism, as ordinary citizens seek solutions to collective problems/issues.

We therefore conclude that scholarship on conventional volunteerism and unconventional, protest volunteering need to pursue more integrated analytical approaches. Many books and articles attempting to describe and discuss volunteering and the voluntary nonprofit sector (VNPS) in general omit political forms of volunteering and their corresponding associations, especially social activist-protest volunteering and social movement organizations (SMOs) as associations (e.g., Heinrich and Fioramonti 2008; O'Neill 2002; Powell and Steinberg 2006; Salamon 1999, 2012; Salamon, Sokolowski, and Associates 2004; Taylor 2010). Edward's (2011) *Oxford Handbook of Civil Society* is an unusual and very welcome exception, with its Chapter 6 focused on social movements (SMs). Smith, Macaulay, and Associates' much earlier (1980) edited volume was also an exception, with chapters examining the determinants of both conventional and unconventional/protest political activity, often similar.

Smith (2000:chapter 10) has critiqued all of VNPS scholarship, seeing (circa 2000 AD/CE) a wide variety of *flat-earth maps or paradigms* being widely used that omit many important topics or *territories* that should be included in a more accurate *round-earth paradigm* of the VNPS. Relevant here is Smith's description of the *Status Quo/Establishment Flat-earth Paradigm* (p. 235), which he suggests, "ignores social movement [Voluntary Groups/VGs, usually associations], protest, and advocacy volunteering." As first Editor-in-Chief of this Handbook, Smith has been careful to include a chapter such as this one on activist-protest volunteering – *unconventional* political volunteering, as well as Handbook Chapter 23 on conventional political volunteering.

Whereas Chapter 23 deals with conventional political volunteering, this chapter focuses on unconventional types of political volunteering by exploring linkages between social movement activism, collective protest, and volunteerism. Conventional political volunteering is concerned with *routine power* or *established power*, while unconventional political volunteering is concerned with *disruptive power* (Piven 2008). It is fair to say that the vast majority of scholarship on *volunteering* focuses only on *routine power* or *authority*, if power is studied at all, and *disruptive power* is generally ignored. As for the Handbook as a whole (except for Chapter 9 on informal volunteering), the focus here is on formal activist volunteering *in associations* or other collective contexts, not on individual/solitary acts of resistance or protest.

The central task for this chapter is to move beyond existing conceptual and analytical pigeonholes, overcoming traditional academic blinders, forced by this false dichotomy between the world of volunteerism and the world of social movement activism. We will do this by exploring in Section D how the two concepts are closely linked and how they are mutually reinforcing components of social change and development. The roots of this false dichotomy lie partly in the history of our field in study of philanthropy, which tends to be genteel and elitist in its approach. Another intellectual root of the false dichotomy is the persistent overemphasis on civility by civil society scholars (see more of this critique in the Handbook Introduction).

B. Definitions

The set of definitions of general terms in the Handbook Appendix are accepted here. But there are some special terms that also need definition.

Musick and Wilson (2008:541), citing Anheier and Salamon (1999), argue that the different words that describe volunteering in different languages have different histories and carry different cultural and political connotations. The contextual differences involved in the conception of volunteerism bring to fore a distinction between practices of volunteerism and values of volunteerism. But if a core set of values is maintained, then a diversity of

practices including voluntary participation, advocacy, campaigning, protest activity, and awareness-raising (all key aspects of both political volunteerism and social advocacy), still qualify as volunteering. This is where volunteerism overlaps with social activism. That said, and because of definitional confusion, Kleidman (1994:264) argues for a "range of voluntariness" that varies according to the "amount of compensation and sacrifice" (cited in Musick and Wilson 2008:541) and whose range, includes a number of values such as social solidarity, free will, benefits to community, and no expectation of financial compensation commensurate with the service.[1] Benefits to others must be aimed at people outside the household and immediate family, according to Smith, Stebbins, and Dover (2006:245).

As defined in the Handbook Appendix, a *Social Movement Group* (SMG) is:

> A nonprofit group that is usually a small, often independent, unit in a larger social movement. Based on a shared ideology and common goals but not usually a common bureaucratic structure or even formal affiliation with the larger movement, an SMG tries to effect change (or maintain the status quo, in "anti-movements") on a particular issue. The SMG is actually a subtype of political nonprofit. [Often] incorrectly referred to as social movement organizations, most SMGs are informal or semiformal groups.

The Appendix further states that a *social movement organization (SMO)* is, "A nonprofit social movement group that is formally organized. SMOs are usually associations, not nonprofit agencies." SMGs and SMOs tend to have loose network ties and horizontal peer-to-peer relationships, as opposed to hierarchical structures of, say, political parties (Mannarini, Legittimo, and Talò 2008; see also, Lofland 1996). Both volunteerism and activism are multidimensional and contextual at the same time. Moreover, there is considerable overlap between these two concepts. Social movements (SMs) are larger congeries of SMOs and various less formalized collective protest groups, plus individual acts of protest and resistance.

C. Historical background

Activist volunteering in SMOs (usually associations) and other collective protests go far back into history, at least four millennia. They arose first in ancient agrarian societies (cf. Nolan and Lenski 2006), such as ancient Greece, Rome, and China, but did not exist earlier in preliterate societies. Boot's (2013) book, *Invisible Armies*, is perhaps the best survey of guerrilla warfare, insurgencies, collective protests, and incipient or full-fledged, usually violent, SMs over this long period of time. For instance, most people in the West are aware of the Roman slave rebellion led by Spartacus c. 73 B.C. (Shaw 2001).

Fewer are aware of the Sicarii as an underground, revolutionary association in Jerusalem c. 70 A.D., which used assassinations to resist the Roman occupation of Israel. More will recall the Sicarii's last stand and mass suicide at Masada, by the Dead Sea (Brighton 2009). There were periodic rebellions of slaves and people of the underclasses generally in nearly all ancient civilizations, although not all have received sufficient, if any, historical treatment. Historians in the distant past have usually been part of the status quo and establishment, which has frowned on "memorializing" any collective resistance to absolute power.

For the past 500 years, historians have been more likely to record and describe, as collective protest and resistance, such events as revolutions, revolts, rebellions, insurrections, riots, demonstrations, protests, and marches. This has been done especially well for Europe (Goldstone 1993; Hobsbawm 1965; Tilly 1996) and America (Danver 2010), but also done for such events elsewhere as well (Goldstone 1993; Piven 2008). Some of these "collective activist events" were spontaneous, short lived (a day or two), and very poorly organized, if organized at all. Others were planned, of longer term (weeks, months, even years), and organized by single associations or larger social movements as cooperating sets of two or more associations and other groups. The latter, more organized activist events and their associations are the forerunners of contemporary social movements and formal activist volunteering. Some collective activist events have been local, others national, or even international, with the last two decades registering a proliferation of international protest actions commonly dubbed as anti-globalization protest movement(s) or terrorism. Included here are the democratization struggles of the last two decades in the developing world and the earlier decolonization struggles in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Also included are various terrorist campaigns, especially recently (Schmid 2011).

The origin of social movements in various parts of the world has been explained by different theories (cf. Buechler 2011; Staggenborg 2010.). Whereas earlier collective behavior theory conceived of movements as part of deviance and disorganization symptomatic of social malfunction, today's dominant political opportunities model views them as extensions of politics by other means because they are part of the ever-present political processes and organizations competing over interests in modern pluralistic societies (Buechler 2000, 2011). For the resource mobilization and political process theorists, social movements are created to tap new political resources and opportunities available in modern democratic societies. They, like other forms of political struggle, can be analyzed in terms of conflicts of interest (Buechler 2000; McCarthy and Zald 1977; Oberschall 1973; Tilly 1978; Voss and Williams 2012). These theorists emphasize that social movements develop only when individuals with grievances are able to mobilize sufficient resources to take action (Edwards and McCarthy 2004). The bottom line is that social movements create

substantive political uncertainty in democratic systems as they promote demo-cratic accountability of the elected to the citizenry (Schedler 2001:19, cited in Habib 2008).

Over the past 200 years, and especially in the 20th century, activist asso-ciations and social movements, more generally, have become increasingly sophisticated in structure and strategies/tactics. The social movement – a social innovation – has spread around the world (Tilly and Wood 2008). The develop-ment of social movements has gone hand in hand with the evolution of their tactics and strategies. Whereas, in previous centuries violence had been the norm, the 20th century movements have used a variety of nonviolent strate-gies and tactics (Ackerman and DuVall 2001; Zunes, Asher, and Kurtz 1999). And, where in prior centuries issues of economic status, class, and power had been central, in the 20th century new social movements have arisen with a different focus: identity, rights, and justice for such categories of humankind as women, minority ethnic groups, disabled people, gays and lesbians, and people concerned with the environment (Larana 1994).

D. Key issues

1. Where does SM/SMO dissent and activism take place?

Volunteerism and social activism foster inclusion by offering opportunities for participation of people from diverse backgrounds and circumstances to influ-ence policies affecting their lives. Volunteerism and activism also foster good governance, efficiency, and accountability. Indeed, in many parts of the world, changes in the forms and quality of governance from authoritarianism to democracy have been steered to a large extent by voluntary activism instead of violent revolution. In South Africa, for instance, a vibrant volunteer-led civil society coupled with social movement activism helped end the discredited apartheid system. In sub-Saharan Africa, the move from single-party dicta-torships to semblances of multipartyism was spearheaded in early 1990s by unconventional mass dissents. Volunteerism and activism are therefore forms of active citizenship and possible means to *deepening democracy* (UNDP 2002) or *democratizing democracy* (Giddens 1998). Here, there is broadening public participation in processes of governance, aiding citizens' direct role in pub-lic decision making, as well as engaging more deeply with political issues and effecting greater responsiveness from government.

Furthermore, both volunteering and social activism are actions undertaken without pay; they are voluntary to the extent they are founded on individual free will and conviction. A key characteristic of volunteer and social activism initiatives is their reliance on commitment and capacities of ordinary people. While leadership, as shall become clear later in the chapter, is key in chan-neling collective outrage into collective action, the principal engine for such

commitment is the willingness of citizens to search for solutions to collective problems (Mati 2012). This commitment is exemplified through an activism based on core values that generate, among citizens, the unique solidarities needed in a united cause.

2. What has been the long-term impact of SMs and SMOs on human societies?

In a forthcoming publication, Smith (2017) examines in some detail the impact of associations on societies and history. In Section D, #2 there, the following conclusions are reached regarding protest-activist volunteering in SMSs and SMOs, quoted here with permission:

> SMOs and often their larger SMs have achieved many, remarkable, socio-cultural changes in their own societies in the past 200-plus years, and often in global human society. Lofland (1996:348–353) has usefully suggested a rather comprehensive set of analytical categories/types of possible SMO effects, outcomes, or impacts: (a) changes in governments, laws, policies, policy systems; (b) winning acceptance; (c) new or enlarged movement establishment; (d) new items of mainstream culture; (e) shifts in norms, cultural images, and symbols; (f) changes in the interaction order; (g) The shape of strata (socioeconomic status) structures; (h) cultural clarification and affirmation; (i) entertainment and spectacle; (j) violence and tyranny; (k) scholarly trade (academic pursuits/activities studying the SMO/SM); and (l) models for later SMOs.
>
> The early and exemplary, systematic, comparative research by Gamson (1990; first edition published in 1975) studied a *random* sample of 53 American SMOs (termed *challenging groups*), all of them MAs (usually national MAs published documents about each SMO, using a standardized set of questions that investigated various hypotheses and theories about the causes of SMO impact/effectiveness. From among the (much-later published) set of 12 potential kinds of impact listed and discussed by Lofland (1996), as above, Gamson (1990:28–29) independently chose versions of #a and b, which he called *new advantages* and *acceptance*.
>
> One very striking result of Gamson's research was that *fully 49% of the SMOs sampled from this period of US history achieved new advantages, as an indicator of SMO success*. Virtually no one would have guessed this high success rate in advance. Given his random sampling of SMOs, these results can be generalized to all major, American SMOs in this time period of 145 years. Most of the book explores the significance of various factors of resource mobilization and organizational structure/process associated with the two measures

of SMO success. But *the central result for present purposes is the great effectiveness of SMOs as a type of MA in a democracy like the United States over the time period studied.*

There is a huge research literature, including histories, that documents the impact of the many human rights–based SMOs in the United States and elsewhere in democratic nations (cf. Anderson and Herr 2007. Snow et al. 2013; Snow, Soule, and Kriesi, 2004). The 29 chapters of the social movements handbook edited by Snow, Soule, and Kriesi (2004) give a brief overview of this literature. Chapters 24–29 and their references document the impacts of such major SMs as the labor, women's/feminist, environmental, peace/antiwar, ethnic/nationalist, and various religious movements. Careful reading of social and institutional history in industrial and postindustrial nations, for instance, clearly indicates that the life situations, life opportunities, and general life satisfactions have been substantially greater for factory workers, women, consumers of the environment, conscientious objectors, a variety of racial–ethnic groups, and members of many minority/fringe religions since relevant SMs and SMOs have been active seeking such outcomes. Less clear is that the improvements have been the direct results of SM/SMO activity, but research such as Gamson's (1990) and studies of many single SMs/SMOs suggest that *these movements have indeed had a significant long-term impact.*

In addition to tying to understand participation in and the dynamics of SMs/SMOs, scholars have studied the outcomes and consequences of specific, single SMs/SMOs for the past seven decades and more. In many cases, the researchers involved have concluded that the SM/SMO has had some significant, positive impact on the targets of benefits – the kinds of people who were to be helped.

In the past two decades or so, many other scholars have studied *comparatively* the outcomes, consequences, and impacts of SMs/SMOs, following the path-breaking research of Gamson ([1975] 1990). We can only mention here a few documents that seem to be the best summaries of this SM/SMO outcomes/consequences/impacts literature. Amenta et al. (2010) conclude their review of the political consequences of SMs/SMOs as follows:

> In the past decade there has been extensive research on the political consequences of movements. The biggest and best-studied movements have been shown to be politically influential in various ways, and movement protest is especially influential in helping to set policy agendas' [of government legislatures and executive agencies]. On page 293, Amenta et al. (2010) present a table of the impact (influence) results from their comparative content analysis study of nine main SM types, based on articles in five relevant, high-quality journals published in 2001–2009. For

seven of the nine SMs, the authors found evidence of moderate or strong influence. For five less well studied, non-US SMs (names not reported), they found such evidence for all five SMs. Hence, overall they found moderate or strong influence for 12 SMs out of 14 examined. The two SMs with weak or no influence were the nativist/ supremacist SM and the antiwar SM. The main positive outcome types were single or multiple policy changes by the government.

An earlier review by Burstein and Linton (2002:381) of research on political organizations in general, including SMs/SMOs, stated similarly as follows:

Everyone who studies democratic politics agrees that political parties, interest groups, and social movement organizations (SMOs) strongly influence public policy' in a variety of ways (specified). The authors also stated (p. 382), 'They seem indispensable [as organizational forms] to democratic policy making; no democratic polity in the modern world is without them . . . .

Many other scholars have reached roughly similar conclusions (Gillion 2013; Giugni 1998, 2004; Giugni, McAdam, and Tilly. 1999; Meyer [2007] 2014; Meyer, Jenness, and Ingram 2005; Minkoff 1995, 1997; Snow, Soule, and Kriesi 2004:Part V; Skrentny 2004; Tarrow 1998; Tilly 2004). Most of Gamson's (1990) conclusions about the internal, mobilizing factors affecting success/failure have been confirmed, but there are still major theoretical and methodological difficulties and nuances of interpretation (Giugni 1998; Jenkins and Klandermans 1995; Meyer 2007). In particular, other scholars have argued for the significant, sometimes substantial effects of external factors, such as public opinion, culture, opportunity, and political party support (Amenta et al. 2010; Banaszak 1996). In sum, many SMs and SMOs have long had a powerful and enduring impact on their own societies and often on global human society as a whole.

3. What are the main factors influencing success and impact of SMs/SMOs?

Both conventional political volunteering and social protest-activism are tools for development and, particularly, for responding to society's challenges and needs. Here, both political volunteering and social activism benefit not just the activist or political volunteer but also the community at large or sections thereof, facing disadvantage or discrimination. Thus, participation in political volunteering and social activism has noticeable impacts on both individual volunteers and communities or sections of a society, sometimes on the whole society (see prior section).

At the individual level, serving as a volunteer social activist can help people take their first step to long-term involvement in politics, development, and

eventually political engagement and participation. In a study of 19 European countries, Dekker, Koopmans and Van den Broek (1997) reported that involvement in formal voluntary associations was negatively related to participation in protests. Under repressive conditions (e.g., the recent Arab awakening), protests are a more common form of political participation, since the state can more easily intimidate individuals in organized groups than those in non-institutionalized situations.

Political volunteering provides leadership, defines areas for engagement, mobilizes individuals, and keeps social activism relevant to local communities. In societies with strong traditions of activism, perceived state transgressions are not tolerated as protesters soon pour into the streets in peaceful protest when more subtle means (e.g., town hall meetings, protest letters, and petitions) are ineffective. These forms of collective action create difficult uncertainties for those in political power, forcing them to respond to popular demands. In the process, social movement activism can help expand freedoms and challenge power structures in society.

There is ample evidence that, through volunteer engagement especially in social movements, citizens successfully carry out such tasks, even in situations of limited space for autonomous action and ability to critique the state. Social movements have been widely celebrated for their ability to put on the collective agenda issues considered irrelevant by mainstream institutions and to broaden and extend ideas of citizenship to groups formerly excluded. Examples forcing significant concessions and social change include the women's movement, civil rights movement, antiapartheid movement, and the recent Arab Awakening.

Here, the question arises as to how does the national political context shape these relationships? Whereas the political context is a key determinant of the type of volunteer activism that may emerge, Kenny (2003) argues that volunteerism is embedded in the idea of a liberal democratic society. Nonetheless, this view fails to acknowledge that certain forms of volunteerism such as political advocacy and social movement activism emerge in many parts of the world transitions from *oligopolistic authoritarian*ism to democratic rule. Indeed, even under totalitarian communist regimes of Eastern Europe, volunteering did not completely disappear. It was a disguised volunteer action that sustained the pro-democracy movements in those same countries (Chimiak 2006). Drawing further from examples of Spain and South Africa, Smith argues that certain forms of civic participation and political engagement thrive better under conditions of tyranny and adversity. Volunteerism is therefore not limited to liberal democratic societies. Even in democracies, movements use so-called extra-institutional means to achieve their objectives.

Protests and collective actions are more likely to take place in political contexts where opportunity for public consultation with the state remains low and/or ineffective or the institutions are highly mistrusted (Uslaner and Brown

2005). In such situations, collective discontent resorts to direct confrontations, sabotage, even damage to symbols of power of the targeted institutions, all in a quest to elicit responsiveness and raise the state's willingness to meet citizen needs (Mannarini, Legittimo, and Talò 2008). In a sense, protests have become the only language forcing state institutions to respond as seen in the volatile South African context. As a result, the present, a time of great mistrust of political institutions and their occupiers, is an age of riots and uprisings (Badiou 2012; Tarrow 1998). In China for instance, government estimates indicate that there have been more that 700,000 "collective incidents" (*quntixing shijian*) since the mid-2000s, while in South Africa, Bond (2010:1, cited in Mottiar and Fowler 2012) states that since 2005 there are over 8,000 Gatherings Act incidents per year.

4. What motivates and triggers individual involvement in SMs/SMOs?

To understand the role volunteers play in SMOs and activism, we must analyze the agency of volunteer activist leaders and social movements as social structure. Scholarship on the relationship between the two places agency (demonstrated by leadership and membership in social movements) is a key factor in generating social movements, as well as in their ongoing operations. Scholars such as Osaghae (2008), Tilly (2004), and Tarrow (1998) make this link in their analysis of the question *why* and *how* social discontents translate into collective action groups and social movements. For Osaghae (2008:195), the answer lies in a deeper analysis of the "historical context of the struggles, the social basis of the movements, the nature of leadership of the movements, how the constituency of interests is mobilized...." Leadership therefore plays an indispensable role in the three distinct phases of a movement: incubation, action, and institutionalization (Katumanga 1999; Nasong'o 2007).

Activist volunteers, where their activism is strongly resisted by the government of their society, often risk life and limb, jobs/income, assets, and harm to family and friends (Grotz 2011). In such cases, commitment is central to a citizen's choice to participate in social activism and collective dissent. Stern et al. (1999:81) explain such commitment with the value–belief–norm theory of social movement support. Here, "individuals who accept a movement's basic values, believe that valued objects are threatened, and believe that their actions can help restore those values experience an obligation (personal norm)...." Further, such individuals participate in collective action in the belief that their actions will deliver public good that may not necessarily be limited to their immediate small group. Thus, these activists are also led by broader altruistic concerns.

5. What starts SMs/SMOs?

Activist leaders are responsible for catalyzing collective discontent into social movements by providing "a body of organising principles and slogans around

which people are organized for action" (Nasong'o 2007:21) while "mobiliz[ing] resources and found[ing] organizations in response to incentives, risks, and opportunities...." (Morris and Staggenborg 2004:173). These catalysts/"men and women of words" (Nasong'o 2004)/"social movement entrepreneurs" (McCarthy and Zald 1977) utilize their charisma, oratory capacity, and the power of written word, to publicise existing social dysfunctions and discontents of people and philosophize on how these can be fixed (Katumanga 1999). Social movement entrepreneurs seek to "undermine the existing belief systems and institutional arrangement while simultaneously promoting hunger for faith among masses" (Nasong'o 2007:21).

Moreover, activists must overcome existing patterns of resource inequality by accessing a range of resources from a variety of sources. They redirect those resources into coordinated action leading to social change (Edwards and McCarthy 2004). Volunteers and members play similarly diverse roles within the spectrum of SMOs. They range from the much-discussed "check-book," or paper, members who do no more than pay a membership fee and receive e-mail notifications to volunteers who make core decisions about organizational governance and strategy (Foley and Edwards 2002).

Even without strong social movement traditions in which protest actions are not specifically led in a sustained manner by a social movement, leadership is crucial. In China, for instance, collective resistance is often led by local leaders, who negotiate with authorities regarding further collective actions. These leaders are volunteers, and they allocate all sorts of voluntary tasks among the most engaged individuals. Such has been reported in the "popcorn protests" in South Africa. Everywhere these protests tend to be short lived, usually winding down after public resentment is addressed by establishing a formal or informal association to safeguard the fruit of the resistance.

Committed activists launch many of the dissent and activist organizations. These volunteers get the movement's actions under way by "taking the ideology and words of the ideologues and translating them into comprehensible terms for the masses in distress" (Nasong'o 2007:21). Committed activists help explain why some movements develop and others fail (McAdam 1982; Tilly 1977). They form the core of the organization with the highest levels of commitment and greatest sacrifice for the movement. They also appeal to outsiders, the "bystanders, conscience constituents... third parties...and the audiences who collectively comprise public opinion" supporting the movement (Downey and Rohlinger 2008:12).

6. Who gets involved in SMs/SMOs?

Volunteering and activism reflect individual choices and appeals at different times to people of different persuasions, demographics, gender, ethnicities, and religions. Despite these generalities, research has also shown that certain demographics (age, gender, socio-economic status) are more inclined to participate in

social movement activism than others (Mannarini, Legittimo, and Talò 2008). These authors argue that as people grow older, their interest in conventional politics and their willingness to take an active role increases. For them, young people are more likely to participate in militant protest politics because they have "progressively distanced themselves from the traditional channels of politics, and rejected party affiliation and voting as the main modes for actively participating" (p. 96).

Furthermore, Mannarini, Legittimo, and Talò (2008) citing literature from several Western democracies hold that women are also more likely to take part in unconventional forms of social activism than men. The same is true even in sub-Saharan African countries where, for instance, culture has been invoked in designing protest strategies. An example of this is a protest by elderly mothers of Kenyan political prisoners that started in March 1992. The Mothers of Political Prisoners, as a way of cursing the Moi/KANU state that had imprisoned their sons, resorted to publicly stripping naked after being violently attacked by police while protesting peacefully (Maathai 2006). In Egypt, the period leading to the January 25 Revolution witnessed an increase in volunteerism within associations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as Resala, a youth-led organization established in 1999 and currently operating in approximately 14 governorates, has 100,000 youth volunteers from across the country. According to a 2007–2009 field study by Ibrahim and Hunt-Hendrix (2011:4) of "youth-led social service organizations in Egypt," youth are carving out "safe spaces" of volunteerism and community service to practice citizenship while flying under the radar of state security. Volunteering was a pathway to practicing democracy in an undemocratic environment, thereby setting the stage for the mass mobilization seen in the Revolution.

For instance, social movement scholars such as Osaghae (2008), Buechler (2000), Gurr (1970), Davies (1962), and Geschwender (1968) argue that collective action results when people subjectively judge or perceive themselves as lacking resources enjoyed by a particular reference group in society. McCarthy and Zald (1977) add that social movements are more likely to emerge when individuals with grievances are able to mobilize sufficient resources to take action. For its part, activist volunteering, according to CIVICUS, IAVE, and UNV (2008:6), is driven by a "desire to help others…interest in changing policies, raising awareness and empowering disadvantaged groups. While these actions may be undertaken for a combination of reasons, altruistic as well as self-interests, what binds people together is the common desire to be active citizens - to give as well as trying to change the conditions producing human suffering."

Personality traits can also influence protest participation (Opp and Brandstätter 2010). For instance, Brandstätter and Opp (2014) did a panel study of a sample of citizens of Leipzig, Germany. From multivariate analyses, they

concluded that the tendency to participate in protest was positively affected by the Big Five traits of more openness to new experience, lower neuroticism, and lower agreeableness, plus an attitude variable, higher reciprocity orientation. These predictors could explain 35% of the variance in protest tendencies, showing that such predictors are quite important irrespective of demographic factors.

To the attitudinal and personality side of social movement involvement, we must add its structural counterpart. Four structural factors have long been seen to affect who participates and who does not: first is one's availability as this varies across the life course; second is having a history of prior activism; third is holding membership in non-movement organizations; and fourth is being in contact with a movement member.

Several decades of research on social movement involvement in North America and Europe highlight four structural facilitators of participation and activism (Brady, Verba, and Schlozman 1995; Norris 2002; Wiltfang and McAdam 1991). First, the likelihood of participation ebbs and flows over a lifetime, following the rhythms of everyday life especially the demands of work and family obligations. People who are young, single with no dependents tend to have fewer competing demands on their time and are thus more likely to participate in social movements. A similar pattern appears for some older individuals with grown children and fewer demands from work. Many key activists in the Southern civil rights movement in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s depended little on the local white power structure for their livelihoods. Thus, ministers, funeral home operators, beauty salon operators, and barbers were more likely to be public leaders than, for example, school teachers who risked losing their jobs if publically associated with the movement.

Second, people who participate in non-movement organizations/associations are more likely to participate in social movements, partly because they have been socialized into participatory norms and routines and are members of extensive social networks of communication (Smith et al. 1980:chapters 4, 5). Third, participation in non-movement groups increases one's likelihood of having prior contact with a movement activist or participant and thus of being invited to participate in movement activities. Finally, those with a prior history of social movement involvement are much more likely to participate in subsequent social movements (Morris 1984).

Faith and religiosity also play a crucial role in social mobilizations and whether people participate in social activism and protests. In Egypt, for instance, El Taraboulsi, Khallaf, and Farouky (2013:17) shed light on faith-based motivations behind volunteering. Although mosques and churches have always been involved in the mobilization of resources and giving, their role was unleashed during and after the intense days of the January 2011 Revolution. It also came hand in hand with an interfaith citizen movement that called

for solidarity of all Egyptians irrespective of religion to bring down autocracy and build an Egypt where citizens enjoy equal rights. With the Muslim Brotherhood coming to power, this movement has, however, been challenged. It is currently enmeshed in a dialectical battle over definitions of citizenship in the constitution and in the role of religion in the new Egypt.

Networks and socialization also pull people into or out of activism. Friends and family are especially influential. Being among them people develop an interest in or a cynicism toward either conventional or unconventional forms of participation. This comes through "sharing of opinions and gathering of information on politics and social life within one's own family, or within one's own circle of friends or peers, positively affects the likeliness to become actively involved in...the public sphere" (Mannarini, Legittimo, and Talò 2008:98; see also Verba, Sholozman, and Brady 1995).

Yet, these very same processes of socialization and strong social ties of family, friends, and neighborhood can, at times, inhibit participation through competing loyalties and conflicting identities. For example, marriages of many female leaders in local antitoxic waste and environmental justice movements in the United States have been strained as these activists have become publically identified with protest or advocacy against the employer of their husbands or extended family members (Edwards 1995). Similarly, participation in Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) activism and volunteering requires one to "come out" and publically embrace their sexuality. All too often this process causes rifts with immediate family members and other community attachments.

7. What are the main barriers or obstacles to SMs/SMOs?

The political context is crucial in determining opportunities and threats for growth of social movement activism (Tarrow 1998). Moreover, as already noted, the presence or absence of trust in a political system and its institutions determines the preference for conventional (e.g., participation in political party systems) or unconventional political participation (e.g., protests) (Mannarini, Legittimo, and Talò 2008). In China for instance, the failure of collective action resistance to crystallize into social movements is attributed to existing political structure and context. Grassroots NGOs, the main forms of social organizations, are highly alert and cautious about not being directly involved in collective actions or mass protests. Most volunteers for these prototype SMOs are victims themselves, families, friends, and people directly affected by the specific policies or failed projects who take high risks in participating in these protests.

8. How are SMs/SMOs and protests organized and coordinated?

Context matters in how protests and social movement activism is organized. In more open and democratic political systems, where the state tolerates

dissent, social movement activism and protest action is most likely to happen in non-clandestine ways. Political opportunity theorists argue that the mix of political opportunities and threats is a key condition favoring or hindering social movement emergence and mobilization (Tilly 1978; McAdam 1982). That said, even in constrained political environments, citizens still subvert the state and are able to organize protests. Such is premised on disruptive power that is ever present even in supposedly weak citizens (Piven 2008). The exercise of disruptive power requires innovations in organizing protests and social movements.

One dimension of this is the capacity of the subaltern class to organize among themselves into movements and build alliances with professional middle-class associations to challenge power elites. The Kenyan constitutional reform struggles exemplify such organizations and interclass alliances pushing for change (Mati 2012). The Arab awakening exhibited mobilizations from below as well as ties with middle-class professionals. In Egypt's Tahrir Square, Tunisia's Habib Bourguiba Avenue, and Libya's Martyrs' Square, for instance, as protests broke out, citizen activists were faced with escalating needs on the ground for food, shelter, and medicine. To meet them, they had to organize and mobilize themselves. In Tahrir Square, protestors divided themselves into taskforces, each focusing on a particular need, maintaining security within the square, providing food and shelter, and developing makeshift hospitals.

Such initiatives were later consolidated into organized popular committees, or *legan sha'beyya*, to protect neighborhoods and fill the vacuum left by the absent state. A survey of philanthropic practices in Egypt shows how the 18 intense days of the Revolution saw the emergence of ad hoc services that continued to grow steadily post Mubarak (El Taraboulsi, Khallaf, and Farouky 2013). Social media were crucial in networking and sustaining those services. Given the popularity of Internet and mobile-driven social media access, one of the most prevalent forms of volunteerism was the collection of donations through SMS, e-mail, Facebook, and/or Twitter campaigns circulated among friends, family members, and anyone with access to social media via a smartphone or an Internet-ready computer. In Libya, a case in point is Hanaa Habashi (Naomidea), who won an American prize as one of the world's most courageous women. Naomidea, using various means, acted as the world voice of the Libyan Revolution. Women were active in all fields: media, military, and humanitarian aid.[2]

The media have traditionally been a critical ally in social movement mobilizations, organization, and coordination. Most recently social movements and activist associations have turned to the Internet as a new strategy for mobilization and advocacy, to promote their causes (Earl and Kimport 2011; Hands 2011). These new media have contributed in many parts of the world to the expansion of democratic space and even the defeat of political regimes.

In Egypt, for instance, even before the 2011 "revolution" part of the mainstream media reported that volunteers were taking part in e-campaigns with an aim to shape public opinion and transform society, culture, and politics. An example of this is Waqfeyat al Maadi Community Foundation (WMCF), which was founded in 2007 to revive and modernize the institution of *Waqf* within the Egyptian society. During the 18 days of the Egyptian Revolution, the Foundation established itself as an open platform, where the youth of the popular committees (activist volunteers) could discuss needs, exchange ideas, and explore a path forward (El Taraboulsi, Khallaf, and Farouky 2013).

Sacred spaces such as churches, mosques, and temples have also been important over the years in mobilizing against repressive regimes in such countries as Kenya in 1990s (Mati 2012) and, most recently, during the Arab Uprising. In a report by the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies on the role of religion in the Revolution, Khalil (2012) describes how "Egyptian mosques, as is the case of Syria and Yemen, were places for organization and mobilization" for the "disaffected and angry, places to assemble and protest" against the regime.

E. Usable knowledge

Volunteering and protest activism promote social change not only by "influencing political processes such as agenda-setting policy-making, decision-making and representation, but also because it can change relationships between people from different parts of society" (CIVICUS, IAVE, and UNV 2008:5). Indeed social activism is itself, a reading of a crisis of confidence with political institutions and power elites to lead. Nevertheless, in such situations, volunteering and activism may offer a way of reengaging citizens with the broader political process and even achieve fundamental changes in society (Smith 2017).

Social movement activism and participation often lead to the formation of enduring SMOs and less formal movement infrastructures of communication and social relations. The very existence of such movement social capital becomes a preexisting resource for subsequent movement mobilizations. Existing movement mobilizing structures enable communities to mobilize more quickly and easily for subsequent campaigns, protests, advocacy, and the like than would be the case were each new campaign to "start from scratch." Thus, the enduring structure of past social movements is a resource worth preserving for the broader community, which it may tap for any purpose, but especially for movement purposes.

A study of several developing countries by Huntington and Nelson (1976) reported that people involved in voluntary associations are up to five times more likely to make political demands than those without such membership. This is so because participation in social movement activism endows individuals with skills necessary for monitoring and opposing government

policies through collective mobilization and associational representation. This way social movements act as schools of democracy that "teach civic skills" and foster civic attitudes. It is worth emphasizing that social movement participation socializes volunteers, enhancing their capacity for citizen engagement in all the same ways attributed to more traditional forms of civic engagement.

F. Future trends and needed research

While political and social activists have managed to push for the frontiers of citizen participation in a variety of areas of human rights and social justice, there has been a growing trend of SM growth borne out of what Bond (2007) calls *elite pacting.* In the developing world, there has been a general decline in volunteer protest activism, especially with the *NGOization* of activism and participation, which equals to a few unaccountable NGO elites based on per diem solidarity (Tajudeen 2007) dominating the spaces for participation that ultimately lead to slippery paths for citizen participation. Moreover, in more politically closed regimes such as China, while the mushrooming of NGOs signals new avenues for engagement in the policy process, it is collective social mobilizations that appear to attract quicker state responses (e.g., Steinhardt and Wu 2016).

Moreover, the three-sector model of state, market, and civil society has lost (or is losing, if you prefer) its relevance as an analytic framework, though it remains useful as a heuristic for guiding discussion. Organizations, movements, and issue campaigns that span sectors or operate in all three sectors are blurring boundaries if not erasing them entirely. Such trends should be investigated empirically to see whether and if so in what ways social movement volunteering is actually different from "traditional" volunteering. Is voluntary action in pursuit of social justice through structural social change fundamentally different than the volunteering done in charity or community service?

Throughout the world, the lines between social movement activism and more communal forms of collective/associational endeavor are blurring rapidly, if not already gone. For example, in the United States, the second wave of the women's movement in the 1970s and 1980s established thousands of feminist and other women's organizations around the country. These functioned as alternative communities, alternative institutions, being created mostly to facilitate everyday life and not necessarily or primarily for "movement" purposes. Yet, these organizations and institutions built the movement and became launching pads for mobilizing issue campaigns. The same holds for the LGBT movement, which was community building since the late 1960s. The "alternative food" movements are another good example of actively engaging in state-oriented, market-oriented, and civil society–based activities and organization building.

Membership means many things to many nonprofit, advocacy, and SMOs (cf. Smith 2010). Generally, more is better, so groups seem to do what they

can to develop and/or claim larger memberships. Yet, in one representative sample of an SMO population (Edwards and Foley 2003; Foley and Edwards 2002), the investigators asked about what groups required of people to be *members*. They included about a dozen different criteria, among them, to pay dues, attend meetings, be on a mailing list, make organizational decisions, and vote for organizational leaders. These were factor analyzed into four or five distinct, empirical "definitions" of membership, including some SMOs with no members of any kind, only supporters. Clearly, we need to better understand empirically (quantitatively and qualitatively) what concepts such as membership and participation actually mean. And what is an SMO? There is no consensus in the literature. This chapter uses a definition that incorporates extra-institutional, or confrontational, tactics as a defining characteristic.

A substantive trend and very important research question concerns the relationship between "cyber activism" and "face-to-face" activism or what some are calling "in real time (IRT)" voluntary/movement activity and "in real life (IRL)" activity. To play devil's advocate, can one really mobilize a revolution with social media and smart phones? We think not, which is not to deny that they are very important, transformative new tools. But, we suspect that a search of historical records would yield equally rapturous discussions of the impact of international postal service by sailing ship.

Although social movement research has been a burgeoning growth area in the past couple of decades, there is still much more to be done (cf. Anderson and Herr 2007; Snow, Della Porta, Klandermans, and McAdam 2013; Snow, Soule, and Kriesi 2004). The many contributors to the book by van Stekelenburg (2013) have much to say about needed future research on SMs and SMOs, as do the concluding sections of the handbooks and encyclopedias just cited. The seminal research project of Gamson (1990) on the period of 1800–1945 in America particularly needs to be replicated for many or most nations of the world.

G. Cross-references

Chapters 23, 27, 32, and 33.

Notes

1. See *The Volunteering Compact Code of Good Practice* (2005), which identifies four principles fundamental to volunteering. These are choice, diversity, mutual benefit, and recognition (http://www.uhsm.nhs.uk/involvement/Documents/Volunteering%20compact%20code%20of%20good%20practice.pdf).
2. Interview with Hanaa Habashi by Waseela Awlamy. May 2012. http://www.aljazeera.net/programs/pages/308cd666-acff-41b6-924b-592c9018c6db.

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Part IV

Influences on Volunteering and Association Participation

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25
Physiological Correlates of Volunteering

René Bekkers (The Netherlands), Sara H. Konrath (USA), and David H. Smith (USA)

A. Introduction

We review research on physiological correlates of volunteering, a neglected but promising research field. Some of these correlates seem to be causal factors influencing volunteering. Volunteers tend to have better physical health, both self-reported and expert-assessed, better mental health, and perform better on cognitive tasks. Research thus far has rarely examined neurological, neurochemical, hormonal, and genetic correlates of volunteering to any significant extent, especially controlling for other factors as potential confounds. Evolutionary theory and behavioral genetic research suggest the importance of such physiological factors in humans. Basically, many aspects of social relationships and social activities have effects on health (e.g., Newman and Roberts 2013; Uchino 2004), as the widely used biopsychosocial (BPS) model suggests (Institute of Medicine 2001). Studies of formal volunteering (FV), charitable giving, and altruistic behavior suggest that physiological characteristics are related to volunteering, including specific genes (such as oxytocin receptor [OXTR] genes, Arginine vasopressin receptor [AVPR] genes, dopamine D4 receptor [DRD4] genes, and 5-HTTLPR). We recommend that future research on physiological factors be extended to non-Western populations, focusing specifically on volunteering, and differentiating between different forms and types of volunteering and civic participation (cf. Cnaan and Park 2016; Smith 2014; see Handbook Chapter 31: Section D, #1).

In what way could the physiology of volunteers be different from non-volunteers? We discuss six sets of physiological correlates: in the areas of health, cognition, neurology, neurochemicals, hormones, and genetic factors. The chapter is written from a growing awareness that most of the research on volunteering in the social sciences has ignored physiological aspects of human sociality (Baerman 2008; Von Scheve 2011), while a comprehensive explanation

of volunteering clearly requires an integration of physiological aspects (Smith 2016a; more generally, see Freese, Li, and Wade 2003). An important part of research on volunteering is conducted by sociologists, as the reviews by Smith (1994) and Wilson (2000, 2012) show. In the spirit of Durkheim (1897), who sought to establish sociology as a science of human behavior separate from biology, sociologists "have allowed the fact that we are social beings to obscure the biological foundations upon which our behavior ultimately rests" (Massey 2002; also see Pinker 2003; Van den Berghe 1990).

Perhaps the neglect of physiological correlates of social behavior by many social scientists is in part a result of fear that evidence may be found that indeed there are such physiological correlates. Such knowledge could be dangerous to those who view nearly all of human behavior patterns as socially learned (i.e., the result of socialization into socio-cultural systems; see Pinker 2003). The holocaust reminds us that knowledge on physiological correlates of human behavior can be very dangerous when it gets into the wrong hands or is misinterpreted (Benton 1991). While sociologists have only recently become more open to biosocial explanations of social behavior (Freese 2008), economists have been more open to behavioral genetics since the 1970s (Bowles and Gintis 2001). Similarly, in demography (D'Onofrio and Lahey 2010) and criminology the acceptance of biological factors is growing (Boisvert and Vaske 2011; DeLisi et al. 2008; Ishikawa and Raine 2002). In the past five years an impressive body of evidence on physiological correlates of political attitudes and behavior has been amassed (Fowler and Dawes 2008, 2013; Hatemi et al. 2009; A. Smith et al. 2009).

We have set ourselves the ambitious task of reviewing the literature and weeding out the false positives by seeking out replicated research results. We seek to contribute to a correction of the ignorance of physiological correlates of volunteering by reviewing the evidence on genes, hormones, neurological phenomena, and health as correlates of volunteering. We distinguish between physiological causes of volunteering and the physiological consequences of volunteering. While the health consequences of volunteering on volunteers have been studied quite extensively in social epidemiology and gerontology (see also Handbook Chapter 52), very little attention has been paid to physiological causes of volunteering, other than the effects of sex and age, mediated by social role expectations.

B. Definitions

The general definitions in the Appendix of the Handbook are accepted in this chapter. The chapter will focus generally on *formal volunteering*, done through some association or organization, not *informal volunteering*, done directly with no association or organization involved (Handbook Chapter 9). To date, few

studies have directly assessed physiological correlates of volunteering, especially while controlling for other important factors. There is more research on physiological correlates of related social behaviors, such as voting, giving to charitable organizations, and money transfers to specific other individuals. To some extent the results of these studies can be generalized to volunteering, because they share a common core: they are all forms of prosocial behavior, which have collective benefits but are costly for individuals. The willingness to sacrifice one's own resources for the benefit of others lies at the foundation of voting (Fowler 2006), as well as other forms of prosocial behavior like charitable giving and blood donation (Bekkers 2004; Ferguson, Farrell, and Lawrence 2008; Lee, Piliavin, and Call 1999), and also helping strangers, which may be seen as informal volunteering (Ottoni-Wilhelm and Bekkers 2010). Civic duty (Loewen and Dawes 2012), social capital (Putnam 2000), and the moral principle of care (Ottoni-Wilhelm and Bekkers 2010), but not necessarily the prosocial personality (Bekkers 2004), are among the variables that could explain why volunteering is positively correlated with other forms of prosocial behavior. However, volunteering also differs from other forms of prosocial behavior in its dependence on time, energy, and physical strength as resources. These unique features are in part physiological – hence this chapter.

C. Historical background

The current review draws primarily upon what has been called *biosocial research* (Udry 1995) in a variety of disciplines that are normally not considered to belong to the social sciences, such as behavior genetics, neurology, and gerontology. An implicit assumption in much of the literature is that biological traits and phenomena are fairly stable over time at the population level. From a long-run historical perspective, it is clear that this is not the case: huge population health gains have been realized in the past centuries, and relationships obtained in high-income countries do not necessarily generalize to low- or middle-income countries (Calvo, Piliavin, and Call 2012).

Research on human evolution in relation to prosocial behavior has been common for several decades. A forthcoming paper by Smith (2017a) summarizes the situation as follows, quoted with permission here:

Sociology and many sociologists have long struggled with, and often fought against, the approach of sociobiology/biosociology and the relevance of various biological variables and processes in their theories (Degler 1991; Francis 2005; Kitcher 1987; Machalek and Martin 2004; Richter 2005; Segerstrale 2001). Pearson (1996) sensibly uses sociological analysis to explain this resistance by many sociologists to considering biological and evolutionary influences on human behavior. He cites two commonly given reasons:

(1) the initial and continuing liberal-radical and reformist (often implicit) ideology of sociology as an academic discipline, and (2) a doctrinaire, seemingly irrational (hence likely emotional), insistence on *only* considering social and cultural influences, while denying biological influences on human behavior.

Smith's (2017b) S-Theory is avowedly multi-disciplinary, seeking comprehensive and integrative explanation of human behavior, including social solidarity and prosociality, irrespective of traditional academic discipline boundaries. Human biological evolution significantly explains why there is so much social solidarity and prosociality in *surviving* human societies everywhere in all time periods, to the best of our knowledge. Most fundamentally, social solidarity and prosociality have been helpful and even necessary for the survival and reproduction of the human species (Barash 1977; Brown, Brown, and Penner 2011; E. Wilson 1975, 2004, 2013). At the very minimum, human infants require some informal care as prosociality from their mothers, as do all mammals, in order to survive and reproduce. Prosocial behavior has been helpful or necessary in other species of social animals as well, including the hypersocial insects like ants, termites, and bees (Dugatkin 1999; Gadagkar 1997). Human customs and social structure, including norms for socializing young humans and norms for social control processes to discourage deviance and promote conformity, further contribute to the presence of prosocial behavior in every society ever studied (Brown 1991).

The human species, *homo sapiens,* is clearly a species of social animals (Barash 1977:chapters 5, 10; Brooks 2011; De Waal 1996, 2008; Dugatkin 1997, 1999, 2006; Gadakar 1997; Macedo and Ober 2006; J. Q. Wilson 1995:chapter 6). Species of social animals are fairly common among mammals, especially primates, and exist even among birds, fish, and insects (Dugatkin 1997). In all such social animals, the survival of individual members depends on prosocial (other-benefiting) behavior not just by one or both of the parents, but also by other individuals of one's local group (pack, herd, band, school, nest, hive, etc.). This dependence on the prosocial behavior of parents and other caregivers is especially crucial during the early period of growth and maturation of social mammals. Without such informal mutual aid, the many species of social animals cannot survive, and individual members similarly are not likely to survive very long, particularly members of primate species like humans, gorillas, chimpanzees, etc.

Many books (and many hundreds of articles) in the past two decades have made strong cases for the evolution of human prosociality and underlying behavior genetics (Axelrod 2006; Barber 2004; Boehm 2012; Bowles and

Gintis 2011; Brown, Brown, and Penner 2011; de Waal 1997, 2008; Dugatkin 1997, 1999, 2006; Gadagkar 1997; Hauser 2006; Henrich and Henrich 2007; Joyce 2007; Macedo and Ober 2006; Nowak and Coakley 2013; Nowak with Highfield 2011; Ridley 1996; Sober and Wilson 1999; Sussman and Cloninger 2011; Thomasello 2009; Wilson 1975, 2004, 2013; Wright 1995). Because prosociality and its related factors (morality, virtue, cooperation, social sol- idarity, reciprocity, altruism, etc.) are so important to human survival as a species, these have been included in current human genetics by evolution over millions of years, including earlier hominid evolution.

Penner et al. (2004:14.5–14.8) provided a brief summary of the main, proposed, evolutionary concepts and models that seek to explain how prosociality, and thus corresponding prosocial behavior, became aspects of human genetics. Principal evolutionary processes noted are kin selection, group selection, and reciprocal altruism, although group selection is still controversial.

The next level of biosociological explanation deals with specific genes or gene networks that influence prosociality, altruism, and social soli- darity, especially through influences on prosocial behavior and behavior dispositions (e.g., Avinun, Israel, Shalev, Gritsenko, Bornstein, and Ebstein 2011; Dawes, Settle, Loewen, McGue, and Iacono 2015; Penner et al. 2004:14.8–14.9). A half-century ago there was little evidence for behavioral genetics and the heritability of any types of human prosocial behavior and behavior dispositions. Now it is difficult to find *any* general types of such behavior or dispositions that *lack* demonstrated genetic heritability in twin studies (Baker 2004; Ebstein et al. 2010; Freese, Li, and Wade 2003; Freese and Shostak 2009; Plomin et al. 2008). The summary statement by Freese (2008) is accurate and indicative: "Accumulating evidence from behavioral genetics suggests that the vast majority of individual-level outcomes [behav- iors, activities, decisions] of abiding sociological interest are genetically influenced to a substantial degree." McGue and Bouchard (1998; see also Bouchard and McGue 2003) state similarly, "Twin and adoption studies indi- cate that most behavioral characteristics are heritable" (p. 1). These authors add, "Behavioral genetic research supports the heritability, not the genetic determination of behavior" (p. 1). Genes *influence* many human behaviors, but do not *determine* them. In nearly all instances there is an interaction of genes with the environment and social experiences, which suggests a vital role for biosociology and sociologists in understanding human social behavior.

In addition to the influences of evolution and genetics on behavior, research in the past few decades on epigenetics has demonstrated that genes are

expressed differently in animals, including humans, in different environments, from the mother's womb onwards (e.g., Almond and Currie 2011; Nathanielsz, Liggins, and Bensadoun 1996; Francis 2011; Tollefsbol 2010). Simple physiological maturation/development explains much of the expression of prosocial genetics in human behavior. However, epigenetic effects often occur as interactions between an individual's genetics and specific environments experienced by that individual. Such epigenetic changes can be transmitted to subsequent generations in many cases, affecting prosocial behavior, as many other types of behavior.

D. Key issues

1. Six sets of physiological correlates

While few studies have examined physiological correlates of volunteering directly, many correlates of volunteering have physiological aspects. Also, many studies on other forms of prosocial behavior have documented biological correlates. Therefore, the chapter takes a broader view, discussing six types of biological correlates of volunteering and related behaviors and traits:

(a) health correlates, including physiological measures;
(b) cognitive performance, including intelligence tests;
(c) neurological correlates: brain size and activity measured using fMRI techniques;
(d) neurochemicals, including dopamine and serotonin;
(e) hormones, including oxytocin, testosterone, and cortisol;
(f) genetic factors, including specific genes (such as OXTR genes, AVPR genes, DRD4, 5-HTTLPR).

2. Data and methods

Biosocial research typically relied on small samples, until biomarkers were collected among respondents in several large US national panel surveys, such as AddHealth, Midlife in the United States (MIDUS), the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study (WLS), the National Social Life, Health, and Aging Project (NSHAP), and the Health and Retirement Survey (HRS). Recently, health data have also been collected and made available for researchers in the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) and the Whitehall II Study. Each of these panel surveys also includes measures of volunteering. To date, very few scholars have used these data to investigate physiological correlates of the dynamics in volunteering. We expect more work to be published in the near future.

While the empirical evidence on physiological correlates of volunteering is fairly limited, the body of evidence on physiological correlates of human

prosociality in the biosocial sciences has exploded in the past decade due to the development of cheaper and faster techniques to collect biomarkers from DNA and hormone levels with noninvasive procedures, such as collecting saliva (D'Onofrio and Lahey 2010). In earlier research, hormone levels could only be identified with blood samples. Genetic association studies require the collection of DNA material such as hair, nails, or saliva.

The collection of neurological data still requires expensive and impractical equipment located mostly in (university) hospitals, that only specialized personnel can handle. The methods include PET (positron emission tomography), fMRI (functional magnetic resonance imaging), EEG (electroencephalography), and TMS (Temporary Magnetic Stimulation). The noisy fMRI machines require research participants to lie still in a confined space that does not allow for natural social interaction. This lowers the ecological validity of the research. The location of the equipment in hospitals implies that research participants need to be recruited and paid specifically for the study. Participants can only be run one by one, increasing the costs and time required to collect fMRI data.

In the near future, collecting data on physiological correlates of volunteering will become much cheaper and more convenient. The spread of smartphones will allow for the collection of several physiological measures, such as heartbeat, physical location, movement, and emotional states (Lakens 2013).

3. Health correlates

Volunteering may help delay the decline, maintain, or even improve the health of volunteers (see Handbook Chapter 52). At the same time, health facilitates volunteering. Teasing out the direction of causality is difficult and requires longitudinal panel data at the individual level. Even if longitudinal data are available, it is of paramount importance to check whether health conditions at base line influence the selection of individuals into and out of volunteering. Ignoring health-based selection is almost certainly leading to an overestimation of the health benefits of volunteering (Li and Ferraro 2005). The use of fixed effects models is one possible strategy to deal with such selection bias (Halaby 2004). Such models analyze the variance over time within individuals, ignoring differences between individuals.

(a) Subjective well-being

Research on the relationship between volunteering and well-being (Ryff 1989) has a long history (e.g., Carp 1968). Like prosocial spending (Aknin et al. 2013), volunteering is associated with higher well-being in many cultures worldwide (Calvo et al. 2012; Plagnol and Huppert 2010). A meta-analysis involving 29 studies from the 20th century found that on average volunteers scored higher on measures of well-being than non-volunteers, even when adjusting for health or socio-economic status (Wheeler, Gorey, and

Greenblatt 1998). In addition, volunteers who engaged in directly helping others had higher well-being than those who engaged in more indirect tasks. We recommend an updated meta-analysis that includes more recent studies. Longitudinal studies confirm that volunteering at one time point predicts higher life satisfaction, happiness, self-esteem, and psychological well-being, at a later time point (for reviews, see Konrath 2014a; Konrath and Brown 2012; Handbook Chapter 53). These results are typically consistent when potential confounds are considered and controlled statistically. Confounds are important to consider, since people with higher well-being are more likely to volunteer (Thoits and Hewitt 2001). Experimental and quasi-experimental interventions to increase volunteering behavior produce more positive affect and higher self-esteem compared to control groups (Hong and Morrow-Howell 2010; Midlarsky and Kahana 1994; Switzer et al. 1995). Such results lend confidence to the conclusion that volunteering actually causes some positive emotional outcomes 53.

(b) Mental health

Volunteers have lower anxiety and depression than non-volunteers (Benson, Clary, and Scales 2007; Handy and Cnaan 2007; Hunter and Linn 1980; Smith 2017a), with the direction of causation unclear. Dury et al. (2015:1120), however, found lower mental health in volunteers, with many other predictors controlled in a large sample (N = 8,349) of older Belgians. People who volunteer at one time point tend to have fewer depressive symptoms at a later time point, even when controlling for potential third variables (Kahana et al. 2013; Lum and Lightfoot 2005; Schwingel et al. 2009; Thoits and Hewitt 2001). This finding has been confirmed cross-culturally (e.g., in Singapore; Schwingel et al. 2009). Experimental interventions to increase volunteering behavior produce fewer depressive symptoms compared to control interventions (Hong and Morrow-Howell 2010; Switzer et al. 1995).

   All of the foregoing studies suggest that volunteering causes better mental health, over and above selection effects leading people with better mental health to be more likely to become volunteers (see Handbook Chapter 53). However, at the extreme of poor mental health, especially for people incarcerated as in-patients in institutions, poor mental health clearly reduces volunteering, based on minimal or non-existent volunteering opportunities for in-patients in such institutions (e.g., only some group meetings at times for alcohol or drug addiction recovery, by Alcoholics Anonymous or Narcotics Anonymous).

   The type of volunteering may be a factor in mental health outcomes. For example, one study found that volunteer firefighters had more symptoms of posttraumatic stress compared to control participants (Wagner and O'Neill 2012). Thus, the potential for vicarious traumatization must be considered in

high-risk volunteer positions (e.g., crisis counseling for victims of sexual assault and violence; Baird and Jenkins 2003; see also Handbook Chapter 52).

(c) Subjective health

Self-reported measures of health are strong predictors of longevity (Idler and Benyamini 1997), and volunteers score higher on self-reported measures of health, usually with confounds controlled (Benson, Clary, and Scales 2007; Brodie et al. 2009; Dury et al. 2015; Harris and Thoresen 2005; McDougle et al. 2013; Oman, Thoresen, and Mcmahon 1999; Shmotkin, Blumstein, and Modan 2003; see also Handbook Chapter 52). Volunteering is associated with higher subjective health in many cultures worldwide (Erlinghagen 2010; Hank 2011; Kumar et al. 2012; Lee, Saito, Takahashi, and Kai 2008). Gesthuizen and Scheepers (2012) used survey data from 17 nations (mainly Anglo and Western European) to show that self-reported early health problems (starting before primary education) had a significant negative association with frequency of association participation per year, with many demographic predictors controlled (p. 71).

In a national cross-sectional survey of UK adults, Low et al. (2007:65) found that ex-volunteers gave poor health as a reason for stopping volunteering 14% of the time. Similarly, 22% of respondents who had not volunteered in the past 12 months but wanted to help said that illness or disability was a reason (p. 68). As age increased, larger percentages stated health reasons for not volunteering; at 65+ years, 62% mentioned this reason – far more than at earlier ages.

Moreover, longitudinal studies confirm that volunteering predicts higher self-reported health at a later time point, even when controlling for plausible confounds (Lum and Lightfoot 2005; Luoh and Herzog 2002; Morrow-Howell et al. 2003; Piliavin and Siegl 2007; Thoits and Hewitt 2001; Van Willigen 2000). Hence, to some significant extent volunteering may cause better subjective health in individuals (see also Handbook Chapter 52).

However, there may be limits on the number of years that such health effects last, since one 30-year longitudinal study found null results (Moen, Dempster-McClain, and Williams 1989). The people who are most likely to receive health benefits from volunteering are older adults, compared to younger adults (Van Willigen 2000), and people who are less socially integrated, compared to those who are more socially integrated (Piliavin and Siegl 2007).

(d) Objective physical functioning/health

Physical functioning indicators include objective tests (e.g., strength, agility, walking speed) and health indicators (e.g., functional limitations, physician-diagnosed health conditions, nursing home residence rates, doctor visits for physical illness, overnight hospital visits). Studies find that volunteers show better physical functioning (Choi and Tang 2014). Such research indicates

that people who volunteer tend to be self-selected for better physical health and functioning. This is a clear direction of causality at the poor physical health extreme. Both short-term and long-term in-patients in hospitals, nursing homes, rehabilitation clinics, and the like have minimal or non-existent opportunities to volunteer. This limitation of volunteer opportunities is true also of bed-bound or homebound people (i.e., invalids) in poor health at home or elsewhere. Disabled people who are mobile in wheelchairs, scooters, or other personal vehicles also tend to have fewer volunteer opportunities, given physical access difficulties for many buildings, including homes, in many nations.

Health limitations can have very deep roots, dating back to birth and even prenatal conditions (Almond and Currie 2011; Nathanielsz, Liggins, and Bensadoun 1996). The *fetal origins hypothesis* has had substantial confirmation in research (ibid.). Low birth weight limits life chances (Black, Devereux, and Salvanes 2007; Oreopoulos et al. 2008). There is evidence that low birth weight is often transmitted to the mother's children, especially for people in poverty (Currie and Moretti 2007; Nathanielsz et al. 2003). There are many demonstrable longer-term effects of both birth weight and other, more direct aspects of the fetal environment, such as malnutrition. Especially important longer-term effects include intelligence level, educational outcomes, employment status, and socio-economic level (Almond and Currie 2011; Currie and Moretti 2007; Oreopoulos et al. 2008). Given such results, it is highly likely, though so far undemonstrated empirically, that fetal conditions and birth weight, as related to such conditions, affect longer-term prosocial behavior, including volunteering.

In order to avoid health-selection effects, it is important to control for initial/baseline indicators of physical functioning/health when trying to isolate effects of volunteering. Longitudinal studies often find that volunteering predicts having fewer functional limitations at a later time point, even when controlling for a number of plausible confounds (Choi and Tang 2014; Lum and Lightfoot 2005; Luoh and Herzog 2002; Morrow-Howell et al. 2003). In addition, another longitudinal study found that volunteering reduced doctor visits for physical illness and fewer overnight hospital stays in a nationally representative sample of older adults, even when adjusting for covariates (Kim and Konrath 2016). However, other studies have found that volunteering is unrelated to the later number of physician-diagnosed health conditions or nursing home residence rates (Lum and Lightfoot 2005). Experimental interventions to increase volunteering behavior increase participants' physical strength and balance, halt declines in walking speed over time, and produce fewer falls and functional limitations compared to control interventions (Fried et al 2013; Hong and Morrow-Howell 2010). Because there is limited cross-cultural

research on physical functioning indicators, it is unclear whether these results would generalize widely across cultures.

(e) Health risk behaviors

Health risk behaviors include smoking, drinking, extremes of Body Mass Index (BMI), physical activity, and preventative healthcare utilization (e.g., getting flu vaccines). Among adolescents, pregnancy, school failure, and problem behaviors at school are also considered health risk behaviors. Compared to non-volunteers, volunteers report engaging in fewer health risk behaviors, such as smoking, drinking, or sedentary lifestyles (Harris and Thoresen 2005; Musick, Herzog, and House 1999; Oman, Thoresen, and Mcmahon 1999; Shmotkin, Blumstein, and Modan 2003). Among teens, volunteering is associated with fewer risky behaviors (e.g., alcohol, tobacco, and drug use; antisocial behavior; violence) and more beneficial ones (e.g., physical activity, school success; Benson, Clary, and Scales 2007; Murphey et al. 2004; Uggen and Janikula 1999). In a longitudinal study, volunteering predicted more preventative healthcare utilization (e.g., flu vaccine, cholesterol test) in a nationally representative sample of older adults, even when adjusting for covariates (Kim and Konrath 2016). Experimental interventions to increase volunteering behavior produced increased physical activity among older adults (Fried et al. 2004; Tan et al. 2009), and decreased rates of pregnancy, school failures, and problem behaviors at school among adolescents (Allen et al. 1997; Switzer et al. 1995). It is unclear whether the links between volunteering and health risk behaviors would generalize widely across cultures.

(f) Basic physiological measures

Research has clearly shown that volunteering is associated with better physical health. Yet knowledge about physiological pathways to such outcomes (e.g., cardiovascular measures, hormones, biomarkers) remains sparse. Elevated resting pulses and blood pressure (i.e., hypertension) are both risk factors for cardiovascular disease and later mortality, even when controlling for other lifestyle-based risk factors (Chobanian et al. 2003; Gillum, Makuc, and Feldman 1991). Only two known studies have examined the link between volunteering and such cardiovascular variables, finding that in nationally representative samples of older adults, volunteers have lower resting pulses and lower blood pressure compared to non-volunteers, controlling for plausible confounds (Burr, Tavares, and Mutchler 2011; Konrath 2013). C-reactive protein as a biomarker of systemic inflammation is also associated with cardiovascular disease (Van Lente 2000). Volunteers have lower c-reactive protein levels compared to non-volunteers (Konrath 2013). This effect was confirmed in an experimental study that found that adolescents who were randomly assigned to a four-month volunteering program had marginally lower inflammatory

biomarkers (c-reactive protein and interleukin 6) than waitlist control-group participants (Schreier 2012; Schreier, Schonert-Reichl, and Chen 2013). They also had lower levels of cholesterol and a lower BMI. However, there was no effect of the intervention on blood pressure. All these studies used real-time physiological assessments conducted by trained personnel. More studies are needed. In particular, it is unclear whether the physiological consequences of volunteering would generalize across cultures.

(g) Longevity

Ultimately, the better health of volunteers may reduce their mortality risk (see also Handbook Chapter 52). Indeed, a meta-analysis of 14 longitudinal studies conducted from 1986 to 2012 found that volunteering at one time point was associated with a 47% reduction in mortality risk (24% for adjusted models) a few years later (Okun, Yeung, and Brown 2013). This meta-analysis also found that the mortality risk benefits associated with volunteering are especially strong for people who are more religious. Other research finds that the reasons why people volunteer can also affect whether they experience lower mortality risk after volunteering (Konrath et al. 2012). Even when adjusting for covariates, people who volunteer for more other-oriented reasons (e.g., compassion) have a significant mortality risk reduction, but those who volunteer for more self-oriented reasons (e.g., to learn something new, or to feel good about themselves) have a marginally *higher* risk of mortality. Although there are some experimental studies that assess health consequences of volunteering, we know of none that assesses mortality risk. Moreover, there are only limited cross-cultural studies examining longevity benefits of volunteering.

4. Cognitive performance

Several US surveys show that membership and active participation in voluntary associations are positively related to verbal ability measured in a vocabulary test, but once the level of education is controlled, verbal ability does not have much predictive value for the number of memberships in associations (Hauser 2000). Data from the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study (WLS) reveal this pattern over a long period of time. Performance on an intelligence test in 1957 was positively associated with social participation some 35 years later, but this relationship disappeared completely when the level of education in 1975 was controlled. While volunteers typically perform better on cognitive tests than non-volunteers, this difference is often reduced when the level of education is controlled statistically (Bekkers and Ruiter 2008; Carabain and Bekkers 2011 2012). Intentions to volunteer in a scenario experiment conducted among a random population sample in the Netherlands were not correlated with performance on a vocabulary test when the level of education was controlled (Bekkers 2010).

The foregoing results do *not* necessarily mean that intelligence (cognitive performance) is unrelated to volunteering as a causal factor, while educational attainment is the causal factor. Intelligence affects how much education a person gets, especially in broad terms, such as high school degree versus college/university degree versus advanced degrees. In theory and substantially in practice, level of education and performance on cognitive tests measure the same aspects of a person's mind. Years of education also measure basic aspects of cognitive performance, including the knowledge and cognitive abilities underlying such performance. Insofar as volunteer roles require intelligence, people with higher intelligence will likely self-select themselves more into volunteering than people with low intelligence. The same is true for levels of education. In sum, disentangling education from cognitive performance (intelligence) is important but rarely feasible in practice.

Studies of social participation programs for older adults have generally found higher cognitive performance among volunteers (Krueger et al. 2009; James et al. 2011). However, this finding does not prove that volunteering enhances cognitive performance, because the difference may well be a reflection of a higher level of education at entry into the program or intelligence level at entry. Collapsing volunteer work with other forms of social participation, Aartsen et al. (2002) found no additive cognitive performance benefit of social participation.

Using data from the Fullerton Longitudinal Study, Reichard et al. (2011) found that intelligence measured by Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale-Revised (WAIS-R) was positively correlated with non-work leadership positions, such as in a religious group, community service group, or sports organization, but this study did not include a measure of the level of education achieved.

Offering a different view of intelligence and cognitive abilities as influences on volunteering and association participation, Section D #9 of Handbook Chapter 30 is quoted here as relevant, with permission:

> Gesthuizen and Scheepers (2012), included in their cross-national research one overall measure for cognitive competence connected to formal education as a determinant of volunteering. They created an index of cognitive competence (general intelligence) based on performance measures that referred to prose, document, and quantitative literacy. With various other demographic factors, including formal education, controlled statistically in multilevel regression analyses, the authors showed that cognitive competence of the individual was a significant predictor of frequency of association participation per year as [Formal Volunteering] FV (p. 70). Formal education of the individual and of his/her parents were still statistically significant, but were much reduced in strength as predictors of FV. Thus, much of the apparent influence of formal education on FV, found nearly everywhere,

is likely a result of educational selectivity for more cognitively competent individuals.

There are very few national sample surveys studying FV that include measures of intellectual capacities. Most researchers seem either uninterested in this variable or unaware that it can be simply measured in a survey interview by a few vocabulary items. The US national sample survey by Brady, Verba, and Schlozman (1995) is an exception, focusing on the explanation of political participation, which is a kind of prosocial behavior done in leisure time. Verbal intelligence was measured by a 10-item vocabulary test, which correlated r = .51 with formal education (p. 273). In an OLS regression analysis (p. 280), verbal intelligence was a significant predictor of overall political participation, which included a few direct FV measures like political meeting attendance. Formal education was included as a predictor but was not statistically significant.

In the national sample survey of FV by Russian adults reported by Smith (2015, 2016c), the verbal intelligence measure was six-item antonyms test (alpha = .66). The bivariate correlation of intelligence with a highly reliable, six-item measure of FV (alpha = .91) was r = .17 (significant at the .001 level, two-tailed). When verbal intelligence was entered into an OLS regression with 57 other potential predictors of FV, it remained significant (.05 level), though weak in beta weight strength, but formal education was insignificant.

Social intelligence has also been studied a bit, but not much, in relation to FV. Clearly, this kind of intelligence should theoretically have some positive association with FV, especially for leadership roles. In 1939, Chapin was the first researcher to examine how social intelligence relates to FV, finding a positive relationship in a convenience sample. Very recently, Carl and Billari (2014) used US national sample data to show that trust and *verbal* intelligence are significantly and fairly substantially correlated, as has been shown elsewhere several times. In seeking explanations for this finding, one hypothesis advanced was that more intelligent people are better able to assess the trustworthiness of other people, hence showing social intelligence. This needs to be tested with direct measures of emotional intelligence as well as verbal intelligence.

Voluntary associations can differ markedly in the extent to which membership and participation requires greater education and higher cognitive performance/intelligence. For instance, social clubs and sports associations seem to make few such demands, while paramedic ambulance squads, groups of docent volunteers in museums, alumni associations, professional associations, and scholarly scientific societies make substantial demands. Unfortunately, no one has studied this issue so far, to our knowledge.

5. Neurological correlates

Brown, Brown, and Penner (2011) review various findings from recent neuroscience that demonstrate generally the influence of neurology and neuro-chemistry on prosocial behavior of all kinds, including volunteering. From the *social brain hypothesis* (Dunbar 1998), it is likely that volunteering as a social activity is facilitated by the large cognitive capacity of humans and the human brain, viewing us as a species. Brain volume across species clearly determines the capacity to process information required to maintain social relationships, and this is true to a lesser extent across human individuals (Dunbar 1992). One study among 58 US adults found that the relative size of the amygdala (adjusted for total intracranial volume) is positively correlated with the size and complexity of social networks (Bickart et al. 2011a, 2011b). Another study on 40 US adults found that the size of the prefrontal cortex is positively cor-related with the size and complexity of social networks (Powell et al. 2012). The prefrontal cortex is of particular importance for human sociality and con-sciousness (Dunbar 1998), in part because of its involvement in understanding the intentions of others (Lewis et al. 2011; Walter et al. 2004). The prefrontal cortex consists of two areas: the dorsal prefrontal cortex, which is involved in higher order cognitive functions such as planning, and orbital prefrontal cortex, which is involved in mood, affective behavior, and social cognition.

Thus far, no studies have specifically investigated brain activity specifically in relation to volunteer work. Because of the heterogeneity of tasks that volunteers can perform, this would not make much sense. However, many studies have investigated brain activity involved in functions and conditions correlated with volunteering, such as social acceptance (Eisenberger, Lieberman, and Williams 2003), empathy (Singer et al. 2008; see also Brown, Brown, and Penner 2011), and altruism (Avinun et al. 2011; Swain et al. 2012). A growing number of stud-ies are using fMRI to investigate cognitive functioning in older adults recruited in volunteer programs (e.g., Carlson et al. 2009). These studies typically find enhanced cognitive functioning among volunteers.

While fMRI studies are not yet common in research on volunteering, several studies have found differential neural activation in reward areas when making charitable donations (Harbaugh, Mayr, and Burghart 2007; James and Boyle 2014; Moll et al. 2006). Such studies could be conducted among volunteers – for instance, while they are thinking about their volunteer job versus a control activity, or contrasting volunteers with different motives for volunteering.

6. Neurochemicals

Brown, Brown, and Penner (2011) review some of the research on neurochem-istry as an influence on prosocial behavior. More specifically, dopamine is a neurotransmitter involved in the experience of pleasure. Originating in the

midbrain, dopamine produces neurons that consecutively go to the nucleus accumbens and the prefrontal cortex (Eisler and Levine 2002). It is not specific for social experiences. It is involved in all kinds of positive moods, including those as a result of substance abuse and other addictive behaviors. The warm glow of giving (Andreoni 1990), often cited by volunteers as a motive for volunteering, may reflect that volunteering is a pleasurable experience leading to the production of more dopamine. Obviously, the finding that volunteers self-report warm glow does not show why volunteering is a pleasurable experience. Also it does not prove that volunteering produces warm glow. The warm glow may be specific to donors. In a study on the relationship between blood donation and charitable giving, blood donors reported a stronger warm glow as they gave more to charity, but non-donors did not. This finding suggests that donating generates less of a warm glow to non-blood donors (Ferguson et al. 2012, Study 3).

7. Hormones

(a) Oxytocin

Oxytocin (OXT) is a neuropeptide that is released during childbirth, breastfeeding, and sexual activity, especially intercourse (Carter 1992, 1998; MacDonald and MacDonald 2010). It is also implicated in more general social interactions, friendship/affiliation, trust, empathy, altruism, and in stress regulation (Feldman 2012; Heinrichs et al. 2003). For example, one experimental study found that nasally administered OXT (compared to a placebo) caused male participants to donate significantly more money to a charitable cause (Barraza et al. 2011). OXT has also been shown to promote cognitive and emotional facets of empathy, including altruistic caregiving (Swain et al. 2012; Wu, Li, and Su 2012). Many other studies have conceptually replicated these OXT results (De Dreu 2012; Zak and Barraza 2013; Zak, Stanton, and Ahmadi 2007). However, we know of no work that explicitly links OXT with volunteering behavior. Such research would be promising, as long as future researchers are aware that OXT is only linked with prosociality in certain groups of people and under certain contexts (Bartz et al. 2011).

(b) Vasopressin

Arginine vasopressin (AVP) is another neuropeptide implicated in social behavior. Compared to OXT, much less is known about its role in prosociality in humans. However, in rats, AVP injections are associated with prosocial tendencies, compared to placebo controls (Ramos et al. 2013). In humans, there are no known studies directly examining prosocial tendencies or volunteering specifically, yet studies on related processes are emerging. For example, experimentally administered doses of AVP in males produced a better recall of emotional faces (Guastella et al. 2010). But AVP gave inconsistent findings with respect to actually identifying the emotional expressions (impaired performance: Uzefovsky

et al. 2012; no effects: Kenyon et al. 2013). Moreover, there may be sex-specific results of AVP effects, with one study finding that after nasally administered AVP (compared to placebos) males see faces as more unfriendly, while females see them as friendlier (Thompson et al. 2006). This area is ripe for future research.

(c) Cortisol

Cortisol is a stress hormone that is associated with increased cardiovascular mortality risk (Kumari et al. 2011; Vogelzangs et al. 2010). Although there have been studies examining the effect of other prosocial behaviors on cortisol levels (e.g., Field et al 1998; Smith et al. 2009), there is only one known study examining cortisol in relation to volunteering. This experimental study found that a four-month volunteering program had no effect on adolescents' cortisol levels compared to a waitlist control condition (Schreier, Schonert-Reichl, and Chen 2013; Schreier 2012). More research is needed to examine the relationship between cortisol and volunteering.

(d) Testosterone

Testosterone is a male sex hormone, but it is also present to a lesser degree in women. There has been some research on testosterone and prosocial tendencies, but no study that we know of specifically examines testosterone and volunteering. Experimentally administered testosterone produces less facial mimicry of emotional facial expressions (Hermans, Putman, and Van Honk 2006), decreases the ability to recognize emotional facial expressions (i.e., cognitive empathy; Van Honk and Schutter 2007; Van Honk et al. 2011), and reduces trust in others, especially among highly trusting people (Bos, Terburg, and Van Honk 2010). Several studies examine the effect of testosterone on generosity in economic games (e.g., the Ultimatum Game), with contradictory results. Two find that testosterone administration causes less generosity (Boksem et al. 2013; Zak et al. 2009), two find that testosterone administration causes more generosity (Eisenegger et al. 2010; Van Honk et al. 2012), and another finds null results (Zethraeus et al. 2009). One study finds that even as testosterone lowers initial generosity, it simultaneously increases reciprocal generosity – giving to others who first gave to the self (Boksem et al. 2013). Some contradictory results may be due to beliefs about how testosterone affects people (Eisenegger et al. 2010), and these need to be considered in all testosterone administration studies.

8. Genes

Genes have long been implied as biosocial causes of behavior. Turkheimer (2000) summarized the results of *many* thousands of studies in behavioral genetics in three laws, the first being that "everything is heritable." While this law may not be true in its extreme formulation, almost every aspect of usual

human social behavior that has been studied with behavioral genetic data has indeed been found to have some genetic origins, including the size of social networks (Fowler, Dawes, and Christakis 2009; Freese 2008; McGue and Bouchard 1998), and even mobile phone use (Miller et al. 2012). Specific political party preference seems to be one of the few exceptions (Hatemi et al. 2009). Also, general prosocial tendencies and volunteering are subject to genetic effects (Ebstein et al. 2010). Before we discuss these findings, we go into the methodology used to obtain estimates of genetic effects.

(a) Biometric models

Behavioral genetic models, also called biometric models, decompose variance in human behavior by using samples of individuals with systematically different genetic similarity such as twins and siblings. Building on several assumptions, the variance in phenotypic traits can then be decomposed into effects of additive genetic factors (a^2), shared environmental (c^2) and unique environmental components (e^2). These models show that many traits have substantial genetic heritability (Turkheimer's first law), and that additive genetic factors typically explain more of the variance than shared environmental factors (the second law). On the other hand, however, there are few traits that have exclusively genetic origins. In fact, behavioral genetics tells us how amazingly complex the interplay between nature and nurture is in determining human behavior, as revealed by research on epigenetics in particular (e.g., Almond and Currie 2011; Nathanielsz, Liggins, and Bensadoun 1996; Francis 2011; Tollefsbol 2010). Most traits in humans are genetically complex, meaning that there is a complex of many genes associated with the trait. There are only a few traits that are determined by a single gene. An example is phenylketonuria (PKU), a disorder caused by a deficiency of the enzyme phenylalanine hydroxylase, giving rise to developmental delays and eczema. Thus far, the search for effects of specific genes on human behavior has been disappointing. Genome Wide Association Studies (GWAS) have failed to identify genes with substantial effects on specific human differences of interest to social scientists (Turkheimer 2012). Typically, all single nucleotide polymorphisms (SNPs) combined explain less variance than is estimated in biometric models. The discrepancy between the sizable genetic heritability estimates from biometric models and the much smaller variance explained by all SNPs combined is called the "missing heritability problem" (for a discussion, see Turkheimer 2011).

Many studies have investigated altruism and related aggregate constructs of prosocial tendencies with biometric models, often including volunteering as well as informal forms of prosocial behavior and prosocial values and attitudes. While most studies have found genetic effects on prosocial tendencies (e.g., Rushton 2004; Rushton et al. 1986; Koenig et al. 2007; Gregory et al. 2009), some have not (Krueger, Hicks, and McGue 2001; Bouchard and Loehlin 2001).

More generally, estimates of genetic effects have varied widely from 0% up to 50%. Knafo-Noam (2015) studied genetic effects on five facets of prosocial personality among Israeli twins, concluding that prosocial personality has high (69%) heritability.

Four studies have specifically investigated volunteering using behavioral genetic models. Son and Wilson (2010) used the MIDUS twins and siblings samples to estimate genetic variation in the number of volunteer hours. The best-fitting biometric models included no genetic effects for males and a relatively small genetic variance component (.30) for females. Gibson (2001) analyzed data from a small sample of New Zealand twins, finding that the higher educated twin of a monozygotic pair typically spent less time volunteering than the lower educated twin. This finding suggests that the relationship between education and volunteering in the general population is positive due in part to genetic effects.

Bekkers (2014) also used the MIDUS twin sample to analyze religion and education as mediators of unique environmental effects on volunteering. The analysis was limited to monozygotic twin pairs to exclude genetic sources of variance. All differences within monozygotic twin pairs must be due to unique environmental factors. The study concluded that education did not explain any variance in volunteering among monozygotic twins. This finding implies that the relationship between education and volunteering, one of the most commonly found relationships in the literature (Smith 1994; Musick and Wilson 2008), is mostly due to genetic effects, likely general intelligence. The conclusion for religion, another common correlate of volunteering, was very different: the strength of religiosity was positively related to the number of hours volunteered, implying that genetic effects cannot explain the relationship.

Very recently, Dawes et al. (2015) performed "a population-based longitudinal study of 1197 monozygotic (MZ) and 684 dizygotic (DZ) like-sex twin pairs born between 1972 and 1984 and their parents." Data were gathered when the twins were 11, then at age 14 and 17. Three types of prosocial behavior were measured: voting (in national or state elections), charitable donating (done regularly), and formal volunteering (for community or public service activities), each measured by a single questionnaire item. When subjected to principal components analysis, all three items loaded highly on a single dimension, called *civic engagement*. The factor scores were used to measure this composite, underlying dimension.

Heritability scores were statistically significant (.05 level) for all three separate measures and for the total civic engagement score, as follows: voting = .27, donating = .28, volunteering = .33, and civic engagement = .41. Hence, *behavior genetics significantly affect all four civic engagement measures*. All three single measures were inter-correlated, suggesting the presence of the Leisure

General Activity Pattern (LGAP) identified by Smith (see Handbook Chapter 5). This is the first significant empirical evidence for the heritability of the LGAP, however limited in scope, and hence is quite important theoretically.

Covariation between civic engagement measures and psychological traits was computed. Verbal IQ was significantly correlated genetically with civic engagement (r_g = .39) and voting (r_g = .39), but not with volunteering or donating. A higher order personality trait of positive emotionality (related to extraversion) was correlated genetically with civic engagement (r_g = .53), volunteering (r_g = .49), and donating (r_g = .52), but was not quite statistically significant for voting. Looking at ordinary Pearson correlations, Verbal IQ was correlated significantly with volunteering (r = .07), donating (r = .14), voting (r = .23), and civic engagement (r = .18). Positive emotionality was also correlated significantly with volunteering (r = .27), donating (r = .26), voting (r = .19), and civic engagement (r = .33).

(b) Specific genes involved in the genetics of volunteering:

Which genes are likely to be involved in volunteering? Several specific genes have been studied in detail as candidates that could play a role in prosocial behavior: DRD4 genes, OXTR genes, AVPR genes, and serotonin transporter (5-HTTLPR) genes. No study thus far has specifically examined these genes in conjunction with volunteering, however.

DRD4 genes enable the production of the D4 dopamine receptor protein, which is involved in the expression of emotions and for the stimulation of cognitive faculties (Schmidt et al. 2001). Song, Li, and Arvey (2011) found a weak negative relationship between DRD4 7R and paid-work job satisfaction. Future research could test whether this relationship holds for unpaid work as well. Jiang, Chew, and Ebstein (2013) provide a summary of papers investigating relationships between DRD4 variants and prosocial behaviors. Bacher-Melman et al. (2005) and Anacker et al. (2013) find negative relationships, that is, lower altruism scores in the presence of the dopamine receptor D4 7-repeat allele (DRD4 7R). Zhong et al. (2010) find an association with fairness in the ultimatum game. Knafo, Israel, and Ebstein (2011) did not find a relationship, but found a more complicated pattern: children with a DRD4 7R allele were more susceptible to positive parenting practices than children without this allele. One interpretation of this finding is that an environmental factor (positive parenting) is able to repair lower prosociality among children with a specific genetic risk factor (the DRD4 7R).

Several findings in studies of other social behaviors are consistent with the more general interpretation that individuals with the DRD4 7R are more susceptible to social influence. Using the AddHealth data, DeLisi et al. (2008) report an association between DRD4 polymorphisms and age of first criminal arrest among adolescents from low risk families, but not among high risk families. Settle et al. (2010) found that among participants in the NLSAH with the

D4 7-repeat allele, the number of friendships in adolescence was significantly associated with liberal political ideology, while there was no such association among those without the gene variant. Sasaki et al. (2013) show that the influence of priming participants with religion positively affects the willingness to volunteer for environmental causes among those who carry the D4 2 or 7-repeat allele but not among those carrying other variants.

Reuter et al. (2011) examined another dopaminergic candidate polymorphism for altruistic behavior, the functional COMT Val158Met SNP, and found that the Val allele (representing strong catabolism of dopamine) is associated with more charitable giving toward poor children in a developing country.

(c) OXTR genes

Oxytocin receptor (OXTR) genes are also implicated in prosocial traits and behaviors (e.g., Swain et al. 2012; for reviews, see Ebstein et al. 2012; Kumsta and Heinrichs 2013). For example, people with GG genotypes (in rs53576) are more sociable, empathic, and trusting than A-allele carriers (Krueger et al. 2012; Rodrigues et al. 2009; Tost et al. 2010). They are also rated as more empathic by observers (Kogan et al. 2011). Yet these effects are not found for all potential OXTR SNPs: only four out of ten SNPs in one study (rs2254298, rs2268491, rs237887, rs4686302: Wu, Li, and Su 2012), and only three out of 15 SNPs in another (rs1042778, rs2268490, rs237887: Israel et al. 2009). A meta-analysis of OXTR effects revealed weak relationships across the board (Bakermans-Kranenburg and Van IJzendoorn 2014). Clearly, the specific SNP within the OXTR gene is important. Behaviorally, OXTR GG genotypes are related to better emotion recognition performance (rs53576, rs2254298, and rs2228485: Lucht et al. 2013; Rodrigues et al. 2009; Wu and Su 2013) However, their effects on generosity within economic games (e.g. Dictator Game, Trust Game) are either limited (e.g. to three out of 15 possible OXTR SNPs: Israel et al. 2009) or non-existent (Apicella et al. 2010).

These inconsistent main effects might reflect underlying interactions with contextual variables. For example, although one study found no main effect of the OXTR SNP (rs53576) on prosocial behavior (including volunteering), there was an interaction between genotype and levels of environmental threat in predicting prosociality (Poulin, Holman, and Buffone 2012). Another study found that an OXTR gene (rs2254298) interacted with volunteering status to predict mortality risk (Konrath 2016). Specifically, the widely documented decline in mortality risk for volunteers was only found for OXTR A-allele carriers, and not GG carriers. Research is needed to better understand factors that may influence the relationship between OXTR genes, prosociality, and health. In addition, more cross-cultural research is needed, considering one study finding that the OXTR genotype had opposite effects in the US and Korea (Kim et al. 2011).

(d) AVPR genes

AVPR genes have also been implicated in prosocial traits and behaviors. Participants with longer versions of the AVPR1a RS3 gene scored higher on prosocial traits and allocated more money to others in the Dictator Game than those with short versions of this gene (Knafo et al. 2008). Similar to OXTR genes, AVPR genes may best predict prosocial behavior in concert with contextual factors (Poulin, Holman, and Buffone 2012).

(e) 5-HTT genes

5-HTT genes regulate the function of the neurotransmitter serotonin. One common polymorphism in the promoter region of the gene (5-HTTLPR) has been linked not only to aggressive behavior (the short variant; Duman and Canli 2010), but also to voting (the long variant; Fowler and Dawes 2008). The 5-HTTLPR was one of the first to be discovered as interacting with environmental conditions (life stress) in depression (Caspi et al. 2003). Carriers of the short variant suffer more adverse consequences of childhood maltreatment (Karg et al. 2011). Song, Li, and Arvey (2011) found a weakly positive relationship between 5-HTTLPR and paid work job satisfaction. Whether this relationship holds for unpaid work as well remains to be seen in future research. Colzato et al. (2013) showed that intake of a tryptophan food supplement, containing an amino acid that is found in food such as fish, soybeans, eggs, and spinach, and a biochemical precursor of serotonin, increases trust in an economic game. Stoltenberg, Christ, and Carlo (2013) found that the association between 5-HTTLPR triallelic genotype and helping behavior was mediated by anxiety in social situations. Students carrying the S' allele reported lower rates of helping others, partly as a result of higher levels of social avoidance.

9. Discussion

We should be careful not to reify physiological differences (Dar-Nimrod and Heine 2011). An image of brain activity or a correlation between genetic polymorphisms and volunteering does not imply causality. The rules for causal inference also apply to physiological data: correlates may reflect a causal influence of physiological properties, but they may also be observed as a result from social behavior influences on physiological functioning or selection on some third variable. Only studies that use random assignment of participants to treatment and control groups allow for easy causal inference on the effect of a specific cause (Shadish, Cook, and Campbell 2002; Firebaugh 2008). However, brain activity or hormone levels are usually not manipulated. Primate studies in which group size was varied show that network size determines the grey matter volume and prefrontal cortex activity (Sallet et al. 2011). Thus, the correct interpretation of a study showing a correlation between prefrontal cortex and network size is *not* that brains cause networks, as suggested in the causal

model of one study (Powell et al. 2012: Figure 1). The same study does acknowledge that the causal direction of the relationship between prefrontal cortex and network size may run in both ways. An adequate representation of the association between the volume of grey matter in the brain with the number of social contacts in online social networks is that "social network size is reflected in human brain structure" (Kanai et al. 2012). Lesion studies on patients with damage to specific parts of the brain (e.g., Shamay-Tsoory, Aharon-Peretz, and Perry 2009) show that specific cognitive and social functions are impaired. From such studies, however, we cannot conclude how individual differences in brain volume and activity among healthy individuals determine cognitive and social functioning.

Another shortcoming is that participants in fMRI studies are almost exclusively originating from Western countries (Chiao and Cheon 2010). The use of samples from WEIRD (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic) countries reduces the potential for generalization of research findings to all of humanity (Henrich, Heine, and Norenzayan 2010). Cross-cultural evidence on health correlates of prosociality (Calvo et al. 2012) is very important in this respect. Also within WEIRD countries, participants in studies that include physiological measurements are not random samples of the population. The Henrich, Heine and Norenzayan diagnosis warning echoes McNemar's (1946) warning that the practice in psychology to use students as research participants was creating a "science of the behavior of sophomores." Within this particular population, a volunteer bias is likely to occur such that individuals who are more sociable, less conventional, and more interested in the study will be more likely to participate (Rosenthal 1965; Rosnow and Rosenthal 1976). In longitudinal research on health, selective participation based on health status and deterioration is an additional problem. These problems reduce the potential for generalization of the findings to broader populations.

E. Usable knowledge

The fact that volunteers are in better health and ultimately live longer than non-volunteers demonstrates the potential relevance of physiological correlates of volunteering (see also Handbook Chapter 52 for similar results, often based on longitudinal studies). If proven to be causal, the link between health and volunteering bears the promise of a huge physical welfare (benefit) advantage of volunteering. Programs that encourage volunteering, specifically among the elderly and among those at risk for health problems, could improve health and promote longevity. The role of oxytocin in producing positive emotional feelings, even when those feelings result from spraying OXT into the nostrils, has practical applications. However, such applications are very manipulative, and clearly unethical if done without conscious choice by the recipient of the OXT.

F. Future trends and needed research

Our review suggests a considerable potential for discovery in future research on physiological correlates of volunteering, and even causal relationships. In our view, some of the findings we have reviewed are downright exciting (e.g., Dawes et al. 2015; Knafo, Israel, and Ebstein 2011). The current phase of biosocial research is one of discovery, mapping hitherto uncharted territory where "Here be dragons" used to be written. Just like the first maps drawn by cartographers were notoriously unreliable, new findings in biosocial science often fail to replicate in future studies (Freese 2011). The burgeoning literature in the biosocial sciences carries the risk of the "decline effect" (Lehrer 2010; Schooler 2011): promising discoveries of associations between physiological characteristics and prosocial behavior will prove to be more complicated than initially conceived, or worse still: they may not be replicated in other samples. Attempts to replicate often fail, as in a recent replication effort of genes previously reported to be involved in intelligence shows (Chabris et al. 2012). We should thus be careful not to generalize from single genetic association studies. The results may be false positives as a result of a low statistical power (Davis-Stober and Dana 2013). Therefore, we encourage the use of meta-analytic methods to uncover reliable patterns and moderators of gene-behavior associations. Some of these problems are also inherent in fMRI studies (Vul, Winkielman, and Pashler 2009). There is also abundant evidence that non-significant findings are disappearing from the universe of journal publications in the social sciences (Fanelli 2012). Replication and open access publication of all relevant findings are therefore important to the advancement of knowledge in this area.

While the body of research on health and physiological correlates of volunteering is sizable, research on neurochemicals, hormones, and genes has often examined other forms of prosocial behavior such as charitable donations. Future research on these physiological correlates should focus specifically on volunteering. We should be careful not to conclude from correlational evidence that volunteering promotes health because reverse causation (health promotes volunteering) is often difficult to rule out as an explanation of the findings. Nevertheless, there is some promising experimental evidence that establishes volunteering as a causal factor in health promotion. Ideally, the effects of design features of such programs should be evaluated through randomized control trials.

Another aim for future research is to broaden the evidence base beyond samples from Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic (WEIRD) countries. Henrich, Heine, and Norenzayan (2010) have shown that people from such nations are usually atypical of humans on earth on many dimensions. Both research from non-WEIRD countries and cross-national

comparative research are required to obtain knowledge on physiological correlates of prosociality in human nature.

Finally, we encourage researchers to consider the wide variety of forms of volunteering and civic participation (Cnaan and Park 2016; see Handbook Chapter 3). Collapsing all volunteers into one group masks differential associations between physiological characteristics and helping in-group versus out-group members, between volunteering for religious and non-religious groups, between intellectual and practical tasks, between volunteers with different motives, and between volunteering at different levels of intensity. Future research is much needed on various types of volunteering. Both formal and informal volunteering require future study, as does volunteering in volunteer service programs versus voluntary associations. Volunteers in different purposive and analytical types of associations (see Handbook Chapter 3) also need separate study.

G. Cross-references

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26

Conducive Macro-Contexts Influencing Volunteering

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A. Introduction

This chapter reviews research on variables that affect *rates of formal volunteering* in various sets of territories (nations, provinces/states, counties/districts, communities), usually doing multilevel statistical modeling that simultaneously controls relevant, respondent-variables at the level of individuals. Most attention is given to country-level variables regarding macro-context effects. Results have been less consistent than at the individual level of analysis. At the country level, volunteering rates (referring hereinafter always to formal volunteering/FV) tend to be higher for nations with stronger current democracies, longer time as democracies, more welfare state expenditures per capita, higher and more Protestant religiosity, higher levels of average education, and higher gross domestic product (GDP) per capita. But being part of the Eastern (former communist) Bloc in Europe is a negative factor. In communities, often with inconsistent results, ethnic–racial heterogeneity has negative effects. Special methodological issues are discussed.

In the past three decades, research into the factors leading to individual differences in the likelihood and extent of volunteering and civic engagement has led to a set of stable and well-known findings, with the literature on individual differences now having been summarized by a number of excellent reviews (Dekker and Van Den Broek 2005; Halpern 2005; Musick and Wilson 2008; Smith 1994; Wilson 2000, 2012; see Handbook Chapters 25, 27–31). Research devoted to the *social context* of volunteering has taken a bit longer to develop and mature. Part IV of this Handbook distinguishes three levels of the social context of volunteering: *micro*-level context (e.g., being asked to volunteer by someone not in a group or organization to which one belongs), *meso*-level context (e.g., influences of the networks, groups, or organizations to which one belongs), and *macro*-level context (e.g., effects of the geographic territory within

which one lives or in which one is located temporarily). The micro-level and meso-level factors are reviewed in Handbook Chapter 27.

This chapter focuses on the last of these three levels: the macro-context of volunteering. Geographers have done some general work on this issue, but without much influence. Although *macro-context* can refer to many different levels of social-territorial aggregation (e.g., neighborhoods, towns/cities, metropolitan areas, counties/districts, regions, provinces/states, countries, world regions), scholars have developed a very large body of comparative research over the past decade that examines factors leading to differences between countries. This has been made feasible in part by the existence of large sample, standardized, cross-national social surveys of volunteering (such as the Eurobarometer, the Afrobarometer, the European Social Study, and the World Values Survey).

An important further development in the study of contextual effects has been the widespread adoption of quantitative methods for multilevel models (also known as *mixed-effects models*) in the social sciences, especially in sociology, economics, and education (Gelman and Hill 2007; Heck and Scott 2000; Raudenbush and Bryk 2002). Applied to the study of volunteering, these models have allowed investigators to look for systematic factors affecting differences in volunteering rates between neighborhoods, cities, counties, states/provinces, or whole countries without the statistical estimation bias or aggregation fallacy problems associated with simpler forms of statistical modeling. Multilevel models typically control for *compositional* differences by including variables such as gender, education, income, and age in the analysis as *Level 1* variables, referring to individuals.[1]

This review will proceed by first examining cross-national studies and reviewing their findings, after which studies involving smaller geographic units will be examined. There are some broad similarities in the types of macro-context effects that scholars have studied across different sized territorial units, leading to some general hypotheses regarding the effects of macro-context factors such as aggregate wealth, inequality, ethnic/racial, and/or religious heterogeneity, to name the most important ones. The review will conclude by examining some persistent difficulties in this form of research, and then outlining some potential future lines of investigation and methods of inquiry.

B. Definitions

The general definitions in the *Handbook* Appendix are accepted here. Note that the term *volunteering* in this chapter refers to *formal* volunteering/FV (where the volunteering is done as part of some group or organization), not to *total* volunteering (combining formal and informal volunteering) nor to *informal* volunteering (where no group or organization is involved).

C. Historical background

Handbook Chapter 1 reviews the historical background of formal volunteering and of voluntary associations, in which such volunteering mainly takes place. Handbook Chapter 1 also looks briefly at the very recent history (past 100+ years) of volunteer service programs (VSPs) as sites or venues of formal volunteering.

As noted in this chapter's Introduction, research about macro-context effects on volunteering rates, holding other variables constant, is very recent, going back only several decades. The review of contextual and organizational influences on FV by Smith and Reddy (Smith, Reddy, and Baldwin 1972:chapter 14) noted under bio-physical environmental determinants that weather and climate can affect FV, giving some extreme qualitative examples. However, Michelson (1971) performed a quantitative study showing that FV and other social participation are more frequent in Toronto (Canada) in warmer June than in colder February. Qualitative variations in cultural context and national societies are mentioned as likely affecting FV.

Under the heading of social structural macro-context determinants of FV, several early studies are described. The earliest quantitative study was probably that by Bell and Force (1956). They surveyed samples of adult males in four San Francisco census tracts, two higher in socio-economic status (SES), and two lower (based on aggregate data by tract on education and occupation). With education or occupational level controlled for individuals, they still found significant differences favoring more FV in the higher SES tracts. Based on the studies reviewed, net macro-context effects on FV seem to be generally small (a few to 17 percent), compared to the net effects of individual level predictors. A related early study by Betz (1973) showed that individual participation in Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) affiliated with 36 elementary schools in Knoxville, Tennessee, was significantly affected by the socio-economic status (SES) of the neighborhood, with more average FV for higher SES neighborhoods.

Since about 1990, more sophisticated research on macro-context has been done, likely for two main reasons. Large research projects have been gathering relevant data on many different places (e.g., cities, states/provinces) in the same study, often on whole nations, with both individual level and macro-context data. Also, computer programs have become increasingly available to perform multilevel, multivariate analysis, thus simplifying and making more accurate the disentangling of context from individual level effects.

D. Key issues

1. Between-country differences

As Curtis, Baer, and Grabb (2001) note, early investigations of between-country differences often focused on the apparently unique position of the United

States as a country with unusually high rates of voluntary engagement. Explanations sometimes took the form of *US exceptionalism* (Hodgkinson 2003; Lipset 1996), tracing a historical legacy of a *volunteer culture* in the United States and relating this to processes related to the US Revolution, the absence of a feudal past, and other historical factors. These explanations have fallen somewhat short in explaining the facts in some other countries such as Canada and the Scandinavian countries. These countries also exhibit relatively high levels of voluntarism despite the absence of the same historical configurations said to have led to a culture of civic engagement in the United States (Curtis, Grabb, and Baer 1992). This suggests that there are multiple explanations that led to these macro-level volunteerism effects.

Much of the research that has followed has placed an emphasis on factors said to apply across countries – such as differences in levels of wealth, differences in the level of *democracy* (however defined), and differences in the form of the state/economy relationship. Mascherini, Vidoni, and Manca (2011) used European Social Survey data on FV to cluster nations according to their levels of FV membership. Their analysis suggested distinct Northern European and Mediterranean and Eastern European clusters, with remaining nations hard to classify. If there is a limitation in the contemporary and recent comparative literature, it might be that the pendulum has turned almost entirely from the search for country-specific unique explanations in its quest for generalizing statements regarding between-country differences.

(a) Regime types

One approach to the study of between-country differences is grounded in the works of Esping-Andersen (1993, 1999) or the adaptation of these works to the field of the study of civic engagement (Janoski 1998). This approach makes distinctions between liberal democracies (the United States, Canada, Australia, Japan), social democracies (Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands), and conservative (or *traditional*) welfare regimes (France, Germany, Italy, Belgium), where the differentiation surrounds the nature of welfare provision (minimalist, universalist, conditional/ patriarchal, respectively). Among those countries it was designed to describe, the approach has the advantage of predicting between-country differences in overall civic engagement rates fairly well. Not all countries fit neatly into the typology, however.[2] At the level of aggregated data, Janoski (1998:134) notes that both liberal democratic and social democratic nations, at the opposite extremes when it comes to the degree of state welfare provision, have high rates of volunteerism, whereas the traditional countries have low rates. These findings are more or less supported by multilevel models (Baer 2007; Curtis, Baer, and Grabb 2001; Hank 2011; but see Meulemann 2008), though to some extent religious tradition can also be used to explain many of the between-country differences.[3]

One can find an alternative regime-type categorization in the works of Schofer and his colleagues (Schofer and Fourcade-Gourinchas 2001; Schofer and Longhofer 2011). Here, *statism* plays an important role (with countries in the initial variant of this approach being classified into a binary classification scheme), as does *corporateness*. Contrary to its usage elsewhere, *statism* does not refer to the extent of the state's involvement in the economy per se, but rather refers to the existence of a well-developed (state) bureaucratic elite and a long history of authoritarian rule. *Corporateness* refers to systems that empower individuals as members of broader collectives under social configurations, which often arise as a result of the modernization of countries having had a feudal past (clearly not the case in Canada, the United States, or Australia).

Like the *welfare regime* typology, this scheme explains many, but not all, of the differences among the countries it identifies. It has the slight advantage of being easily applied beyond Western European and North American countries. *Statism* suppresses voluntary engagement, while to a lesser extent *corporateness* encourages it (except possibly in the case of new social movement associations).

Zhou (2012) presents a related, but somewhat different, categorization by distinguishing between democratic regimes and authoritarian regimes on one hand and *strong states* versus *weak states* on the other. Strong, democratic states are more engaged in voluntary activities. This categorization works in models involving mixtures of developed and developing countries, but may be less useful in examining differences between Sweden and Germany, for example (though a more refined, multiple-category or continuous version of the *state capacity* variable might accomplish this).[4]

(b) State involvement in the economy

Few multilevel modelers have followed up on the state typologies described above, though some, in order to account for the especially low civic engagement rates in former East bloc countries, have employed an *East bloc* dummy variable (Paxton 2007). Rather, the trend in recent research has been to construct *continuous variables* to represent processes underlying the earlier categorization schemes. Instead of distinguishing strong from weak welfare states, other researchers use the percentage of GDP associated with state activities or, better yet, the percentage of GDP devoted to state welfare activities.[5]

Research employing the state GDP variable typically frame the discussion around the *crowding out thesis* (Fukuyama 1999; Stadelmann-Steffen 2011) and its antithesis, the *crowding-in hypothesis* (Gundelach, Freitag, and Stadelmann-Steffen 2010; Stadelmann-Steffen 2011). The crowding out thesis argues that when the state engages in activities that could otherwise be performed by voluntary associations, dependencies develop, voluntary associations wither and, importantly, people lose the ability to work together. The contrary hypothesis, though, is that universal welfare states decrease perceived cultural

distances between the majority and those at the bottom (Stadelmann-Steffen 2011:317), promote civic engagement by reducing economic insecurity (which may deflate the willingness of individuals to help others), and make voluntary engagement more attractive by providing matching financial resources (hence stronger outcomes) that complement volunteer efforts (Chambré 1998; Salamon 2003).

Some evidence in support of the crowding out thesis exists, but it is not strong. With a sample of 44 countries from the World Values 2000 dataset, Anderson and Paskevicuite (2006) report that state expenditure has a negative impact *on memberships,* but the coefficient in their model is only statistically significant at p<.10. In a study of 28 European countries using Eurobarometer data, Gesthuizen, van der Meer, and Scheepers (2009) report an effect in the opposite direction for membership, but again the coefficient is not significant at p<.05. They report no significant effect in the case of volunteering. Using European and World values data, Hackl, Halla, and Pruckner (2012) find a negative and statistically significant relation between public social expenditure and volunteering. Using European Social Survey (2002) data and a composite measure for voluntary engagement, van Ingen and Dekker (2011) report that welfare state expenditures have a *positive* effect on volunteering, as do Gelissen, van Oorschot, and Finsveen (2012: Table 2) from Eurobarometer data. Drawing on European values data 2008, Prouteau and Sardinha (2015) find a positive and significant correlation in the countries of the European Union between, on the one hand, the per capita total government expenditure and, on the other hand, aggregate volunteering, as well as three types of volunteering, that is, the ones dedicated to social, leisure, and advocacy activities.

These results follow from earlier work by van der Meer (2009) using the same European and World Values Survey data, from Ruiter and de Graaf (2006) using World Values data, and from Oorschot and Arts (2005) using European Values data.[6] Although not making use of multilevel models and not even focused on volunteering at the individual level, Schofer and Longhofer's (2011) examination of longitudinal aggregate data from the Encyclopedia of Associations database for 140 countries suggests a positive relationship between what the authors call *state expansion* (very close to a measure of state engagement in the economy) and associational densities for all four of the association types they analyzed (social/political, trade, professional, cultural).

Some discrepancies in these findings may be explained by the set of countries selected in each case. Since it is fairly well known that liberal democratic (mostly Anglo) countries have smaller welfare states yet high levels of civic engagement, one might expect a positive correlation between state activity and voluntary engagement within continental Europe. However, there might actually be a curvilinear relationship (hence no correlation or even a negative correlation) due to certain datasets containing a wider array of countries.

Generally, the crowding out thesis is not consistently supported and is often refuted in empirical cross-national investigations.

An important emerging finding on the effects of state welfare provisions is that there are interaction effects among welfare expenditure and other variables. Specifically, increases in state welfare expenditure are associated with increases in the civic engagement among those with low levels of income or education, while the increases are shallower (or even slight decreases) for those who are better off. There is, in other words, greater *participatory inequality* among those countries with lower levels of state welfare expenditure. Van der Meer (2009) reports this interaction for three types of associations: leisure, interest (e.g., trade unions, professional, consumer), and activist. His work used a sample that consisted of European countries only and did not have voluntary engagement with *social service*–type associations as a dependent variable, the area where one might most expect a negative impact. It might thus still be the case that, in some limited areas, *crowding out* occurs.

(c) Ethnic/racial heterogeneity

Another major area of investigation for multilevel modelers is that of the impact of ethnic heterogeneity on voluntary engagement. The impetus for much of this work probably comes from Putnam (2007), who argued that diversity might reduce both bridging and bonding social capital (interaction and engagement with dissimilar and similar others, respectively). As Anderson and Paskevicuite (2006:785) note, the view that people are less engaged in a social system with heterogeneous populations is pervasive. Much of the work on the impact of ethnic and, especially, racial heterogeneity, has been done at the sub-national level, comparing neighborhoods and cities, where arguably processes of in-group/out-group comparison are more likely to operate. Entire countries might have large minority populations, but if these are geographically segregated to particular regions, it is not clear that *heterogeneity* matters in the same way that it does within cities and neighborhoods. Ethnic heterogeneity is also sometimes measured as the proportion of the population consisting of immigrants, which may be a more suitable measure of *diversity* (see Kesler and Bloemraad 2010:338).

Findings concerning a heterogeneity effect at the national have been mixed. Based on 44 countries, Anderson and Paskevicuite (2006) find that neither linguistic nor ethnic diversity affect membership levels in 21 established democracies, but that linguistic heterogeneity has a *positive* effect in less democratic countries. Based on 28 European countries, Gesthuizen, van der Meer, and Scheepers (2009) find no significant effect for *ethnic fractionalization*. But they do find some positive effects for *migrant stock* (number of people born outside the country) and for *net migration* (average over a number of years) on both memberships and participation in voluntary associations. However, all of

these effects with the exception of the effect of migrant stock on memberships become non-significant when additional controls for inequality, social welfare expenditure, wealth, and democratic history are introduced. Many of the country-level variables are moderately to highly correlated, so it is reasonable to expect that it would be difficult to separate some of the effects being tested in this model with the additional controls.[7] Studying the size of the immigrant population, Kesler and Bloemraad report a positive effect for a "percentage foreign-born" variable (2010:334).[8] Based on the paucity of studies, evidence is lacking to confirm or to disconfirm the claim that heterogeneity is bad for civic engagement. However, much of the additional research activity on this question has occurred *within* countries involving comparisons across cities and other substate political units, as discussed below.

(d) Economic development

The idea that beyond individual levels of wealth (as measured by personal or family income), the aggregate wealth level of a country will have an effect on voluntary engagement is commonly found as implicit in models which include some measure of gross domestic product as a *level-2* variable in the analysis. Conceptually, we might expect this variable to be much more important in analyses that include less developed countries than in analyses consisting entirely of advanced Western economies.

Tests of the importance of economic development measures have generally suggested a positive association between GDP and volunteering, though in some cases no significant effect is observed with other level-2 variables in models. Gesthuizen, van der Meer, and Scheepers (2008:627), Stadelman-Steffin (2011), and Zhou (2012) all found a positive relationship in all or most models. In a different investigation, Gesthuizen, van der Meer, and Scheepers obtained conditionally positive results (2009: Table 4), where they observed a positive relationship for participation but not for simple memberships. Similarly, van der Meer (2009) found a positive effect, but only for one of three types of associations (activist organizations). Kesler and Bloemraad (2010) as well as Lim and MacGregor (2012) observed an absence of significant relationships. Of these two, the Lim and MacGregor study had the most statistical power because they included 138 countries. As with some other analyses, though, they used *gross national income per capita* rather than a logged version of this variable, which may have been more appropriate, given the range of levels of economic development across countries.[9] Finally, in Schofer and Longhofer's (2011) analysis of aggregated data in panel form, the log of national wealth had a positive effect in most of the models reported across different association types. They include separate analyses for low-GDP countries, but focus on association prevalence rates (see Handbook Chapter 50), as contrasted with volunteering rates for territories. Smith and Shen (2002) earlier had found similar GDP results in OLS

regression analyses for many larger nations. One slight issue in the literature is that variations in currency exchange rates may imply that a particular country's reported GDP, translated to US dollars, accurately reflects living costs. Van der Meer (2009) reports that the measures used in his analysis corrected for price differences.

(e) Democracy

In the literature on volunteerism, *democracy* is measured in two basic ways: through years of continuous democracy in a polity and through some index of democracy (such as that found in Bollen 1998, which entails items such as the degree of press freedom, and whether elections are contested) to reference the extent of *democracy* in a country. A democratic and open society seems to bear an obvious relationship to associational engagement, but this may not apply to all forms of voluntary association engagement. Empirical findings have pointed to either a positive relationship (Gesthuizen, van der Meer, and Scheepers 2009; Gesthuizen, van der Meer, and Scheepers 2008; Hank 2011; Schofer and Longhofer 2011; Smith and Shen 2002), non-significant results (Anderson and Paskeviciute 2006; Lim and MacGregor 2012), or positive results for some types of associational activities but no results for others (Baer 2007). One might even expect a certain amount of *organizational displacement* in non-democratic or less democratic polities, as some types of civic engagement are negatively sanctioned, whereas others (such as leisure) do not face such sanctions. Yet, *years of democracy* have a reported positive effect within Europe (van der Meer 2009: Table 3.4) and in the world more generally (Smith and Shen 2002)

To be sure, there is a small literature surrounding one particular transition to democracy – that of Eastern Europe. Here, the argument is that years of communist government, in which *voluntary* associations were associated in the public mind with political repression, have left a populace with a very cynical orientation toward civil society organizations – at least in the case of those older members of these societies. Indeed, Fidrmuc and Gërxhani (2008: Table 8) report a strong negative effect of former East bloc status, seeming to confirm claims regarding the hollowed-out nature of East European civil society, even decades after the fall of the Iron Curtain (Howard 2002, 2003; Kuti 2004). In some exploratory analyses, Ruiter and Baer (2007) modeled the cohort-related effects of "number of years under communist rule" and found that these effects were negative and statistically significant. However, Fidrmuc and Gërxhani (2008: Table 9) present a final table in their analysis of European countries where the *new member* variable (representing former East bloc countries) is significant and *positive* controlling for GDP per capita, inequality, a measure of *non-corruption* and a measure of *economic freedom*. The authors conclude, "the East-West gap can perhaps be attributed largely to the different levels of economic development attained by old and new member countries"

(2008:282). But this unexpected positive finding goes beyond that and remains without a satisfying explanation.[10]

(f) Social inequality

As with ethnic diversity, social inequality may work at different levels, given that within-country variability (across cities, across regions) may well be fairly large in many countries. At the level of cross-national analysis, in one of the few studies where some measure of inequality is included in the analysis, scholars usually observe a negative effect (Gesthuizen, van der Meer, and Scheepers 2009; Gesthuizen, van der Meer, and Scheepers 2008).[11] As Kesler and Bloemraad (2010) note, inequality can undermine a sense of shared fate or solidarity, destroy the positive dispositions leading to trust and civic engagement and amplify out-group threat which makes interaction more difficult for all but a handful or organization types. These authors ask the question of whether the effect of immigration might vary across types of societies. They first distinguish between what one might call immigrant friendly (not their terminology) or *multiculturalist* societies and those that are not, based on the presence/absence of various policy measures. In *unequal* societies that are *non-multiculturalist*, the impact of immigration is negative: as the percentage of foreign- born goes up, organizational membership rates are expected to decline. This effect is abated if the society is multiculturalist to the point that an increase in the percentage foreign born has no effect. In more egalitarian societies, the impact of immigration is consistently positive, but much more so if the society is also multiculturalist.

(g) Religious tradition and religiosity

In addition to an individual's own religious identity, national religious context also influences level of voluntary association participation. In a study of voluntary association participation in 33 countries, Curtis, Baer, and Grabb (2001) found that volunteerism tends to be high in nations that have multi-denominational Christian or predominantly Protestant religious compositions. The observation that Protestant societies or *mixed Protestant/non-Protestant* societies have higher levels of voluntary engagement fits cases such as the United States, Canada, the Nordic countries, and the Netherlands, that all fit this pattern (Dekker and Van den Broek 2006). Hodgkinson (2003), citing the case of the Philippines (Catholic, poor, but high engagement) warns us that we might not always find consistent explanations. The conceptual claim with respect to Protestantism is that Protestant churches have what Lam (2006:178), following Lenski, describes as "extra familial orientations" that "encourage ... participation in associational activities" as opposed to Catholicism which stresses family relationships.

Where religion is entered into multilevel models, it is not always included alongside a consistent set of context variables allowing for easy comparisons.

At the individual level, religiosity, usually measured as frequency of church attendance, is strongly correlated with voluntary association engagement, even when associations that are religious in nature are excluded (Bekkers and Theo 2008; Lam 2002; Paik and Navarre-Jackson 2011; Ruiter and De Graaf 2006; van Ingen and Dekker 2011; van Tienen et al. 2011). Lam (2006) explores the possibility that there may be *additional* context effects using 29 countries from the 1990 World Values Study dataset. Living in a Catholic country predicts much lower membership probabilities (over and above a slight but significant difference between the expected probabilities of Protestants and Catholics at the individual level), as does living in a country with *Other* (non-Protestant) as the dominant religion. Reconceptualizing the model to include *percent Protestant* instead of dummy variables for *Catholic* and *Other* countries (with Protestant as the reference) yields the same finding.

While individual religiosity predicts more volunteerism, individuals in more devout countries – whether religious themselves or not – are more prone to join associations and to volunteer (Ruiter and De Graaf 2006). There is also an interaction effect: the impact of church attendance goes *down* in countries that are more devout. That is, church attendance matters more in countries where fewer people go to church. Volunteering is low, as we might expect, for individuals who do not go to church themselves in countries that are secular or even average in religiosity. But in religious countries, everyone, including the non-churchgoer, is more likely to be engaged. This is referred to as a *network spillover* effect. Lim and MacGregor (2012) criticize this finding on the grounds that their data (with a dataset using 138 countries as opposed to 53) gives, if anything, opposite results. They find that country-level church attendance has a negative effect on the predicted probability of volunteering among non-churchgoers. In addition, these authors find a curvilinear relation between country-level religiosity and volunteering, the latter being higher among both secular countries and the highly religious ones. Prouteau and Sardinha (2015) show that, in the European Union, the relation between country-level religiosity and volunteering is significantly negative. This result still holds when two outliers are removed, except for advocacy volunteering. The discrepancy between datasets could be a function of different processes in more developed countries (more represented in the 53 nation analysis) as opposed to less developed countries (proportionately higher in the representation of data points in the 138 country analysis). The findings in the larger sample may be more reflective of processes in non-Christian countries.[12]

(h) Cultural values

Using Hofstede's (2001) delineation of major cultural value dimensions on which societies may differ, Luria, Cnaan, and Boehm (2015) studied five such cultural value dimensions in 66 countries in relation to pro-social behavior.

They found greater pro-social behavior on average in countries higher on individualism (vs. collectivism), but lower on power distance, uncertainty avoidance, and future orientation. There were also variations in pro-social behavior by cultural value dimensions for specific types of pro-social behavior.

(i) Trust

Glanville, Paxton, and Wang (2016) performed a multi-level analysis using the European Social Survey data on 19 nations, with 30,000 respondents in 160 regions. Results showed that regional level trust was associated with more volunteering, and this effect was stronger when social ties were combined with trust in explaining volunteering. Effects on informal volunteering were weaker.

2. Community effects

Communities in which individuals reside form another type of macro-context that has been subject to investigation by multilevel modelers. Whereas earlier community case study models might typically attempt to compare a small handful of cities on the basis of variability in some key attribute, multilevel studies typically work with large numbers of cities or neighborhoods – usually in the hundreds, seeking to investigate many of the issues discussed above (ethnic/racial heterogeneity, income inequality, religiosity/religious tradition, etc.) along with some new ones (e.g., city size, degree of urbanization, city population stability, and wealth). By far, the majority of investigations have involved American cities or neighborhoods, but research has also been conducted in Belgium, Canada, the Netherlands, and other countries.

(a) Inequality

Findings regarding the effect of inequality in community studies are mixed. In the Hooghe and Botterman (2012) investigation, it is not statistically significant, but this may be a function of the small number of cities in the study. Alesina and La Ferrara (2000) report negative effects of community-level inequality (controlling for median household income, community size, and ethnic/racial heterogeneity) on voluntary participation. Negative findings have also been observed in studies with fairly small groups of cities in Belgium and the United States in models without controls for other community-level variables (Hooghe and Botterman 2012; Rotolo 2000). In a very large-sample study with over a million respondents and 1,076 US counties, Lim and MacGregor (2012) use the percentage of the population households in poverty as a measure that is similar, but not identical, to the inequality measures employed elsewhere. Controlling for religious attendance, they observe a negative effect. But when they break down the sample separately into non-churchgoer, occasional churchgoer, and weekly churchgoer categories, the poverty measure is non-significant in each.

In a Canadian study, Duncan (2010) finds no significant income inequality effect in itself: on average, unequal neighborhoods are no different than those that have income equality across the neighborhood. However, he does find an *interaction* between income and inequality for a 0/1 member/non-member variable, and no interaction when the dependent variable is the count of membership types. With positive coefficients for inequality and for income but a negative interaction coefficient, the implication is that income differences in memberships are smaller in unequal neighborhoods (the rich are less likely to be members, but the poor are more likely, in each case in relation to someone with the same income living in a more *equal* (income homogenous) neighborhood). A few non-multilevel studies show an absence of an overall inequality effect (Coffé and Geys 2006; Costa and Kahn 2003).

Inequality effects are not consistent. But when they occur, the relationship is negative. Unfortunately, most within-country studies – whether multilevel or otherwise – have not incorporated any measure of community inequality in the analysis.

(b) Ethnic/racial heterogeneity

Overall, most research involving ethnic heterogeneity or racial heterogeneity leads to the conclusion that these have negative consequences for cities or neighborhoods within a country relative to civic engagement and volunteerism. An early multilevel study published by Alesina and La Ferrara (2000), using US Metropolitan Statistical Areas and larger population PMSAs (areas containing cities with populations of at least 50,000), found negative effects for race heterogeneity and ethnic heterogeneity (in separate models), even with controls for inequality (which itself predicted negative effects). More recently, Rotolo and Wilson (2014) used multilevel models to assess the impact of social heterogeneity on volunteering in 248 US cities, with data on nearly 200,000 respondents. They found (p. 429)

> the predicted negative effect of social heterogeneity on volunteering. However, the effects vary by volunteering type. Race heterogeneity is negatively related only to secular volunteering, racial segregation is negatively related to both general volunteering and secular volunteering, and income inequality is negatively related to all types of volunteering.

Hooghe and Botterman (2012) conducted their study in Belgium with a fairly small level-2 sample of 40 communities. They used two different measures of heterogeneity in a set of models that entered community-level variables one at a time because of this small level-2 N. Relatively few demographic variables exhibited statistical significance. However, one heterogeneity variable – the

percentage of non-Belgian foreigners in the community – did have a significant negative effect on active memberships but not on passive memberships. In Canada, Andersen and Milligan (2011) report no significant effect of the percentage of immigrants in a community[13] without aggregate-level controls, but they find it exhibits a *positive* effect when community racial heterogeneity (itself exhibiting a negative effect) is included in the model. Their analysis was restricted to association *memberships* and did not consider volunteering or active memberships separately.

Some studies not using multilevel methodology report negative relationships between community heterogeneity and volunteering or voluntary association activity (Coffé and Geys 2006; Putnam 2007[14]). Putnam refers to this relationship as *hunkering down* (2007:155, 157, *et passim).* Costa and Kahn (2003) report mixed results when using fragmentation at the respondent's birthplace and racial fragmentation (present location) in the same model, with inequality (measured by a GINI coefficient) as a control variable. Using data from two surveys with volunteering as the dependent variable, birthplace fragmentation has a significant negative impact in one survey but not in the other. At the same time, racial fragmentation is significant in a different survey but not in the same survey where birthplace fragmentation is significant. They observe no significant effects for memberships when using two different surveys (except for a p<.10 finding with respect to the negative impact of racial fragmentation on membership in one survey for the period 1952–1972). In yet another study using aggregated date only, Coffé and Geys' investigation of 307 Belgian cities finds that *diversity in nationalities* in a city has a negative effect on a social capital index, one of the components of which is the number of associations in the community (the others are voter turnout and crime rate per capita) (2006).

The one problem with findings claiming a *constriction* or *hunkering down* effect is that studies typically do not take into consideration an alternative explanation: volunteering rates might be lower in cities and/or neighborhoods with large numbers of immigrants not because of the immigrant proportion per se, but because these cities lack residential stability. Stated in other terms, any level of in-migration (and, to a lesser extent, out-migration) may have a negative impact on the stability of a community, whether it is from a majority ethnic group (keeping the community homogeneous, but unstable) or from a minority or immigrant group. In other words, if one were to control for residential stability when assessing the effect of heterogeneity, one might find that there are no independent heterogeneity effects and that the uncontrolled findings are an artifact of this third variable. Hooghe and Botterman's own findings (2012: Table 4) suggest that population mobility has a suppressing effect in its own right. Unfortunately, perhaps because of small Ns, the latter is not taken into account.

Swindell and Tai (2014) used their unique dataset of 224 US urban counties to conduct a county-level analysis of several common hypotheses about volunteerism derived from individual-level studies. Unlike previous studies, however, their models include measures of ethnic heterogeneity, as well as measures of the percent foreign-born population and the number of recent residential movers. Even controlling for foreign-born population and residential stability, heterogeneity exhibits a significant negative relationship with county-level volunteerism and with number of weeks in which volunteering occurs, though no relationship with the aggregate number of volunteer hours.

(c) Immigrant civic engagement

The Swindell and Tai (2014) county-level study included an array of socio-economic and demographic characteristics in trying to isolate the effect of ethnic heterogeneity. One of the context variables in the models was the percentage of foreign-born living in the neighborhood. While this measure did not capture the length of time foreign-born residents had been in the county (i.e., a county-level average length of time in place), the inclusion of foreign-born along with heterogeneity tries to disentangle the effects of the two concepts. Their results suggest that more foreign-born residents in a county is associated with lower levels of volunteerism on all four measures of volunteerism they modeled (and was more pronounced than the negative influence of heterogeneity).

The study of voluntary association engagement *among* immigrants, as opposed to the effect of diversity on the entire population, is fairly new. Using the neighborhood as the contextual unit, Tong (2010) examined factors predicting both adolescent volunteering and subsequent adult volunteering among immigrants. Immigrants living in higher-income neighborhoods volunteered much more as adolescents. When the respondents were divided into poor and rich neighborhoods, there was an interaction between the proportion of foreign-born in the neighborhood and the duration of migration (length of time the respondent had been in the country). While one might normally expect people who had been in the country longer to volunteer more, in poor neighborhoods migration duration had no significant effect. In wealthy neighborhoods, it was conditional upon the percentage of foreign born in the neighborhood: in neighborhoods with low proportions of foreign-born residents, being in the country longer meant a greater propensity to volunteer. But in neighborhoods with very high proportions of foreign-born residents (especially over about 32%), the reverse was true, with people in the country for longer periods of time actually volunteering *less* (Tong 2010:134). Extending the analysis to the same respondents in early adulthood, the distinction between poor and wealthy neighborhoods varies. First, a similar pattern exists among adults in wealthy neighborhoods. But in poor neighborhoods, as the

number of foreign-born residents in a neighborhood increases, the length of time one has been in the country matters more (in a positive direction).

Baer (2008) conducted another context study investigating the impact of the size of immigrant communities on volunteering, meeting attendance, and number of memberships among immigrants in 140 Canadian cities. Mostly, the presence of a large as opposed to a small immigrant group (measured by relative group density as opposed to absolute numbers) made no difference for many immigrant groups. However, it did have a negative impact on some groups, most notably immigrants from Great Britain, France, and Poland. Rather than providing a springboard for more voluntary engagement through immigrant group-specific organizations, the presence of large numbers of same-origin fellow immigrants in the community suppressed civic engagement. But the opposite was true for Chinese immigrants: for meeting and association activity, and for numbers of memberships, having a *larger* community of Chinese immigrants was an important predictor of greater associational involvement. Findings such as this, though, do not speak to the mechanisms or pathways to civic engagement and suggest a need for more group-focused research using a variety of methods. Overall, the study of factors leading to immigrant civic engagement is important in countries such as Canada where immigrant numbers are high and where the successful connection between immigrants and their communities is deemed to be important.

(d) Other effects

Many of the other social context variables that have been considered tend to appear only in single studies rather than having been replicated in analyses using different samples in different countries. Population density or the percentage of the population in an area defined as *urban* as opposed to *rural* have negative effects where any effects are observed (Freitag 2006; Lim and MacGregor 2012; Oliver 2000), though some results are non-significant and thus inconclusive (Hooghe and Botterman 2012).[15] With or without controls for other aggregate factors, city size has negative consequences in some studies for some associational variables (Baer 2008; Coffé and Geys 2006; Oliver 2000; Rose 2002) but not for others (Baer 2008; Rose 2002). Furthermore, in some cases involving both multilevel studies (Alesina and La Ferrara 2000) and single-level studies (Baglioni et al. 2007; Hooghe and Botterman 2012; Swindell and Tai 2014) there is no clear pattern. Coffé and Geys (2006) suggest that some of the effects of population size may be accounted for by population stability/instability or residential mobility, leading to a question that remains open for further investigation.

The study of the impact of religious heterogeneity or differences in religiosity across cities or regions within countries is not as well developed as it has been in the case of between-country analyses. One extensive investigation by

Lim and MacGregor (2012) suggests that, at least in the United States, the proportion of mainline Protestants often has a positive effect, the proportion of evangelical Protestants has a negative effect, and overall (aggregate) levels of religious attendance have, if anything, a negative impact, net of the (usually positive) impact of religious service attendance at the individual level.

Studying 141 municipalities in Belgium with multilevel regressions on 67,144 older respondents, Dury, Willems, De Witte, De Donder, Buffel, and Verté (2016) found greater FV among in communities with greater neighborhood connectedness, neighborhood satisfaction, home ownership, and local services.

Gesthuizen and Scheepers (2012) performed one of the most important multilevel studies in its theoretical implications. Using data from 17 nations (mostly Anglo and western European), they had an extensive and cross-nationally comparable measure of cognitive competence or general intelligence, as well as data on education, formal volunteering (FV), and other factors. They showed that country differences in the proportion of higher educated people affected FV, controlling individual level education and cognitive competence, among other factors. Most importantly, they showed that cognitive competence accounted for much of the effect of formal education on FV, which has never been done before with such methodological sophistication.

3. Methodological concerns

The popularity of multilevel models may have overshadowed other important issues in the examination of context factors, as investigations are often shaped by the statistical tools available. The push toward multi-level modeling has possibly distracted researchers and pulled them away from spending more time examining how processes work differently for different *types* of organizations (see Handbook Chapter 3). To be sure, the multilevel literature includes some investigators who make distinctions, but there has been little work to examine which distinctions work best or how patterns of associational involvement relate to each other (e.g., do sports volunteers also tend to volunteer for community associations, or is there no connection?). Multilevel models also have their own particular methodological issues.

A first issue that one can see especially in cross-national studies is the problem of small numbers of *level 2* cases. Some cross-national studies discussed here have had as few as 20 nations. When this happens, the capacity of the model to disentangle the effects of different context variables is limited, especially if these are any more than very modestly correlated with each other. Far too often, there is a tendency for multilevel modelers to include far too many intercorrelated context variables into their models and emerge, not unsurprisingly, with few variables appearing to have any effect at all. The alternative, while not conceptually satisfying, is to enter these variables *one at a time* or perhaps in small numbers, as did Hooghe and Botteman (2012). At the very least,

investigators must choose regressors/predictors that are not too highly correlated, giving up on the desire to discern separate effects among variables that are conceptually similar, while not being identical.

The reverse, though, is also a problem. Lim and MacGregor (2012) correctly note that with 138 countries in their analysis, they have more statistical power than researchers with "small level-2 N" studies. But this comes at a price: when multilevel modelers extended their world beyond processes operating in European and advanced industrial countries, results became more difficult to sort out as a function of varying measurement reliabilities, questionnaire interpretations, fundamental differences in processes across widely divergent types of societies, and scaling issues with variables that have widely different scores in different societies.

The problem of small numbers of aggregated units is usually less a problem with city studies than with country studies, though Rotolo (2000) conducted an analysis with only ten cities, which is far less than the minimum 30 count sometimes suggested by multilevel modelers. With small numbers at this level comes the great likelihood that a small handful of cases will be unduly influential, which was the concern of the debate between van der Meer, Grotenhuis, and Pelzer (2010) and Ruiter and de Graaf (2010) concerning the latter's findings. Few multilevel modelers employ residual diagnostics (which are more difficult to obtain in some software packages than others), but all would be well advised to read van der Meer et al.'s comments carefully. Identifying outliers can lead to more nuanced analyses that pay attention not only to the possibility of *rogue data*[16] but also to the possibility that, due to a confluence of historically unique circumstances, a particular country may not *belong* in a model, or at the very least, would require the identification of hitherto unrecognized variables to be adequately *explained*.

Another problem, though not unique to multilevel modeling, is the inclusion of inappropriate or causally inconsequential variables, usually at the individual level. In some fields of study, some modelers may be under the impression that *more is better*, and the study of volunteering is no exception. Duncan (2010) includes *sense of belonging* as a predictor, but leaves the reader asking, "What does it mean to talk about voluntary engagement *net* of that which is predicted by sense of belonging?" There may well be a causal relationship between the variables, but the direction of causality is not self-evident in the direction implied by the regression model. Furthermore, in many cases, researchers may want to assess the *total effects* of context variables, so the inclusion of intervening variables makes no sense.

In general, one might argue that attitude variables do not make sense as independent variables in models predicting volunteering, unless these are lagged variables in a panel design. This includes post-materialist value items (Schofer and Fourcade-Gourinchas 2001), left party support (Freitag 2006), and

feelings of responsibility, income satisfaction and trust in others (Gelissen, van Oorschot, and Finsveen 2012). The inclusion of trust as an individual-level predictor is potentially problematic because of the presumed strong association between trust and voluntary engagement in the social capital literature (thought the extent of this is a matter for empirical investigation).

However, given evidence of the stability of general attitudes over years, examining the correlations of attitudes with volunteering can at least be suggestive (see Handbook Chapters 30 and 31). Further, since attitude predictors play an important role in predicting volunteering, it is unlikely that such measures are totally spurious (cf. Smith 2015, 2016). Random or spurious attitude data would not produce such strong multivariate regression results.

Religious involvement (religiosity) might conceivably fall into the same category as a variable that does not belong on the "X" (independent variable) side of equations, though this notion might be challenged by some multilevel modelers in the field. What if, though, one conceptualizes going to church as yet another form of voluntary association meeting attendance? Why the *special status* for religious engagement? Why would we say that religious service attendance is causally prior to, say, working for a community association in the way that we would not say that working for a community association might lead to running for politics or working for a political party, or that working for a community association might lead, in the opposite direction, to religious attendance? The message here is that including religiosity as an independent variable is likely to reduce the variance that can be explained by other factors; *volunteering net of religiosity* is not the same as *total volunteering*. More advanced simultaneous equation models allowing causation to flow in both directions through feedback mechanisms or time series studies may be necessary to resolve these questions.

E. Usable knowledge

Most of the macro-context research-based conclusions reviewed here are of little use to most association and volunteer service program (VSP) leaders, managers, and administrators. First, macro-context findings are more mixed than other predictors, and thus less conclusive, about what to do in practice. Second, leaders' particular associations or VSPs are located in some specific macro-context and are not likely to be moved. Third, many of the macro factors are more difficult to change with policy or programmatic interventions. However, macro-level leaders/policy makers at state/province or national levels considering the formation of new polymorphic association branches can find useful facts here to guide such decisions according to macro-context probabilities of positive effects on association or even VSP formation and survival rates.

F. Future trends and needed research

Future research on macro-contextual predictors of volunteering will likely continue to increase, as has been the trend in recent decades. The words *social context* have become an accepted part of the research lexicon in the social sciences. Many major journals now seem to be reluctant to publish cross-national or comparative community studies without the statistical approach that has opened the door for a variety of sophisticated researchers exploring questions left unanswered a decade ago because scholars were not sure how to go about studying them. This chapter highlights some tentative findings, though these have hardly endured the validation through replication that has previously emerged with individual-level studies of volunteering. Ethnic heterogeneity has negative consequences – in most studies in most contexts. Income inequality is bad for volunteering – at least when comparing countries. Levels of economic development predict voluntary association engagement – up to a point and with certain countries and when one does not factor in some competing variables.

Almost all of the research on social context effects thus far has concentrated on the effects of geography, that is, of geographically contiguous areas or territories, usually defined by political boundaries (the nation or the city). A next logical step for multilevel modelers would be to extend analyses to social units other than those defined geographically, such as occupations or immigrant group characteristics (including country-of-origin characteristics, possibly varying by time of immigration). A small step in this direction can be found in the work of Dill (2009), who examined school effects on later-life adult volunteering. Another positive step is found in Harlow-Rosentraub, Wilson, and Swindell's evaluation study of 1,500 participants in the Legacy Corps for Health and Independent Living program (2011). They found that attracting and involving Baby Boomers into voluntary activities supporting critical community needs lead to sustained increases in volunteerism and joining behavior among participants for several years after completion of the program. Such research moves into *meso*-context effects, as reviewed in Handbook Chapter 27.

Another future direction to take is examining the relative contribution of different contextual levels. This is probably most critical in determining whether, for *community effects*, it is the neighborhood, the city, or the larger region (e.g., country, canton, county/district, and metropolitan area) that matters most. But one can also ask the question of whether community effects differ systematically across countries. For this sort of analysis, more complex three-level or even four-level models with very large samples would be required. A final suggested direction for future research would involve the marriage of multiple-indicator modeling (e.g., *latent class models*) with multilevel modeling so that simple yes/no measures of association membership or volunteering or simple

counts of the number of associations respondents are engaged in are replaced with models which do not assume that all types of associations are equivalent. Even those researchers who group or cluster association types (e.g., *leisure* vs. *political*, or *old social movement* vs. *new social movement)* have tended to do so without any empirical investigation of the appropriateness of these groupings. More analytical typologies, as in Handbook Chapter 3, could be used. Methods are available to improve upon this, both in single-level and in multilevel modeling.

G. Cross-references

Chapters 27, 28, 45–51.

Notes

1. For income, where it is often the case that 20%–30% of respondents refuse to answer the question on many surveys, some researchers simply drop cases (e.g., Anderson and Paskeviciute 2006), while others use imputation techniques which will reduce bias or at least provide better estimates of how variable results might be. Age is often employed as a categorical variable or as a *quadratic* to account for the curvilinear relationship with volunteering, in which volunteering typically *peaks* in the 50–60 age range.
2. Japan is an exception; as a country in the *liberal democratic* category such as the United States, its low rates of civic engagement are not well explained. The typology does not include former East bloc European countries, but it is not uncommon for these to be assigned to a separate fourth category (see Curtis, Baer, and Grabb 2001).
3. This clustering of countries has some overlap with the more or less empirically derived clustering used by Mascherini, Vidoni, and Manca (2011), which separates Scandinavian (*northern*) countries from east and southern countries (called *eastern*) and these two from all the rest which are *borderline* and *possibly closer to the Northern group*.
4. Zhou's work did not involve multilevel modeling; rather, it examined aggregate membership data from the Yearbook of International Organizations in its investigation of INGO engagement.
5. This form of variable construction is not without problems in, for example, the provision of health services. A fully state-paid medical insurance scheme may or may not count in the calculation for those portions of the actual service provision that takes place in private doctors' offices. A measure that just involves state involvement in the economy, as opposed to state provision of social services, runs the danger of giving high numbers to countries with relatively large rates of military expenditure.
6. Oorschot and Arts (2005) do not employ multilevel models in their analysis.
7. The correlation between ethnic fractionalization and diversity was .541 and, more importantly, the correlation between wealth and net migration was .759. These correlations might not be excessive in large N models, but with only 28 effective cases at level 2, it means that it is difficult to *tease out* effects with many variables in the model. This issue in multilevel modeling will be discussed below.

8. Whether a society is *multiculturalist* in policy orientation or not also matters, but in a complex way involving differences in social inequality; these will be discussed below.

9. Across the literature, authors exhibit inconsistency in checking the functional form of the GDP/volunteering relationship. Still, one would expect that if effects are really strong, they will appear regardless of the functional form chosen.

10. It is possible that the finding is an artifact of highly correlated aggregate variables measuring substantively similar constructs.

11. Oorschot and Arts (2005) report the *opposite* effect, but do not use the more appropriate mixed model methodology and control for welfare state variables which might be said to constitute social inequality.

12. There is also an exchange between van der Meer, Grotenhuis, and Pelzer (2010) and Ruiter and De Graaf (2010) regarding the status of three influential cases in the original analysis, in which the latter argue that findings are, in fact, robust across the appropriate treatment of these three cases.

13. Community was defined using Census units which come closer to defining neighborhoods than cities, though in the case of smaller cities and towns, the two would be coincident.

14. Putnam's main emphasis was on *trust* as a key element of *social capital*, but he also alludes to findings regarding volunteering and civic engagement (2007:150, footnotes 21 and 22). While the reported analysis was not multilevel, notes suggest that additional analyses using multi-level models yielded similar results.

15. The Hooghe and Botterman findings from Belgium are more limited than the Lim and MacGregor findings from the United States, though, because of the limitations of using aggregate-only data.

16. For example, in one WVS wave, half the Spanish cases corresponding to one but not both agencies collecting data are missing across some but not all of the types of voluntary associations but coded in such a way that they would not be picked up by missing data flags, leading to lower than correct estimates of volunteering in a country with numbers which were already fairly low if the data were used *as is* by most stats packages.

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27
Conducive Meso- and Micro-Contexts Influencing Volunteering

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A. Introduction

This chapter reviews how interpersonal influences, institutional influences, the volunteer experience, life events, and practical considerations affect starting or stopping formal volunteering. Interpersonal exchanges and relationships affect volunteering by providing an opportunity for people to be asked to volunteer, by providing an incentive to volunteer for organizations that benefit a friend or family member, by providing emotional and practical support for volunteering, and by socializing people into the volunteer role. Institutions directly influence volunteering by actively sponsoring or facilitating participants' volunteering, socializing people to volunteer, and providing individuals with the skills and resources necessary for volunteering.

Volunteers' experiences with their host organization shape their commitment to and reduce withdrawal from the organization. These kinds of micro- and meso-context influences were often ignored until the last couple of decades. Social psychology researchers note that situational factors affect human behavior, often more than dispositional factors (Zimbardo 2007). In this chapter, we discuss research pertaining to the effect of situational influences on formal volunteering.

B. Definitions

We begin our discussion with definitions of terms relevant to this chapter, accepting the general set of definitions in the Handbook Appendix.

Micro-contexts: the setting and characteristics of interpersonal relationships; situations involving dyadic interpersonal exchanges.

Meso-contexts: setting and characteristics of institutionally bounded relationships; situations involving exchanges between a person and an institution, organization, group, or others embedded within an institution.

Situational variables: characteristics of dyadic interpersonal exchanges; characteristics of the institutions, organizations, or groups where interpersonal exchanges are embedded; other events, experiences, or contexts that affect an individual's perception of the desirability of or limitations on volunteering.

Institutions: the set of rules and norms that govern groups of people; institutions can include formal organizations, informal associations, or groups of people that regularly interact and have their own informal norms or formal rules that govern their actions within the group. For the purposes of this chapter, institutional-level influences are synonymous with meso-level contextual factors.

C. Historical background

Research exploring situational variables' influence on the decision to join or participate in membership associations (MAs) first appeared in the late 1960s and early 1970s (see Booth and Babchuk 1969; Smith 1975; Smith and Baldwin 1975), actively calling attention to gaps in our understanding of the relationship between situational influences and associational volunteering (Heshka 1983; Smith 1975; Smith and Reddy 1972). Since that time, scholars have increased the breadth of situational variables considered, but research still fails to illuminate a deep comprehension of the mechanisms by which situational variables influence volunteering and the factors that condition people's responses to situational influences.

D. Key issues

The main issues covered in this chapter include interpersonal influences, institutional influences, the volunteer experience, life events, and practical considerations. We conclude this section with a discussion of the relative strength of these influences among themselves and in comparison to other influences described elsewhere in the Handbook. For each issue, we briefly review research from North America and Western Europe, and we also highlight key research from other world regions where it is applicable.

1. Interpersonal influences: The micro situations

Interpersonal interactions strongly influence an individual's choice to commence or continue volunteering. This effect occurs through several mechanisms – both direct and indirect. First, through interpersonal interactions people can be asked to volunteer or learn about volunteer opportunities.

Second, and closely related to the first point, interpersonal interactions open the doorway for involvement in organizations that benefit a family member or friend. Third, interpersonal relationships often provide emotional and practical support necessary for sustained volunteering. Fourth, interpersonal relationships socialize people by shaping their attitudes, personality traits, motivations to volunteer, and personal resources. We briefly review some of the empirical research related to these four mechanisms by which interpersonal influences affect volunteering choices. In this review, we include research pertaining to a wide range of relationships, including both kinship and non-kinship relationships.

(a) Being asked to volunteer

Many people need the jump-start of being asked to volunteer to propel them into volunteer work. Those asked to volunteer are four times more likely to volunteer than those who have not been asked (Bryant et al. 2003), even when controlling for socio-economic status and church attendance (Musick and Wilson 2008:290). This holds true outside of North America and Europe (e.g., Aravena 2004; Corcoba, Urrutia, and Espanés 2006; Smith 2015). People who are more socially integrated and belong to dominant status groups (middle class, married people, racial majorities, those with children, those with more friends) are more likely to be recruited for volunteer work than those who are more socially isolated (singles, older people, minorities, or unemployed persons; Bryant et al. 2003; Musick and Wilson 2008:291). This is likely due to the increased social ties, more organizational memberships, and more heterogeneous social networks that integrated and connected people enjoy (Musick and Wilson 2008; Wilson and Musick 1997a, 1998), which increase the chances that a person will be asked to volunteer.

People who tend to be less socially connected to mainstream society (unemployed, single, lower socio-economic status, minorities, the elderly) are not only less likely to be asked to volunteer, but they are also less likely to positively respond to an invitation to volunteer (Musick and Wilson 2008:295). In general, recruitment messages are more powerful and successful when they come from a person with whom one has a close relationship, such as family and friends, rather than a colleague or acquaintance (Paik and Navarre-Jackson 2010). But recruitment attempts from social superiors, such as a boss, or from fellow religious congregation members, also tend to be successful (Bekkers 2010; Musick and Wilson 2008:309–310). Being asked to volunteer is an important precursor for volunteering, but not all people are likely to be asked to volunteer and the source of the recruitment message also matters.

(b) Volunteering to benefit family members

Many people volunteer for organizations that their family members or friends are involved in or benefit from (Ministerio Secretaría General de Gobierno 2005;

Smith 1994). The classic example is when parents volunteer for organizations that their children are involved in or benefit from, such as schools, sports organizations, or youth groups (Musick and Wilson 2008). However, involvement triggered by children's participation in organizations often discontinues after the child is no longer involved with those organizations (Brodie et al. 2011). It should also be noted that the relationship between having children and volunteering is fairly complicated and depends on a host of other factors, such as the number of children, their ages, the parents' marital status, and the type of volunteer work (Musick and Wilson 2008; Wilson 2000). Families can be a prime source of volunteer labor for many organizations.

(c) Providing emotional and practical support

Volunteering requires practical, intellectual, and emotional resources – resources that can often be provided through a person's relationships. Volunteers cite practical resources such as good health, transportation, time and money as important conditions for volunteering (Brodie et al. 2011). It is sometimes feasible for another person to provide some of these resources. For instance, many parents in higher socio-economic classes deliberately facilitate their children's volunteering through providing transportation and financial support rather than encouraging their children to work in a part-time job (Brodie et al. 2011). Interpersonal exchanges also provide emotional support for volunteering. Some individuals cite a lack of confidence as a barrier to volunteering, particularly individuals who feel excluded in other areas of their lives (Davis-Smith et al. 2004). When someone is asked to volunteer, he or she can participate in a conversation about the volunteer work that might alleviate the potential volunteer's anxieties or uncertainties about volunteering by providing additional information about the volunteer role and the benefits of volunteering (McAdam and Paulsen 1993; Midlarsky and Kahana 1994). Such inputs by others can be particularly important when the person has little experience with volunteer work, when the work requires a larger time commitment or when it is risky (Rotolo and Berg 2010). In these instances, a person might have additional qualms that can be alleviated through a conversation with a trusted individual who has firsthand knowledge about volunteering or a particular organization or volunteer assignment. Being personally helped by a volunteer also increases the likelihood of volunteering (Chang 2007).

Interpersonal exchanges can have a negative effect on volunteering as well. One person's bad experience with volunteering can discourage another person from taking up the volunteer role. Or, a spouse, family member or friend, might be jealous of the volunteer's time and resent the amount of time the person spends volunteering, which can cause tensions in the relationship and a reduction of volunteer activity (Brodie et al. 2011:42). Family opposition can hinder volunteering (Shen et al. 2007). In Asian communities, traditional filial

principles discourage older family members from doing volunteer work because it reflects negatively on how the younger generations are caring for their elders (Chong 2010). An individual's relationships can affect his or her volunteer activity by providing (or reducing) resources for volunteering.

(d) Socialization effects

Finally, interpersonal relationships also shape people's motivations to volunteer and attitudes toward volunteering. For instance, when one spouse in a couple volunteers, then the other person is likely to volunteer as well (Musick and Wilson 2008). Parents also socialize their children to volunteer; many empirical studies demonstrate an intergenerational transfer of volunteering behaviors from parents to children, particularly from mothers to their children (Bekkers 2007, 2005; Mustillo, Wilson, and Lynch 2004; Smith and Baldwin 1975; Son and Wilson 2011; Suanet et al., 2009; Sundeen and Raskoff 1994; Wilhelm et al. 2008).

In fact, empirical evidence supports socialization effects in a variety of kin and non-kin relationships (McLellan and Youniss 2003). Families play a vital role in instilling a culture of volunteerism (Brodie et al. 2011); volunteers tend to have other volunteers in their families (Butcher 2010; Institute for Communication and Development 2009). A wide variety of kinship and non-kinship relationships affects how individuals are socialized to volunteer (or not).

It is also important to note here that culture matters. In many cultures, especially among recent immigrants, social ties tend to reinforce informal helping directed toward others in the cultural group rather than formal volunteering through an organization (Ecklund 2005). Volunteering may be an unknown concept. The philanthropic preferences of communities of color establish informal giving and helping behaviors as more desirable than formal volunteering through an organization (Davis-Smith et al. 2004). In the Middle East, women are volunteering at higher rates because they have been discriminated against in other venues and it is more socially acceptable for them to participate through volunteering (Daly 2010).

(e) Conditioning variables

Although empirical evidence about the four ways interpersonal relationships can affect volunteering is mounting, we need more research to investigate the effect of moderating, mediating, or intervening variables on the choice to volunteer (what we call conditioning variables). When investigating the impact of interpersonal relationships and exchanges on volunteering, important conditioning variables include characteristics of the relationship, such as the length of the relationship, closeness, amount of contact, relative power, legitimacy, salience, the visibility of each other's actions, degree of similarity, relative importance of the relationship, and the ability to control other's

actions. Other important conditioning variables can include the social background variables and personality and attitudinal variables discussed in other chapters of the Handbook.

2. Institutional/organizational influences: The meso-situations

Participation in various institutions directly and indirectly affects volunteering. Joiners tend to be volunteers – no matter their age (Liu and Besser 2003). Institutions directly influence volunteering through three channels: First, many institutions actively sponsor, arrange, facilitate or mandate volunteering among their participants. Second, institutional culture can support and sustain volunteering and socialize people to volunteer. Third, institution members can develop new skills, gain knowledge or increase other resources that facilitate their volunteer involvement. Institutions' indirect influence on volunteering pertains to the interpersonal interactions that take place within institutional boundaries. Because we discussed interpersonal influences in the previous section, we will focus this section on the three direct effects mentioned above. We note that most empirical studies' theory and data prohibit disentangling direct versus indirect institutional effects on volunteering, so we focus this brief review on empirical research that provides the most circumstantial evidence for direct effects. Our review looks at a broad range of institutions, but the bulk of the empirical research focuses on schools, religious congregations, places of employment, and membership associations.

(a) Arranging, facilitating, or mandating volunteering

Some institutions arrange, facilitate, or even mandate volunteering for institution members. The most well-known example is schools. During the past two decades schools have made more concerted efforts to get students to volunteer by arranging or requiring volunteering and service and often integrating those activities into the curriculum through service-learning (see Billig 2002). Studies show a positive relationship between schools encouraging and facilitating volunteering and the likelihood of students choosing to volunteer (Sundeen and Raskoff 1994). Mandatory volunteering requirements also yield positive effects on attitudes toward volunteering and volunteer work in later life, particularly for those students who would be unlikely to volunteer without a requirement (Metz and Youniss 2003). Aside from schools, many other types of institutions can facilitate volunteering. Many religious congregations or places of employment organize volunteer work for their members or respond to calls for volunteer groups to help other organizations (McBain 2007). Some religious congregations generate enormous amounts of volunteer labor to sustain the congregation (Lukka and Locke 2003). Chinese community centers play important roles in advocating for volunteers and arranging

volunteering opportunities (Li 2010). Corporations and other employers are also increasingly interested in arranging volunteering opportunities for their employees (Boccalandro 2009).

(b) Culture and socialization

Institutional/organizational culture can communicate that volunteering is acceptable and desirable. Some institutions, such as churches and schools, can actively teach or preach about the virtues of volunteering and being involved. Religious congregants tend to volunteer for both religious and secular organizations, irrespective of their social background (e.g., gender, race, age, and socio-economic status; Musick and Wilson 2008:279). Religious values are an effective mechanism for launching volunteering (Einolf 2011a). Religious denomination matters, however. Those involved in conservative Protestant denominations are less likely to volunteer for other organizations because most of members' voluntary efforts are directed at maintaining the congregation itself (Wilson and Janoski 1995). The type of religion also matters. In the Middle East, Islamic values around religious giving open the door for volunteering (Mason 2004; Montagu 2010), even the potential for more radical or extreme forms of voluntarism, such as suicide bombers (Lankford and Hakim 2011). Secular nonprofits in the Middle East even incorporate *da'va* – ways of doing things based on Islamic principles (Atia 2012). However, the fact that different religious organizations affect people's volunteering in different ways suggests a strong culture or socialization effect that different institutions might have upon volunteering.

Other institutions have an effect similar to religious congregations, such as places of employment. Public and nonprofit sector workers are more likely to volunteer than private sector employees or those who are self-employed (Wilson and Musick 1997b). This seems to indicate more acceptance and support of volunteering in these environments, possibly because of increased exposure to volunteers' societal contributions (Paylor 2011). People with higher-status occupations are more likely to volunteer than those with lower-status occupations, particularly women (Smith 1994; Wilson and Musick 1997a), possibly because volunteering helps them to move up the career ladder.

However, state-structured and forced volunteering in the communist era of many Central and Eastern European countries have decreased people's intrinsic motivations to volunteer and have created serious cultural skepticism about volunteer work (Kaminska 2010; Voicu and Voicu 2009). Education systems in these countries still have traces of the former communist regimes and do not encourage personal responsibility for solving societal problems (Koshmanov and Ravchyna 2010), so their ability to socialize people to volunteer work is still limited.

(c) Increasing resources that support volunteering

Within institutions, individuals can develop their personal resources – skills, knowledge, and other resources – that enable their volunteering activities. Schools contribute to individuals' overall levels of knowledge and resources, which are related to volunteer work. Education is one of the strongest predictors of volunteerism (Smith 1994; Syvertsen et al. 2011). In the workplace, an employee can learn new skills and gain other resources that can be translated into volunteer work. Religious congregations can be important arenas for minorities to develop the skills necessary for volunteering (Musick et al. 2000). Institutions can provide individuals with the knowledge and resources necessary for volunteering.

(d) Conditioning variables

Characteristics of the institutions/organizations themselves and the properties of the relationship between an individual and the institution constitute important conditioning variables for the effect of institutions on volunteering. Institutional characteristics include such things as outputs, structure, authority systems, how decisions are made, ideology, size, relationships to other institutions, and degree of openness (Smith 1975). Certainly, institution type is also particularly important (Musick and Wilson 2008:272). Some institutions that might influence volunteering have been relatively understudied, such as volunteer centers (see Brudney 2002), the military (see Nesbit and Reingold 2011), and jails and prisons. The person's relationship to the institution also matters. This includes such factors as the recency of the experience, the length of institutional involvement, the salience of the institution in the person's life, the overall quality of the experience, the intensity of involvement, the nature of a person's involvement, perceived effectiveness of institution, interest in institutional activities, degree of social integration, and the services, goods or benefits received from involvement. Changing from one institution to another can also affect volunteering, such as shifting from one religious congregation to another (see Nesbit et al. 2012) or leaving high school and starting college.

3. The volunteer experience

Volunteers' experiences with their host organization shape their commitment and reduce withdrawal from the organization. Some of the most important aspects of the volunteer experience are the nature of volunteer work, volunteer management, volunteer appreciation and social integration of volunteers. Organizations must design volunteer work to meet volunteers' motivations; when volunteers' motivations are not met in their work, their commitment to the organization decreases (Stukas et al. 2009). Volunteers also value flexible volunteer positions (Boezeman and Ellemers 2009). Beyond the actual work

that volunteers perform, volunteers are also concerned with how they are managed, supervised and communicated with. In particular, they are also more satisfied when they receive adequate training, ongoing supervision, and real support in their assignments (Wu 2005); these efforts help to decrease volunteer burnout (Chong 2010). Unfortunately, many nonprofit organizations lack the capacity to manage volunteers (Hager and Brudney 2004), and nonprofit organizations in developing countries are particularly vulnerable (Regulska 1999; Toepler and Salamon 2003). Individuals in these countries may view nonprofit organizations as stable sources of employment rather than a venue for volunteering (Rose-Ackerman 2001).

Volunteers also want their contributions to the organization to be acknowledged and appreciated by other organization members (Boezeman and Ellemers 2009) and they want to feel and see that their work has an impact (Brodie et al. 2011). Non-monetary rewards (certificates or souvenirs) or in-kind support (travel reimbursements) are also linked to willingness to volunteer (Wu 2005). Finally, volunteers' social integration affects their experience. Positive social interactions with other volunteers and staff lead to greater volunteer satisfaction and reduced turnover (Boezeman and Ellemers 2009; Brodie et al. 2011; Wu 2005).

Researchers are just beginning to address the importance of the volunteer experience and volunteer management. We expect many of the same conditioning variables as reported above for institutions and interpersonal influences to affect the volunteer experience. Organizational size, in particular, is related to volunteer management (Brewis, Hill, and Stevens 2010). In addition, another important set of conditioning variables might be the type of volunteer work being done (direct service, leadership, support activities). Changes in leadership at the organization or of the volunteer program can also strongly influence volunteers' decisions.

4. Life events and periods

Life events can often affect volunteering through affecting people's resources – available time and money, personal mental and physical health, or emotional support. We consider four broad categories of events – occupational changes, changes in household/family structure, changes in personal health or the health of a family member, and moving.

(a) Occupational changes

Retiring from one's primary occupation is one major occupational change that can affect volunteering. The preponderance of the research evidence provides support for the continuity theory of volunteering in retirement – that those who volunteered before retirement are likely to continue volunteering in retirement and those who did not volunteer before retirement are unlikely

to being volunteering after retiring (Musick and Wilson 2008). Although the volunteering patterns do not seem to change with retirement, available time to volunteer or motivations to volunteer might shift, causing a change in the type of volunteer work sought (Gallagher 1994). The effect of retirement on volunteering depends on the timing of retirement, the person's previous occupation, working during retirement, and perceptions of the retirement status (Musick and Wilson 2008). The effect of retirement on volunteering also depends on culture; in Asian cultures retirees are discouraged from working outside the home, even just as voluntary labor (Chong 2010). Other occupational changes can also be important. Losing one's job can open up more time for volunteering. Indeed, many people see volunteer work as an opportunity to network and keep their skills sharp during times of unemployment (Low et al. 2007). Shifting from unemployment to work might decrease volunteering. The transition between education (either high school or college) and entering the workforce or beginning a career also affects volunteering; youth volunteering tends to decrease when they begin working fulltime (Lee 2010). Older adults' encore careers might also influence the decision to volunteer.

(b) Changes in household/family structure

Changes in the family or household structure can also trigger new volunteer involvement or a reduction in volunteering. Having a baby reduces the likelihood of volunteering (Nesbit 2012). Divorce and widowhood can also disrupt volunteering, especially for women and those without children (Butricia, Johnson, and Zedlewski 2009; Musick and Wilson 2008). But volunteering can also be a positive means of coping with loneliness after losing a spouse (Miranda and Mayne-Nicholls 2011). Other important life events that could affect volunteering might be getting married or becoming an empty nester, but empirical evidence is limited.

(c) Changes in health

A personal illness or the illness of a family member also affects the resources that a person can devote to volunteering. When a close family member gets ill, an individual might need to devote more time to caregiving and thus stop volunteering because of lack of time (Brodie et al. 2011). Changes in one's personal health, both physical and mental, can also disrupt volunteering because the person may no longer be capable of continuing in the volunteer role (Brodie et al. 2011; Butricia, Johnson, and Zedlewski 2009). This is particularly true for older adults. Retirees who are volunteers finally quit volunteering when extreme old age or poor health prevent them from continuing (Wilson and Musick 1997a).

(d) Moving

Moving to a new location can disrupt volunteering. People who move to a new geographic location, especially when it is outside of the previous community, will quit volunteering (Brodie et al. 2011; Institute for Communication and Development 2009). However, in the new location many people will seek out new volunteering opportunities. There is also evidence that after a move, people seek to replicate their volunteering behaviors, although they are not always successful at doing so (Nesbit et al. 2012). Moving to a new community has a substantial effect on volunteering because volunteering is strongly place-based. Living in more than one place during a year and owning more than one home (i.e. snowbirds) will also disrupt or reduce volunteering.

(e) Conditioning variables

We expect several variables to condition the effect that these life events have on volunteering. First, social background and personality variables could be important moderators, especially in the occupational changes. Interpersonal variables are expected to be important when there is a change in family structure. These can include things such as the nature and closeness of the relationship with others in the family/household, the volunteering behaviors of others in the family/household, and the amount of support for volunteering the person received from the others to volunteer. The person's age and stage of life when these events happen also appears to matter. Personal volunteering habits can be particularly important – how long the person has volunteered, the nature of their experience, and the salience of their volunteering to them. If the person has strong volunteering habits before the life event, the event might be less disruptive to their volunteering (see Nesbit et al. 2012).

5. Practical considerations

Practical matters affect the volunteer decision, including such things as weather, availability of transportation, proximity to the volunteer organization, convenience of organization's location, the availability of child care, personal health, language fluency, previous experience with volunteer work, the presence of stipends or incentives to volunteer, and available time. Each of these things can affect a person's ability to connect with a volunteer organization and to sustain that connection. Personal convenience issues, such as proximity to host organizations, drive many volunteering decisions (Chang 2007; Wu 2009). Transportation problems, such as not having own transportation, price of travel, traveling after dark, availability of public transportation and lack of parking can affect participation (Brodie et al. 2011).

Language and cultural barriers can also reduce volunteering (Brodie et al., 2011). Those who have had little previous experience with volunteering are more likely to stop volunteering than those with robust volunteering habits

(Butricia, Johnson, and Zedlewski 2009). Stipends and incentives can be important facilitators in helping low-wage earners to volunteer (McBride et al. 2011). Available time and the other activities a person chooses to spend time on also affect volunteering choices (Institute for Communication and Development 2009); the perception of a lack of time can be psychological hurdle (Davis-Smith et al. 2004). However, increased personal well-being does not always lead to more volunteering, especially in the Central and Eastern European context (Regulska 1999). Practical considerations can have a strong influence on volunteering.

6. Relative strength of micro- and meso-context variables

Despite the fact that the situational variables discussed in this chapter have received comparatively little attention, they tend to have fairly strong effects on volunteering compared to other sets of variables, such as social background and personality. It is challenging to find many empirical studies that include some or all of the different sets of variables that might affect volunteering. However, despite a great deal of empirical evidence about the importance of social background variables for volunteering, when interpersonal and institutional situational variables are included in the model, the strength of the social background variables is reduced (Smith 1975), with the possible exception of education (Berger 1991). The most important situational variable is being asked to volunteer (Berger 1991; Musick and Wilson 2008; Smith 1994:252). Adding recruitment to statistical models doubles the explanatory power of the models (Musick and Wilson 2008:293). Many of variables shown to be related to volunteering in previous studies, such as joining groups, are no longer statistically significant when volunteer recruitment is included in the models. Interpersonal influences seem to be stronger than socialization influences from religious institutions (Chang 2007).

The recent national sample research on Russian adults by Smith (2015), testing Smith's S-Theory of human behavior (2017), controlled about 50 potentially confounding influences on formal volunteering (measured by a highly reliable six-item index) while examining several micro-context predictors. Of the nine single items and indices measuring micro-context, only two reached statistical significance with the other predictors in an OLS regression equation (N = 2,000). Stronger by far was a five-item index of being asked to volunteer by more types of people (family, friend, neighbor, etc.) with a beta weight of .10 (significant at below the .001 level, two-tailed). Much weaker (beta weight of .03) was the availability of transport for the individual (.05 level). Hence, micro-context factors have significant associations with formal volunteering in these data with many other predictors controlled. However, other micro-context predictors, significant in studies reviewed in this chapter, did not survive as significant with many other predictors controlled.

E. Usable knowledge

This review of the literature suggests several implications for research and practice. First, this chapter highlights the powerful effect of being asked to volunteer on the decision to volunteer. This is both theoretically interesting for researchers and practically important for those wishing to encourage volunteering. This chapter also illustrates that although we know that interpersonal exchanges and institutional arrangements affect volunteering, research has yet to unlock the precise mechanisms or channels that lead to volunteering or continuation of volunteering.

One practical implication of this study is that much of this information can be used by volunteer-involving organizations (VIOs; cf. Leigh et al. 2011). How volunteers are managed and supervised matters. Organizational and work design issues influence volunteers' decisions. This suggests that VIOs would benefit from more professionalized volunteer management practices and awareness. Savvy volunteers manager can help provide emotional support to ensure continued volunteering during a major life event, and they can be mindful of practical issues that might deter volunteers.

This research also informs public policy. Personal influence is paramount in getting people to volunteer. Those seeking to increase volunteering need to focus more on encouraging and rewarding people for asking others to volunteer. In addition, public policy-makers can facilitate volunteering among groups that are disadvantaged and lack the skills and resources to volunteer. Perhaps they can help address some of the practical issues (language barriers, lack of transportation or child care) that hinder volunteering.

F. Future trends and needed research

In this chapter, we have reviewed the micro- and meso-contexts and situations that influence starting and stopping volunteer work. These situational variables have all been under-studied relative to other predictors of volunteering, such as social background and attitudinal variables, despite evidence that situational variables can be powerful predictors of volunteering. Fortunately, research on situational predictors of formal volunteering has been growing the past two decades, and such growth is likely to continue. One aim of this chapter is to outline the main situations that influence volunteering, including interpersonal exchanges, institutional arrangements, the volunteer experience, life events, and practical considerations, and to discuss the ways that these situations influence the decision to volunteer.

We encourage researchers to further explore how the conditioning variables discussed in this chapter affect the relationship between situational influences and volunteering. Future research can further unpack the relative strength of

the situational variables compared to other sets of variables typically used in volunteering research. The recent results of Smith (2015) show that micro-context (especially, being asked to volunteer) continues to be important when *many* other predictors are controlled, but only a couple of micro-context predictors survive with such controls. This research highlights the importance of studying meso- and micro-context predictors while including a wide range of other predictors, as suggested by S-Theory (Smith 2017). Finally, researchers need to expand their consideration of volunteering beyond a simple binary variable to focus on decisions volunteers make about the type of organization they choose to volunteer for and the volunteer roles or tasks that they perform.

G. Cross-references

Chapters 6, 7, 9, 15, 25, 26, 28–31, and 38.

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28

Conducive Social Roles and Demographics Influencing Volunteering

David H. Smith (USA) and Lili Wang (China)

A. Introduction

This chapter reviews evidence that social statuses, roles, and other demographic variables influence formal volunteering (FV) and association participation. Dominant status theory (DST) predicts greater participation for individuals with a more dominant (valued and preferred by the socio-cultural system) social status or set of these, such as higher socio-economic status (SES) or involvement in a higher status religion (Smith 1994). The validity of Smith's revised dominant status theory (RDST), as stated here, is compared with the validity of Wilson's (2000) resource-capital theory (R-CT), which predicts more volunteering for individuals who have more of various kinds of resources-capital. Although differential validation is difficult, we argue that RDST is superior in giving a more nuanced approach to resources that explains their variations in explanatory/predictive power across contemporary societies and over historical time in any society. Recent research by Smith (2016b) on Russian national sample interview data confirms that the psychology of RDST is far more important than the resources of R-CT.

The literature on determinants of voluntary association participation and volunteering has identified numerous social background and social role/demographic factors associated with an individual's propensity or decision to participate and volunteer. These include age and life-cycle stage, gender, race/ethnicity, length of full-time education, income, wealth, occupational prestige, home ownership, car and recreational vehicle/boat ownership, marital status, family size, school-age children in the household, local rootedness, religious identity/role, political identity/role, and so on. One attempt to find a linking thread among this series of variables is DST, which posits that "people participate more in volunteer roles when they are characterized by socially

approved or 'dominant' statuses" (Smith 1994:254; see also Smith 1975, 1983; Smith, Macaulay, and Associates 1980:chapter 18).

Several other theories have also been developed to explain broad patterns of voluntary association participation and volunteering, such as the Interdisciplinary Sequential Specificity Time Allocation Lifespan (ISSTAL Model; Smith, Macaulay, and Associates 1980:Chapter 18), the General Activity Model (GAM; Smith 1994; Smith, Macaulay and Associates 1980:chapter 19), and the R-CT (Wilson 2000).

This chapter will assess the relative explanatory power of key social status (background; demographic) variables found in prior multivariate analyses, such as those noted two paragraphs above. We will also address the causal relationship among these variables and how their impacts vary by different types of volunteer participation. Based on the literature review, we will address the validity of the Smith's RDST (as first presented in this chapter) compared with Wilson's R-CT (2000).

B. Definitions and theories

This chapter accepts generally the definitions of terms in the Handbook Appendix.

A social status is defied here as a social identity or position with a distinctive name in common language in some socio-cultural system, such as in a society or smaller social or territorial unit, such as a group, organization, or community. Some common examples of social statuses are woman, professor, priest, husband, chess player, homeowner, citizen, and teenager. A social role is defined as a set of normative expectations for thoughts, motives, feelings, words, and deeds that are associated with some specific social status. People in a given social status are expected to fulfill the associated role in relevant situations.

The RDST, as stated here by Smith for the first time, posits that individuals with a more socio-culturally approved or dominant social position and role (or set of them) in a given society and historical time period are more likely to volunteer or participate in associations, as suggested previously in the simpler DST (Smith 1975, 1983, 1994; Smith, Macaulay and Associates 1980:chapter 18). One example of such a dominant status is white ethnicity/race in the United States and other Western nations. More generally, in modern (industrialized) and post-modern (information-service) societies, dominant statuses include middle age, higher education, greater occupational prestige, greater income, greater wealth (including major possessions such as owning a home, having a vacation home, owning one or more cars or other regular vehicles [especially more expensive ones], owning a recreational vehicle, owning a boat or yacht), belonging to a more highly approved religion (or atheism, an anti-religious

ideology in atheistic societies), adhering to a more prestigious political party, being legally married, having the appropriate number of children (never zero; usually a few children, but not many), more school-age children in the household, longer time in the community, being native-born (not an immigrant from another nation), speaking and writing well the dominant language(s), having more friends, and participating in highly approved leisure activities (e.g., in the United States today, foreign travel, golf, tennis, board/policy volunteering, and attending a ballet or opera).

The other end of the spectrum from *dominant* statuses involves *subordinate* statuses, with less, little, or no socio-cultural approval. In the extreme, subordinate statuses are stigmatized (highly disapproved) and punished in many societies, even with death. Some examples of highly stigmatized subordinate statuses in nearly all societies are murderers, rapists, thieves, revolutionaries, terrorists, traitors, and the mentally ill. There are also specialized subordinate statuses in various societies and historical time periods. For instance, accused witches were executed in Europe in the Middle Ages and even later. Heretics in Catholic counties in Europe (especially Spain and France) were similarly executed. Native-Americans in the American colonies and United States were treated similarly for hundreds of years from about 1600 to 1900. Blacks and gays/lesbians in the United States have also received such treatment until rather recently (perhaps 1960+).

In post-modern societies, where gender equality is sought and often approximately attained, RDST predicts modest or small sex differences in voluntary participation/volunteering. However, in industrial societies, and especially in pre-industrial agrarian societies, where large gender differences in social power, prestige, and wealth favor males, RDST predicts males will participate significantly more than females. Thus, the significance of gender/sex as a predictor for volunteer participation should depend on the degree of male dominance versus gender equality in a given society at a given historical period. National sample data on political participation in seven nations tend to support these predictions (Verba, Nie, and Kim 1978:235, 268)

People with dominant statuses are seen by RDST to volunteer and participate more because they are more likely to conform to socio-culturally approved forms of activity in all aspects of daily life, including paid/remunerated work, family/household activity/chores/work, and leisure activity. In the realm of leisure activity, this socio-cultural system/societal conformity usually means more volunteering and association participation in modern societies. Such an outcome is especially likely in nations/societies where there is substantial freedom of association and assembly (see Handbook Chapter 45), as well as other civil liberties, thus usually found in functioning democracies (Schofer and Longhofer 2011; Smith and Shen 2002). Autocracies of various kinds (dictatorships, divine right monarchies) tend to fear associations and formal volunteering as potential threats to the monopoly of power held by a single

party, oligarchical group, or dictator, or in earlier societies by an emperor, king, or queen (e.g., Fisher 1974; Swanson 1974). Societies in which corporatism prevails (see Handbook Chapter 46) are likely to be intermediate in volunteering and active association participation levels between democracies and autocracies.

The R-CT argues that the decision to volunteer is jointly influenced by various types of resources or capital available to an individual, including social capital, human capital, and cultural capital (Musick and Wilson 2008; Wilson 2000; Wilson and Musick 1997a. The term *resources* or *capital* is used to imply that these factors are essentially economic inputs that facilitate the productive activities of volunteering (Wilson and Musick 1997a). Social networks or social ties, including family connections (i.e., marital status, parental status), friendship networks, and organizational memberships, are forms of social capital that tend to foster collective action (Wilson and Musick 1997a).

Thus, R-CT fundamentally asserts, though usually implicitly not explicitly, that *mere possession* of or access to more resources or capital actively promotes use of these to do more volunteering. Unfortunately, R-CT gives no clear *theoretical* definition of what factors/traits are resources in a given society at a given historical time period, unlike RDST. R-CT also fails to explain why people with more of the resources it identifies tend to *use* these in volunteering, rather than using them in more economically remunerative activities (paid work, self-employment). Nor does R-CT explain why people with more resources use them in volunteering rather than preserving or hoarding them, as many wealthy people do with financial resources such as money in the bank, stocks, bonds, and real estate. However, RDST can be properly seen as a refinement of R-CT, rather than totally different, with more nuances and able to explain the relevance of specific resources and explain historical changes in which resources are most relevant.

In R-CT, *human capital* is typically measured by an individual's level of education, which enables a person to successfully perform a job. Income and health status are also possible measures of human capital (Wilson and Musick 1997a). *Cultural capital* includes religion, language, acculturation, citizenship, and race/ethnic background (Sundeen, Garcia, and Raskoff 2009; Wilson and Musick 1997a). But R-CT does not explain, for instance, why certain racial characteristics or ethno-religious characteristics are resources in a given society at a given historical period, or how these factors change over time or vary across societies and nations in explaining/predicting volunteering. By contrast, RDST does have such explanations.

C. Historical background

Sociological study of the importance of social statuses, roles, and demographics for voluntary association participation (as formal volunteering) began in

the 1920s and 1930s in the United States. Community studies (ethnographies) by Lynd and Lynd (1929), Lundberg, Komarovsky, and McInerny (1934), and Warner and Lunt (1941), as examples, consistently found that association participation was more extensive for adults of higher SES. In addition, higher SES people tended to participate in different types of associations and in different specific associations in their communities.

As a result of these *qualitative* community studies, other sociologists began in the 1940s to do *quantitative* studies of how social statuses affect association participation. The earliest surveys focused on samples of adults in specific US cities or towns (e.g., Bushee 1945; Komarovsky 1949; Mather 1941). By the 1950s, there were some national sample surveys bearing on the impact of social statuses on association membership and participation, reviewed by Wright and Hyman (1958). Hausknecht (1962) wrote the first book analyzing the impact of social roles/demographics on association participation, finding greater participation for higher education, income, and occupational prestige (but not using any significance tests). The author (p. 22) noted several *non*-US surveys, including some national sample surveys, which found similar results. The bibliographies of both Hausknecht (1962) and Babchuk and Gordon (1962) include many other early quantitative studies in the United States and to some extent elsewhere. From the 1960s onward to the present, broad explanatory research on association involvement has nearly always included social status and demographic variables.

D. Key issues

This section will review research on how various clusters of social status/role, social background, and demographic factors (approximate synonyms) have been correlated with association membership and volunteering in prior research, especially research in the present century. The dependent variables (DVs) studied have varied across studies. The most common DVs for samples of individuals have been the number of association memberships (or membership types), association meeting or event attendance, amount of time spent in association volunteering activity per month, holding a leadership role in an association, committee involvement, duration of membership, and decision to exit the association.

1. Revised Dominant Status Theory and Resource-Capital Theory

Lemon, Palisi, and Jacobson (1972) invented Dominant Status Theory (DST) in its initial form. They defined a *dominant status position* as "that category on a social dimension which is accorded the highest amount of value in relation to other categories by the members of a group or society" (p. 32). Smith (1975:254) brought greater academic attention to DST by discussing it at some

length in his 1975 chapter in the *Annual Review of Sociology.* Smith (1983:86) elaborated DST (DST 1.1), stating that a dominant status really means that the status position (category) on a social dimension is a category that is *socio-cultural system-valued/preferred,* by which he meant, valued or preferred by most people in a socio-cultural system. Where Lemon et al. failed to suggest how a status position *becomes dominant*, Smith filled in that theoretical gap. Smith (1983:86–87) also extended substantially the set of dominant statuses, using his expanded definition. Both the reviews of research in Smith (1975) and Smith (1994) generally confirm the DST, but there are some exceptions. Smith (in Smith, Macaulay and Associates 1980:512–520) discussed at length many statuses/roles that were designated as dominant in the United States and many other Western post-industrial societies.

People with high SES, as a central dominant status, often have high social capital (i.e., social connections), human capital (i.e., education and income), and cultural capital (i.e., language, citizenship, valued religion) as well. Thus, the R-CT and the DST overlap in many ways in their explanations of voluntary participation and volunteering. This overlap makes differential validation difficult. In this chapter, Smith elaborates DST into Revised Dominant Status Theory, or RDST, for the first time. For various social status variables, such as gender and occupational prestige, the research findings suggest that the RDST provides a better explanation of how these factors influence the propensity to participate and the types of organizations people participate in.

Another significant issue, with unclear implications and almost never discussed, is that DST was developed from the study of association participation and volunteering in associations, while R-CT was developed mainly by studying volunteering in volunteer service programs (VSPs; see Handbook Chapter 15). The empirical results are often similar, but not identical.

Perhaps a theoretical reconciliation of these two theories will involve accepting that the various resource factors identified by the R-CT are reflections of the *current* dominant statuses in a given society and culture at a given time period in its history. The proponents of R-CT have not yet clearly identified the causal processes that lead some factors (characteristics, traits) to be viewed as resources and other factors not to be viewed as resources in any given society in any specific historical time period. The RDST *does* permit such causal explanation and accounts reasonably for changes in the statistical power of various factors/traits as resources to predict/explain volunteer participation over longer historical time periods as well as cross-national variations in their statistical power at the present.

Smith, for the first time here, revising and elaborating his version of DST into Revised DST (RDST, as DST 2.0), argues that particular factors *become resources* in a given place and time when they are associated with dominant statuses. *Dominant statuses* can now be defined in more detail as factors

or characteristics of individuals in a given society/culture at a given historical time period that facilitate the individual's (or family's) acquisition and maintenance of power, wealth, income, prestige, highly valued services (including access to deferential-respectful behavior by others and to sexual activity), valuable productive buildings and equipment (manufacturing plants, retail and wholesale stores, trucks, machinery, electronics, buildings to rent, etc.), highly valued dwellings and land (large tracts of land, islands, water bodies, castles, palaces, mansions, larger houses or apartments/condominiums), expensive cars-trucks-recreational vehicles for personal travel (and easy access to public or private transportation systems for such travel), expensive boats or yachts, airplanes and especially larger and more expensive ones, expensive clothing, expensive furniture, expensive jewelry and watches, expensive art objects and artifacts of all kinds, and highly valued experiences, including expensive vacations, attendance at exclusive social or entertainment events or venues, special invitations to and seats at public events and ceremonies, special and socio-culturally important/valued friends and/or acquaintances, special food-meals-drinks, preferred-valuable objects, preferred and highly valued scenery/views), and highly valued bodily appearance, including highly valued aspects of one's face, teeth, lips, nose, eyes, hair (amount, color, hair style), height, weight (especially in proportion to height; Body Mass Index in the normal range), extent of muscles versus fat, proper posture, lack of deformities/sensory disabilities or other visible disabilities, and both physical and mental health, whether visible as appearance or not.

Essentially every aspect of human life, the human body, experiences, and the biophysical environment (including external objects or situations defined as possessions) can be seen in some society at some time as relevant to a dominant status, because the valuable nature of such statuses is mainly the result of socio-cultural systems, with only a few evolutionary survival-reproduction aspects (e.g., eating any nutritious food at all vs. starving).

The RDST argues basically that individual (or family) factors/traits *become resources for or facilitators of* (to use less economically oriented words) *volunteering* in a given society at a given historical time period to the extent that they clearly affect voluntary participation by being significantly associated with the differential provision of socio-culturally valued benefits/experiences to individuals (or families) who have, own, manifest, or control access to one or more of these factors/traits and their related benefits/experiences. These socio-culturally valued benefits ultimately reduce to positive experiences, rather than merely to things or wealth, as the erroneous economic (e.g., R-CT) approach indicates. This is a profound theoretical statement of RDST, with many deep and extensive implications for understanding the factors/traits that explain/predict formal volunteering and association participation in any society at any historical

time period. In a sense, RDST deepens R-CT explanations, while retaining the importance of resources.

According to RDST, over time such factors/traits of differential provision of socio-cultural benefits and valued experiences to individuals (and families) tend to develop into enduring and often dominant social positions (statuses). These dominant statuses are usually accompanied by social roles with widely accepted norms that specify how individuals are socio-culturally, thus *normatively* not just probabilistically, expected to think, perceive, feel, plan, and act, given their incumbency in such positions and access to the relevant factors/traits.

In this RDST, when the circumstances in a given society/culture change, formerly dominant statuses can decline or vanish over time, and at any time new dominant statuses can arise. For instance, in preliterate hunting-gathering societies, skill in hunting large animals for food was a dominant status factor, especially for men (Nolan and Lenski 2006). When most successful human societies shifted to being settled horticulturalists in settled villages (ibid.), skill in farming and raising domestic animals became dominant status factors, and hunting skills declined in importance. In industrial and post-industrial service/information societies, such hunting (or fishing) and farming skills are of minor importance, in general, and are thus not dominant. *RDST explains why these changes have taken place in the importance of specific statuses and resources. R-CT does not do so.*

To take a more recent example of socio-cultural change, for most of the time in human agrarian and industrial societies (not necessarily in earlier preliterate societies), women as a social status category have been in a subordinate status relative to men. But as industrial societies have moved toward post-industrial, service and information societies in terms of the occupational distributions and the division of labor, the women's movement has created socio-cultural changes that have made men and women more nearly equal as statuses (but still rarely reaching full equality in most societies/nations). Being male is much *less* a dominant status in advanced service-information societies and in some late industrial societies. In some service-information societies, being male is perhaps no longer a dominant status at all (e.g., Iceland). These changing sex/gender roles account for some of the variation in the empirical findings regarding the association of gender/sex with participation both across nations and over time in a given nation. Here again, RDST seems superior to the R-CT in explaining volunteer participation and in the changes in the statistical power of specific resources to explain such participation over historical time periods.

Power over other people has always been important in human societies, as has been power over conspecifics (others of the same species) in social groupings of lower animals (herds, packs, prides, hives, pods, etc.). In preliterate societies, power over people (social power) usually came not only from

physical size and strength but also from agility, intelligence, verbal skills, inter-personal skills, and other traits (Sahlins 1972). However, as the complexity of societies has advanced from simpler preliterate societies to ancient agricultural civilizations, then to industrial and post-industrial societies, the importance of physical size and strength has greatly declined, without vanishing, as confer-ring dominant status, except among children temporarily, and in the lower SES levels of society, in the *underworld* (criminals and other *outsiders*; Becker 2008), and in the incarcerated/prisoners of all societies.

In more advanced and complex societies, power has been increasingly based in significant degree on *one's position in organizational hierarchies* (*organiza-tional dominant status*; a new RDST concept here). Height, weight, and physical strength are no longer very important (beyond a certain mid-range of limits, *little people* whose adult height is below about 4 feet 10 inches still have prob-lems; very tall people above about 6 feet 6 inches also usually have problems; there is also a mid-range of acceptable weight that is important – people who are very fat or very thin have problems). The reduction in the importance of substantial height (e.g., above 6 feet) and of substantial strength in modern and post-modern societies also gives women much more of a chance to be socially powerful.

The simplest initial, organizational/societal hierarchies were preliterate chief-doms, with inherited dominant power statuses of the leaders. Later, divine right monarchies were the key organizations, again with largely (but often disputed) inherited positions in the hierarchy as dominant statuses. With the rise of government and business bureaucracies (and hybrid government-business orga-nizations, such as the English, later British, East India Company, 1600–1874), as powerful organizations in late preindustrial, industrial, and post-industrial societies, social power has been more finely distributed and could usually be achieved by actions in one's lifetime, rather than simply socially inher-ited from one's family. However, the descendants of nobility (in societies with such social distinctions) and the wealthy have always had preferred high-power/prestige/income-dominant statuses/positions in such government and business organizational hierarchies, as well as in nonprofit organizations (NPOs).

As another example, in preliterate societies, formal education did not exist, hence such education was not a dominant status. However, after the invention of writing and the advancement of agricultural practices (Nolan and Lenski 2006), formal education arose as a practice in all ancient agricultural civiliza-tions such as Greece, Rome, India, and China (Trigger 2007). In these societies, however, formal education was very rare, confined to an economic or social (class) elite, usually done by private tutoring not schools, but conferring a dominant status of high prestige. In modern industrial and post-industrial societies, governments have instituted (often mandatory) mass education to

prepare most people to be able to hold semi-skilled or skilled factory and related jobs.

But higher education, begun in some societies about 1200 AD/CE or earlier (e.g., the University of Bologna and Oxford University; Rashdall 1895), began to prepare an elite for the higher prestige occupations, namely the professions of ministry, law, teaching, medicine, and later engineering, the sciences, university teaching, nursing, public administration, management, and so on. The nobility and non-noble wealthy merchants/bankers often paid for private tutors to educate their children, especially male children. Centuries later, about 1800 and thereafter in the West, government-supported mass formal education became gradually widespread as various nations industrialized.

By about 1850, having formal education, and especially having a university education, became a dominant status in most industrial societies. Now, in post-industrial societies, post-graduate education has higher prestige and is a still more dominant status. The prestige level of one's specific university also has an important impact as part of one's education as a dominant status. This fact is easily explained by RDST but not by R-CT. In America, the Ivy League national (and international) universities have very high prestige, when compared to the low prestige of little known, small, four-year colleges (let alone the still less prestigious junior or two-year colleges) that only recruit students locally or mainly from their own state. For-profit universities or colleges are even lower in prestige, often seen in the United States as deviant *diploma mills* (Stewart and Spille 1988).

There are similar, clear, if approximate prestige rankings within every nation regarding universities and colleges, and recently also an international ranking system as well. But in *all* modern and post-modern societies, *formal education has clearly and permanently become a general dominant status* – a form of human capital or an individual, productive resource that allows the more educated individual to achieve various other dominant statuses.

More than any other dominant status or resource in modern and post-modern societies, formal education enables an individual to rise in the social power/prestige hierarchy above his or her birth family's position or to maintain an already high position from their birth family. That is why education is usually a significant, consistent, and often substantial factor in explaining and predicting volunteering in modern and post-modern societies/nations. Unlike the influence of sex/gender, the explanatory/predictive power of education as a dominant status has not faded much with the passing of historical time in the past century or two. RDST can explain this, where the simpler R-CT does not. RDST can also explain why, in certain highly developed post-modern societies, education has indeed declined as a predictor of FV (e.g., van Ingen and Dekker 2011a, 2011b).

However, from the time of advanced agricultural societies, beginning about 5,000 years ago in Egypt, then in China and elsewhere, monetary income and wealth, plus major possessions (including real estate/land, buildings, and movable smaller possessions), have also conferred prestige and thus became dominant statuses *not* necessarily associated with dominant statuses in organizational hierarchies (Trigger 2007). In preliterate societies, especially in the small and nomadic tribes that were present all over the earth until 10,000 years ago, there was no money and few possessions – very rarely land as a possession (Sahlins 1972). The financial aspect of such possessions has depended on the invention and spread of money as a social innovation in human societies (Ferguson 2002, 2009), especially the dominance of money since about 1700 (Ferguson 2002).

In contemporary nations everywhere, being rich/wealthy in assets and/or income is also a key dominant status, because money can buy so many things and services worldwide that confer still further dominant statuses – highly valued land, buildings, physical improvements/changes in land or buildings, objects, more valued services, higher education for one's children (or oneself), valued changes in one's body and appearance, better health care and medicines, more valued experiences, and so on. But many people in most societies still distinguish *good money* (i.e., properly acquired and hence legitimate money) from *bad money* (improperly acquired money, as by theft, fraud, coercion, crime, etc.). Thus, sheer income or wealth *alone* does not *always* confer socio-culturally dominant status if obtained in a socio-culturally defined illegitimate manner.

This matter of monetary income is also an area where the RDST seems clearly better than the simpler R-CT: Illegitimate income still has the same magnitude as a *resource* as does legitimately obtained income of the same amount. But the more nuanced RDST suggests that the level of current socio-cultural approval strongly affects how much the sheer amount of income or recent wealth as a resource will affect voluntary participation. Unlike R-CT, the RDST predicts that illegitimate income or wealth of a given known magnitude will have a much weaker, if any, effect on voluntary participation than will legitimately obtained income and/or recent wealth of the same magnitude. Convicted criminals and non-convicted accused-criminals could be studied when they had substantial *bad money*. Their participation could be studied retrospectively, as contrasted with matched samples of individuals with the same amount of *good money*.

However, societies adjust to crooks, immoral businesspeople, and other societal deviants over long periods of time, so that bad money can over time become good money – usually for descendants. The process of *bad money* becoming *good money* takes time, if it happens at all. There is a spectrum, of course. The American *Robber Barons* of the later 1800s and early 1900s, like John D. Rockefeller, Senior (Chernow 2007), often turned to philanthropy when older, and they and their descendants eventually became American

aristocrats with high family prestige. In the field of philanthropy, there is the notion of *tainted money*. One could do survey interviews inquiring into public attitudes toward various kinds and levels of *tainted money* (the same idea as *bad money*). Researchers could use hypothetical portraits/sketches of people with different kinds/levels of tainted money versus untainted money, seeking approval-disapproval ratings from representative samples of respondents.

As another example of dominant status issues, speaking well the dominant language(s) of a given society/culture/nation at a given time tends *not* to distinguish well among volunteers and non-volunteers in most contemporary societies. There is likely some distinctiveness of having good English grammar and vocabulary in English-speaking nations, for instance, so that such people are likely to participate more. However, this language facility goes along closely with more education, higher SES, and higher verbal intelligence in general, so language skill/ability is seldom *separately* measured in volunteering research. But when individuals from another society/culture with a quite different dominant language emigrate to that society/culture, their skill in the new, host country's dominant language(s) becomes a dominant status and relevant resource factor in explaining differential volunteering for such immigrants versus native speakers of the dominant language. So facility with the dominant language in any society is indeed a little-studied dominant status factor.

In sum, knowledge of the dominant statuses as socio-culturally approved factors/traits adds much insight to the sheer R-CT view of factors affecting volunteer participation. Most importantly, *RDST clearly explains changes in the dominance of various factors/traits/resources in any given society/nation over historical time periods*, *where the simplistic R-CT cannot do so*. Since RDST incorporates most of useful aspects of R-CT, RDST seems more broadly useful, more nuanced, deeper and richer in content, and thus likely superior to R-CT. RDST also tends to be superior when there are differential predictions made by the two competing theories regarding volunteering, as shown in various sections of this chapter.

2. Parental SES, religiosity, and participation

Youths' propensity to participate in voluntary associations is partly shaped by their family, school, and religion. The socialization theory posits that the family provides the context for socialization of the behavior, moral and ethical values, and attitudes of youth (Sundeen and Raskoff 1994). Parents act as role models for their children, and thus parental volunteerism is often found to be positively associated youth voluntary participation and volunteering (Bekkers 2007; Caputo 2009; Janoski and Wilson 1995; Smith and Baldwin 1975). Parents can also promote voluntary participation and volunteering by transmitting and providing their children with higher SES and skills that facilitate volunteering, and by integrating their children in communities

that provide greater opportunities for participation (Bekkers 2007; Janoski and Wilson 1995).

In a study of young adults' voluntary participation using a subsample of the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY 97) in the United States, Caputo (2009) found that parental volunteerism is a robust predictor of youth activism and voluntary participation. Using data from the Family Survey of the Dutch Population 2000, Bekkers (2007) found significant relationships between current volunteering and parental volunteering in the past. While the transmission of volunteering for religious and quasi-religious associations is due largely to the transmission of religion and social status from parents to their children, parental volunteering for quasi-religious associations increased the likelihood of children's volunteering for secular associations, even controlling for parental and children's religion, education, wealth and personality characteristics. Janoski and Wilson (1995) tested the family socialization and status transmission theories of volunteerism using three-wave panel data and found that status-transmission theory explains participation in self-oriented associations (e.g., business/professional and union groups), while family socialization explains participation in community-oriented associations (e.g., community volunteers, fraternal, church-related, and service organizations).

The effect of parental SES, parental religion, and parental volunteering on their children's subsequent adult volunteering is as expected by RDST. In nearly all societies, having a higher SES parent confers more dominant status on the children. Similarly, having parents who adhere to a more dominant religion confers dominant status on the children. This parental status conferral is even more important for children in highly religious societies. And having parents who volunteered more does the same, as one minor kind of dominant status.

3. Prior high participation/formal volunteering

Earlier active volunteering in schools, as a dominant status in RDST, usually increases one's adult volunteering. Most schools in Western nations, especially the United States, organize voluntary extracurricular activities, such as clubs and student government. These activities not only build human capital but also provide encouragement and opportunities for participation and volunteering (Oesterle, Johnson, and Mortimer 2004).

Young adults are more likely to be socially active and volunteer if they attended a school hosting various clubs and associations and if they belonged to school-affiliated clubs (Wilson 2012). A growing number of high schools in the United States are mandating community service or volunteering as a *requirement* for graduation, and colleges/universities are also increasing the number of courses that *require* service learning (Clayton, Bringle, and Hatcher 2012; Jacoby 2003; McLellan and Youniss 2003; Stanton, Giles, and Cruz 1999; Wilson 2012). These mandatory programs usually improve youths' attitudes toward

volunteering and encourage later volunteering (Griffith 2010; Henderson et al. 2007; Jacoby 2009; McLellan and Youniss 2003). Mandatory programs on volunteering and courses that require service learning (in countries such as the United States and Canada) shape the dominant culture of youth participation. Haski-Leventhal et al. (2010:162) found in a cross-sectional study in 14 nations that "both mandatory and optional service-learning at high school and university led to higher participation in general volunteering."

There have been some national sample US longitudinal studies that demonstrate high school and/or university experiences of volunteering or community service usually lead to more adult volunteering, political participation, or other citizen participation (e.g., Hanks 1981; Hart, Donnelly, Youniss, and Atkins 2007). Hanks and Eckland's (1978) national longitudinal study involved a follow up of respondents at about age 30. With controls for other factors, they found that participation in high school extracurricular activities, including clubs, led to greater adult association participation, which in turn increased voting behavior and reduced political alienation.

Studies also show that the type and context of schools affect voluntary participation and volunteering as well. Students who attended private schools are more likely to volunteer, partly because of more parental involvement in private than public schools (Dill 2009). They are also more likely to volunteer if they attended a school where they felt part of the school, were close to fellow students, and believed that teachers cared about them (Duke et al. 2009).

Churches or other religious institutions also strongly affect youth voluntary participation and volunteering, as well as subsequent adult volunteering. Church groups are a typical source of opportunity for service. High school students who believe that religion is important in their lives are more likely to do service than students who do not believe religion is important (Youniss, McLellan, and Yates 1999). Using data from the National Study of Youth and Religion survey, Gibson found that intense religiosity, measured by frequency of church attendance and theological conservatism, significantly increased the likelihood that teens will volunteer. The impact of involvement in a religious organization on voluntary participation is likely to last a lifetime. Drawing on data from the 2000 National Survey of Giving, Volunteering, and Participating in Canada, Perks and Haan (2011) found that involvement in a religious organization as a youth also positively predicts informal volunteering, formal volunteering, participation in voluntary organizations, and community association membership in adulthood.

4. Age and life-cycle stage

Voluntary participation varies by age or life-cycle stage. The life course theory indicates that the rate and intensity of voluntary participation and volunteering (e.g., hours per week or month) varies throughout the life

cycle. As individuals settle into adult roles, holding steady jobs, getting married, becoming parents, they start to develop stable patterns of volunteering (Flanagan and Levine 2010; Rotolo 2000). Middle-aged persons tend to have the highest rate of voluntary participation and volunteering in the United States and other countries (Curtis, Baer, and Grabb 2001; Wilson 2012), and the rate is lower for youth and older adults. This is what DST expects, as middle age is the dominant status in industrial and post-industrial societies. Those who have volunteered before retirement are much more likely to continue volunteering after retirement (Morrow-Howell 2010; Zedlewski 2007).

The types of activity and organizations people participate in or volunteer for also changes through the life course (Van Willigen 2000). Wilson (2000) found that young people participate predominantly in associations related to *self and career-oriented activism*; middle-aged people engage mainly in *community-oriented work*; while older volunteers volunteer for "service organizations, recreational clubs and agencies to help the elderly" (Wilson 2000:227). Morrow-Howell and Tang (2004) showed that youth volunteers often work for educational and youth service organizations or engage in community development and infrastructure construction; middle-aged people tend to take on a volunteer role as an extension of family and employment roles; older adults prefer to volunteer as mentors, counselors, tutors, or coaches, especially through religious organizations.

Studies also show that the meaning of volunteer work changes over the life course. Generative concerns (e.g., encouraging young people, leaving a legacy) become more salient among older volunteers. For example, a study of older Australian environmental volunteers showed that these volunteers cared about improving the environment for future generations and wished to work with youth and pass on to them their knowledge of the environment (Warburton and Gooch 2007).

5. Marital status and children

The literature on volunteerism shows that marital status, the presence of school-aged children, and the number of children in the household influence people's voluntary participation. Marriage has long been associated with a higher rate of voluntary association participation (Rotolo 2000) and more program volunteering (Rossi 2001) in most studies. Married people are expected to volunteer more than single people, as they are involved in more social networks, which in turn increases their chances of being asked to volunteer. Further, if one spouse volunteers, then the other spouse is also likely to volunteer (Rotolo and Wilson 2006; Wilson 2000). Using data from the Current Population Survey in the United States, Rotolo and Wilson (2006) tested two competing theories concerning spousal influences on volunteer: substitution theory, which predicts that spouses will substitute for each others' volunteer

work, and complementarity theory, which predicts that spouses' volunteer work is positively linked. They found support for the complementarity theory. The wife's influence is stronger than the husband's and the spousal influence is stronger if both spouses volunteer in the same domain or type of activity. Ruiter and De Graaf (2006) found that married people are more likely to volunteer than those who are cohabiting, divorced, or widowed. However, there was no significant difference in volunteering between married and single people. The effect of marital status on volunteering varies by the type of volunteer work performed. Damico et al. (1998) found that marital status had no effect on political volunteering.

Children in the household are both a constraint on and an opportunity for parents' volunteering, depending on the number of children, the children's ages, and other family characteristics (Wilson 2000). The presence of school-aged children is often found to promote parental volunteering (Bekkers 2007; Musick and Wilson 2008; Rossi 2001; Wilson and Musick 1997a; Wuthnow 1998). However, some studies show that having a child (as an infant or toddler) decreases a person's likelihood of volunteering and hours spent in volunteer work, especially for very young children, who require much parental care (Nesbit 2012). The influence of marriage and having children might be different across population groups in the United States. For example, Sundeen, Garcia, and Raskoff (2009) found that being married with children increase the chance of volunteering for all groups but Asians. Wilson and Musick (1997a) found that the number of children in the household was positively associated with formal volunteering. Gee (2010) compared households with multiple children in several different schools and households with multiple children in the same school and found that having children in the same school raised the propensity to volunteer for the school by 13 percentage points, as parents have more at stake.

As suggested above, infants and toddlers require high parental attention and thus tend to isolate their parents socially. Having school-aged children in the family increases the parents' chances of interacting with other parents in the neighborhood, and with organizations that serve youth and children. These interactions can enhance individuals' knowledge of community needs, increase their opportunity of being asked to volunteer, and thus increase their propensity to volunteer. Peter and Drobnič (2013) found that mothers of infants and toddlers (from 0 to 2 years) or of kindergarten-aged children (from 3 to 5 years) joined significantly fewer voluntary associations, compared to those without children under 18 in the household. Those with school-aged children (from 6 to 17 years) joined significantly more associations. Wilson (2000) found that parents of school-aged children are more likely to volunteer than parents of infant children and spouses without children. Damico et al. (1998) also found that parents with young children volunteer fewer hours than parents

with older children. In a study of volunteering among white adults, using data from the National Survey of Midlife Development in the United States (MIDUS) 1995–1996, Taniguchi (2006) found that the likelihood of volunteering and the hours of volunteering increased with the number of older children (age 6 years or older) in the household. However, the presence of preschoolers affected neither men's nor women's volunteering. An analysis of data from the Young Women's Cohort of the National Longitudinal Survey (1978–1991) in the United States showed that mothers of school-aged children were the most likely to volunteer, followed by childless women and mothers of children.

RDST explains most of the foregoing results, because in nearly all or all contemporary societies being married, having one or more children, and being middle aged are dominant statuses. R-CT has more difficulty in explaining such results, if even possible at all.

6. Gender/sex roles

The RDST predicts more male participation (a) to the extent that there are substantial gender role differences in power and prestige within a society at the time of the research (with males usually being more dominant) and (b) especially for association membership and active association volunteering (as contrasted with inactive memberships and volunteering in volunteer service programs of larger organizations; see Chapter 15). Empirical studies in various countries show complex results, as might be expected from the RDST statement about gender role effects above.

But if one goes back 50+ years to Almond and Verba's (1963) research with national samples of five nations, women rather consistently did less formal volunteering at that stage of history. The seven nation study by Verba, Nie, and Kim (1978) shows similar results, with women doing less formal volunteering. As the women's rights movement has ever-increasing effects in many nations, gender differences in volunteering (and in other kinds of societal participation) gradually decline, as RDST suggests, but R-CT ignores.

In a study of voluntary association participation in the United States, Popielarz (1999) found no statistically significant difference in the number of voluntary associations that men and women belong to, as was shown also long ago by Hausknecht (1962:37). By contrast, several studies including non-US nations found that women tend to participate in fewer voluntary associations than men (Curtis, Baer, and Grabb 2001; Peter and Drobnič 2013; Ruiter and de Graaf 2006). These results fit the predictions of RDST, because there remain some significant power and prestige differences between the sexes even in the United States, and more such dominant status differences in other nations (Almond and Verba 1963; Verba et al. 1978). It is unlikely that the alternative R-CT can explain these results.

Additionally, research shows that women participate in different types of associations or associations in different domains as compared with men (Musick and Wilson 2008; Norris and Inglehart 2006; Popielarz 1999). For example, in a study of sex composition of voluntary associations, Popielarz (1999) revealed striking patterns of segregation in voluntary participation. She found that women tend to participate more in female-dominated groups, such as church-related organizations, as well as fraternal and veterans/patriotic groups (the ladies' auxiliaries of men's association). As women enter the labor force in increasing numbers, they are more likely to participate in professional associations and other integrated groups, including recreational, social, youth, civic associations. The above findings fit RDST, with men participating more in higher prestige, more dominant types of associations.

Comparative cross-national studies show that cross-country gender differences in voluntary participation and volunteering are partly attributable to the expected social roles of men and women in various cultures, the extent of workforce involvement by women, and the extent of women's empowerment across countries (Andersen, Curtis, and Grabb 2006; Peter and Drobnič 2013). Andersen, Curtis, and Grabb (2006) investigated the time that is spent daily on civic association activity using longitudinal time-use data from the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands. They found a decline in voluntary association participation pertaining only to American women, but not to women in the other three countries.

The demands of paid employment and family, combined with low levels of state support for childcare and early childhood education, as well as weak restrictions on paid working hours, have had a negative effect on the voluntary participation of American women. Using the European Social Survey 2002/2003, Peter and Drobnič (2013) found that gender gap in voluntary association participation could not be explained solely by individual attributes. Women in social democratic countries have the highest participation rates, followed by women in conservative and liberal regimes. RDST explains this as a result of lower prestige/power differentials between the sexes in the social democratic countries. R-CT does not explain such findings.

7. Racial/ethnic/national-cultural status

Race and ethnicity, which often overlap with religious and national-cultural differences, tend to be important influences on association volunteering mainly when there are substantial racial-ethnic or even tribal differences in a society for substantial numbers of the population. In some less-developed nations, such as in Africa, tribal differences are often crucial dominant statuses, according to RDST. But even in modern and modernizing nations, such as Belgium or the Ukraine, national-cultural-language differences can be dominant statuses and have important effects. Thus, we focus here mainly on the effects of minority

racial-ethnic-language-cultural status as subordinate statuses, rather than dominant statuses. The later section on immigrant/migrant status also touches on similar issues.

Racial/ethnic minorities, including African-Americans, Hispanics, and Asians, are often found to be less likely to participate in a broad range of voluntary action than non-Hispanic whites in the United States (Mattis 2000; Sundeen, Garcia, and Raskoff 2009; Sundeen, Garcia, and Wang 2007; Wang, Yoshioka, and Ashcraft 2013). This fits well with the expectations of RDST, because minority racial-ethnic status is non-dominant/subordinate. One explanation is that their disadvantaged socio-economic positions and less-dominant roles within the socio-cultural system lower their chances of being asked to volunteer (Bryant et al. 2003; Mesch et al. 2006). Once SES is controlled for, blacks in the United States are found to consistently volunteer more than whites (Musick and Wilson 2008; Stoll 2001; Wilson 2000).

Other studies indicate that the causes go beyond the disadvantaged social status of minority populations (Musick, Wilson, and Bynum 2000; Sundeen, Garcia, and Wang 2007; Wilson 2000). Using data from the US Current Population Survey, Foster-Bey (2008) found that African-Americans were less likely to volunteer than Whites even after controlling for social class, and Hispanics and Asians were less likely to volunteer than either group. Studies on Hispanic volunteering show that Hispanics are more likely to volunteer in the context of family, or informal volunteering, but less likely to volunteer for organizations compared to non-Hispanic majority (Segura, Pachon, and Woods 2001; Sundeen, Garcia, and Raskoff 2009). Since most surveys focus on formal volunteering, minorities are often found to volunteer less than whites in the United States (Boyle and Sawyer 2010), as expected by RDST. In Asia or Africa, where the racial-ethnic dominance situation is reversed, *non*whites tend to participate more than whites in non-colonial nations and periods, as RDST predicts.

Researchers have also found that minority groups in the United States are interested in volunteering for different types of formal organizations. Religious institutions play a pivotal role in mobilizing volunteer effort among racial ethnic minorities and immigrants (Wilson 2012). For example, African-Americans tend to volunteer for religious organizations and engage in activities addressing the needs of their community – efforts to deal with crime, provide human services, and organize for political initiatives (Wilson 2000). Besides helping and caring for family, friends, and neighbors, Hispanics often volunteer for the Catholic Church in the United States, such as cooking meals or directing Bible study (Royce and Rodriguez 1999). Asian-Americans also volunteer mostly for religious organizations (Sundeen, Garcia, and Wang 2007).

In addition to religious organizations, secular organizations serving children and youth are among the favorite outlets for Hispanic voluntary participation

in the United States. Hispanic volunteers are even more likely to help youth-oriented secular organizations than non-Hispanic volunteers (Wang, Yoshioka, and Ashcraft 2013). Sundeen, Garcia, and Wang (2007) found that Asian-Americans tend to volunteer for children's educational organizations and social and community services organizations.

Some studies have found higher volunteer participation in ethnically homogeneous neighborhoods in the United States (Rotolo 2000; Stoll 2001). Most associations in the United States are racially homogeneous (Christerson and Emerson 2003; Dougherty 2003). The homogeneity of voluntary associations may partly be a result of the fact that individuals interact most often with people similar to themselves.

8. Immigrant/migrant status

Studies have shown that foreign-born naturalized citizens or non-citizens in the United States and Canada tend to have lower rates of voluntary participation than citizens (Foster-Bey 2008; Sundeen, Garcia, and Wang 2007; Wang and Handy 2014), as expected by RDST. This fact can thus partly be attributed to immigrants' non-dominant national-cultural status and often non-dominant language status (lack of fluency in the host country's language, spoken and written) in the host country. In addition, cultural differences (i.e., perceptions of volunteering) could also explain the low rate of voluntary participation among immigrants. For example, immigrants from other countries may find the idea of volunteering or working unpaid for formal organizations or strangers inappropriate (Sundeen, Garcia, and Wang 2007:248).

Additionally, immigrants often participate in or volunteer for different types of organizations compared to native-born citizens or long-time residents. Eckland (2005) argued that cultural and socio-economic barriers could foster immigrants to help members of their own group. Lee and Moon (2011) found that Korean immigrants to the United States had high rates of volunteerism, but most of them volunteer for ethnic organizations serving other Asian-Americans. In Canada, most immigrants tend to join a religious congregation within six months of arriving in the country and they tend to worship with members of the same ethnic group (Handy and Greenspan 2009).

Studies also show that various human and cultural resources that immigrants possess can increase their level of participations. For example, Lee and Moon (2011) showed that Korean immigrants with language barriers were more likely to participate in ethnic organizations, while more educated Korean immigrants were more likely to volunteer for mainstream organizations. This fits with RDST expectations: Skill in speaking and writing the host (current) country's dominant language can be seen both as a kind of dominant status and as a cultural resource, fitting both the RDST and the R-CT of why people volunteer.

Lack of such language skills is associated with lower association participation and volunteering, and also with proportionately more volunteering for ethnic associations.

9. Socio-economic status

Socio-economic status (SES) may be measured by any one or more of the following factors/indicators, preferably in a combined SES Index, to avoid multi-collinearity problems in multivariate analyses: length of full-time education, occupational prestige, income, wealth, major possessions such as owning a home, having a second/vacation home, owning one or more cars or other regular vehicles (especially more expensive ones), owning a recreational vehicle, or owning a boat. Other measures are also possible, especially for any valuable possessions or access to enjoyable experiences.

The RDST, like the original DST, states that people with higher SES tend to participate more in associations and formal volunteering, whether in associations or in volunteer service programs (VSPs) as departments of larger organizations (see Handbook Chapter 15). One key reason for this, according to RDST, is the fact that higher SES is a dominant status in agrarian, industrial, and post-industrial societies. In addition, high SES individuals tend to be exposed to more volunteer opportunities, and also to be asked to volunteer more frequently and by people who are known or closer to them (see Handbook Chapter 27). Higher SES individuals usually have greater formal education, as a dominant status in all societies where formal education exists. Such education also leads to greater civic and social skills that make participation more successful and that make the person more likely to be asked to participate, given their likely higher value to the association or volunteer program. Higher education is also a marker for greater intelligence (Gesthuizen and Scheepers 2012), which makes such individuals more valuable as formal volunteers, thus more likely to be asked to volunteer and to be rewarded more as volunteers (see also Handbook Chapter 30).

As expected by RDST and also R-CT, a plethora of studies on association membership and volunteerism have found that education is often the strongest and most consistent predictor of voluntary participation (Gesthuizen and Scheepers 2012; Musick and Wilson 2008; Oesterle, Johnson, and Mortimer 2004; Smith 1994; Van Ingen and Dekker 2011a, 2011b; Wilson 2000, 2012). A longitudinal study of volunteering in the Netherlands has shown that educational attainment has been a key determinant of volunteering for a long time, even though its strength has been weakening (Van Ingen and Dekker 2011a, 2011b). A study in the United States, however, shows that the selection effect of education is getting stronger (Syvertsen et al. 2011). Between 1991 and 2005, US high school seniors planning to attend four-year colleges showed a much stronger increase

in volunteerism than seniors who plan to attend community colleges or no colleges at all.

The impact of education on voluntary participation can be explained from both the RDST perspective and the R-CT perspective. The educational process exposes people to the norms and values of volunteering. In the process, people can also gain different kinds of resources, such as cognitive competence, that induce volunteering. However, the (mainly genetic/inherited; Bouchard 2004; Sternberg and Kaufman 2011) higher basic intelligence level of individuals who attain higher education may be a key underlying determinant of the observed positive relationship between formal education and formal volunteering. Using data collected in 17 countries, Gesthuizen and Scheepers (2012) found that a lower level of cognitive competence and a localistic orientation of the lower educated explained their lower likelihood of volunteering. More formal education tends to be associated with higher general intelligence, which is required to do well and advance in such education. Higher intelligence also facilitates more effective volunteering and is a dominant status in all societies, though rarely seen as such by scholars. In addition, lower educated people usually lack the social resources within their networks that increase the likelihood to volunteer. Such people are often perceived to be less competent to perform voluntary work. Educational attainment influences not only the propensity to volunteer but also the type of organizations people volunteer for. As mentioned earlier, Lee and Moon (2011) found that more educated Korean immigrants volunteer more for mainstream organizations (as opposed to ethnic organizations).

People with higher income and wealth usually have a dominant status in all societies more complex than hunting-gathering bands, *unless* the income or wealth has being obtained by illegal, corrupt, or otherwise disapproved means and this fact is known to many others. Hence, higher income and wealthier individuals tend to do more volunteering and other forms of social participation, conforming to societal expectations as RDST suggests. Such persons also tend to be approached more often by others asking them to engage in volunteering opportunities, including leadership opportunities. Additionally, as volunteering is unpaid work, higher individual or household income allows wealthier and higher income people to give their time for free while maintaining their financial stability.

Most empirical studies in every nation studied have found that low-income earners are less likely to volunteer in general (Smith 1975, 1994; Musick and Wilson 2008; Wilson 2000; Pho 2008), and expense stipends seem to offer a strong incentive for low-income earners to volunteer (McBride et al. 2011). However, Lee and Brudney (2009) showed that the effect of income is not linear, and middle-income households are most likely to volunteer. Income is also found to influence types of volunteering and the hours volunteered. For example, Wang and Fahey (2011) found that higher family income increased

the chances of parental volunteering in education. Segal (1993) found that volunteer hours were positively related to wages among single adults of ages 18–54 and negatively related to wealth only among men.

Homeowners tend to volunteer and participate more in community activities and associations, since homeownership is another dominant status that not only indicates the wealth of a person but also reflects the degree to which one is integrated into the local community and has a stake in its amenities, services, and general quality of life (Rotolo, Wilson, and Hughes 2010). Using data from the 2003 Panel Study of Income Dynamics, Rotolo, Wilson, and Hughes (2010) found that homeowners volunteered more than renters. However, the value of their home had no influence on their volunteer work. This last finding fits well with RDST, but not with R-CT, where the sheer value/magnitude of the resource should markedly affect participation. Additionally, homeownership partially mediates the influence of race and family income on volunteering. Sundeen, Garcia, and Raskoff (2009) found that only white homeowners were more likely to volunteer than renters, again contradicting R-CT, which emphasizes only the economic value of the house as a resource, not also the societal perception of the resource.

Some studies have used car ownership as another indicator of wealth, and find that those with two or more cars in the household are more likely to volunteer (Mohan et al. 2006). Being the owner of a car, especially two or more cars (in a family), and of a more expensive car, is a minor dominant status in modern societies. So also is knowing how to drive a car (being a licensed driver) a minor dominant status. As another angle on car ownership, using data from the UK 2000 Time Use Survey, Ruston (2003) found that people who live in a household without a car have more free time and spend more of it socializing, but they do less formal volunteering or informal helping. Hence, here too, the car-owners do more formal and even informal volunteering.

Employment status can potentially influence volunteering in several ways. Being employed is a dominant status in modern societies for people aged about 18–65 years and generally promotes volunteering. Also, employment provides individual opportunities to integrate into society, develop civic skills, and increase one's chances of volunteering. On the other hand, the role overload theory states that employment reduces the free time available for unpaid voluntary work (Wilson 2000). Einolf (2011) and many other researchers have found that part-time workers are more likely to volunteer than either full-time employees or people not in the labor force, other things equal. For instance, Sundeen, Garcia, and Raskoff (2009) found that after controlling for other factors, such as education, marital status, and parental status, part-time employed Hispanic citizens and immigrants are more likely to volunteer, while full-time employed Hispanic citizens are less likely to volunteer than those who are unemployed. Employment status may affect women's voluntary participation

differently from that of men. Rotolo and Wilson (2007) found that homemakers (people, usually adult females, with partners [married or not], who do not have paid jobs outside the home) are more likely to volunteer than are full-time workers, followed by part-time workers.

Voluntary participation is expected by both RDST and by R-CT to be more prevalent among those with jobs high in occupational prestige, as a dominant status and resource. People in certain higher prestige occupations, such as professionals and top managers, not only bring more human capital to voluntary associations, but they are also more likely to be socially active as their job demands this of them (Wilson 2000; Wilson and Musick 1997b). This finding fits RDST better than R-CT. Using the Americans' Changing Lives survey (1986–1989), Wilson and Musick (1997b) found that occupational self-direction increases volunteering, especially among the better educated. Additionally, public sector workers volunteer the most, and within each sector, higher-status occupations volunteer more. Using data from the 2002 General Social Survey, Houston (2006) confirmed that public sector employees and non-profit workers are more likely to volunteer for charity than for-profit employees. Rotolo and Wilson (2007) found that women with professional and managerial occupations are more likely to volunteer than those with other occupations, even after controlling for their family characteristics. This again fits RDST better than R-CT. In Canada, Reed and Selbee (2001), using the National Surveys of Giving, Volunteering and Participation (1997 and 2000), found individuals with more prestigious occupations, higher education, and higher income exhibit greater tendencies to volunteer, as both theories predict.

10. Local rootedness

Length of residence in a community has been found to be positively associated with voluntary association participation, as RDST predicts, but that R-CT does *not* clearly predict. Long-term residents tend to be more civically engaged than those who have recently arrived (Peter and Drobnič 2013; Rotolo, Wilson, and Hughes 2010). This is partly due to the fact that it takes time for people to get to know their neighborhood, build networks, learn about volunteering opportunities, and join voluntary associations within the community. In addition, long-term residents have more of a stake in the safety and quality of life in the community, which motivates them to invest time and effort to help improve their communities via volunteering. Rotolo, Wilson, and Hughes (2010) found that length of residence in the community had a positive effect on volunteerism. Peter and Drobnič (2013) also found that length of residence increased the number of associations in which people participate. Using the German Socio-Economic Panel data, DiPasquale and Glaeser (1999) found that length of residence at the same address mediated the impact of homeownership on voluntary participation in associations, fitting better with RDST than with

the simpler R-CT. Social perceptions of rootedness are important in addition to simple possession of a house as an economic resource.

11. Religious identity and involvement

Religious congregation members tend to be more involved in voluntary associations than non-members in the United States and other moderately to highly religious nations (Curtis, Baer, and Grabb 2001; Hausknecht 1962:62–63, 68–69; Lam 2002; Musick and Wilson 2008:278–284; see also Handbook Chapter 24). RDST predicts this, as congregation involvement is a minor dominant status in the United States, Canada, and many Western nations, including Latin America. However, in very highly religious societies, such as in the Islamic nations, religious congregation involvement is a major dominant status, not just a minor one. Verba et al. (1995:245–246, 320) argued that Protestant churches provide better training grounds for people to experience various forms of volunteerism, including political and community activities, as contrasted with Catholic churches. The reason given was that Protestant churches are more egalitarian and participatory, while Catholic churches are more hierarchical and elitist (Curtis, Baer, and Grabb 2001). However, the RDST argues alternatively, that Protestants in America participate more because most Protestant denominations are higher prestige, more dominant statuses than is being a Catholic.

The first Americans came to that nation to escape the dominance of the Roman Catholic Church in Europe and its splinter sect, the Anglican Church, in England. Because of that aspect of American history, and also because the large waves of immigrants before 1900 and thereafter were mostly Catholics and also of lower SES, there has long been some stigma attached to Catholics in America (Herberg 1960:215) – much more stigma in the 19th and early 20th centuries than at present. The first Catholic American President, John Kennedy, had to fight that anti-Catholic stigma fiercely in getting elected in 1960, although he did so successfully. By contrast, in Italy, the original home of Roman Catholicism, the situation is totally reversed, with Catholics having the dominant religious status and Protestants being stigmatized, or at least being lower in prestige and not a dominant status.

In atheistic societies, like the former Soviet Union and China from 1949 to today, RDST predicts that involvement in a religious congregation will be a negative and *subordinate status*, not a dominant status, and hence such involvement predicts lower volunteering. Smith's (2015) research on volunteering in Russia with 2014 national survey data confirms this. Atheism has been the dominant religious status/ideology, winning the greatest socio-cultural approval. In China today, if one must be religious, it is better to be Confucian, Taoist, or Buddhist, not Christian. But being Islamic creates even more problems there for various, complex reasons. However, before 1900 in China and Russia, involvement in a religious congregation was then a dominant status, hence

predicting more volunteering for participants. None of the above details of religious denominations can be dealt with properly by R-CT, but RDST deals well with all such nuances.

Peter and Drobnič (2013) confirmed that Protestant women participated in more voluntary associations than their non-Protestant counterparts. Based on multi-level analyses on data from 53 countries, Ruiter and de Graaf (2006) found that Protestants have a higher expected probability to volunteer than Catholics. Additionally, non-Christians were equally engaged in volunteer work as Protestants, most likely because there is no longer much, if any, stigma attached to being a non-Christian in the mostly European nations studied. The non-religious had a considerably lower probability of volunteering, probably indicating that having *some* religion is still a mildly dominant status in most of the nations studied.

RDST seems superior to R-CT in being able to explain such cross-cultural and historical variations in when religious identity/involvement will be a major or minor dominant status, when a neutral status, and when a subordinate status. RDST also can explain which particular religious identity is likely to be dominant versus subordinate in a given culture/society at a given historical time, unlike RC-T. While the religious involvement of an individual can be seen as a *cultural resource* by the R-CT, only the RDST explains *which* religious identities and involvements will be such cultural resources fostering volunteering, and which religious identities will hinder volunteering in a given society, at a given time in its history. For the RDST, greater volunteering and participation will result from involvement in whichever religion or religious denominations have the greatest socio-cultural approval in a given society at a given historical time period. Greater association volunteering among Protestants than Catholics in America is data supporting that RDST prediction (Hausknecht 1962:62–63). R-CT cannot deal with these complications across national cultures and historical time periods.

12. Political identity and involvement

Smith argues here that the RDST indicates, for any nation at any given historical time, certain political identities and involvements have more socio-cultural approval/prestige and are thus dominant political statuses, while other political identities have lower status/prestige, as subordinate statuses. In many nations, certain political identities and their ideologies are highly stigmatized/disapproved. For instance, in the United States, being an avowed communist has long (since the 1940s especially) been a stigmatized, disapproved political identity. By contrast, in the many one-party, autocratic (totalitarian or authoritarian dictatorships) political regimes around the world, *any* political party identity except the dominant one is stigmatized and can lead to imprisonment, exile, or even death. In China, the former Soviet Union and

Eastern Europe, Cuba, and a few other nations, being a communist is or was a dominant/positive status, rather than a subordinate/stigmatized social status. Even in multi-party democracies, as in many current European nations, some political party identities are more socially approved/prestigious than others. Hence dominant political identities, as well as subordinate ones, are there at present. RDST makes sense of all of this complexity, but R-CT is unable to do so.

Political identity often mediates other influences on voluntary participation. Verba et al. (1993) noted that, in the United States, self-identified liberals and conservatives are more active than the population at large, with ideological moderates somewhat below average in participation. In the Netherlands, people who prefer leftist or Christian political parties were both found to be more likely to participate in voluntary associations (Bekkers 2005). Hackl, Halla, and Pruckner (2009) found that if the political positions of individuals and the government coincide, then citizens rely on government to provide goods and services. However, if citizens have a differing political position from the government, "then voters [are] expected to take matters into their own hands and increase their voluntary labor supply in areas presumably neglected by the state" (p. 7). Brooks and Lewis (2001) argued that political liberals would participate more in community affairs if they have confidence in government, while conservatives would take matters into their own hands if they lose confidence in government. However, they found that, after controlling for trust in government, political ideology was not significantly related to participation in the nonprofit sector. Ertas (2014) showed that government employees did more FV, perhaps because of greater public service motivation.

13. Leisure-social participation

In his RDST, Smith argues here that there exists a general dominant status that is often overlooked as a coherent concept – a construct that he terms *Leisure-Social Participation* (L-SP). L-SP is based on his concept (hypothetical construct) of the leisure general activity pattern (LGAP) present in many individuals of any society at any time (Smith 1969, 1975, 1994; Smith et al. 1980:chapter 19; see also Handbook Chapter 5).

Much research has shown that association membership and formal volunteering inter-correlate positively with other forms of positive/productive socio-political activity in leisure time, including informal volunteering, charitable giving, neighboring activity, friendship activity, conventional political activity, outdoor recreation, attending public entertainment events, and so on (Handbook Chapter 5). Smith (1969) was the first to identify this pattern, to label it, to do research on it, and to understand its theoretical significance in relation to association membership, participation, and volunteering.

Smith labeled such inter-correlations the *General Activity Syndrome* initially (Smith 1969, 1975; Smith, Macaulay and Associates 1980), and more recently

has labeled it the *leisure general activity pattern* (LGAP; Smith 1994; also Handbook Chapter 5). According to Smith (Handbook Chapter 5), association membership, participation, and volunteering are all correlated positively with those various other positive/productive types of socio-political leisure activities, for two main reasons:

(a) In every society, there are many people who conform to their society's norms and values regarding play/leisure as well as regarding any other key areas of activity, such as work, family activity, home care, personal care, sleep, and so on. Such people tend to do more socio-culturally approved L-SP than most others.
(b) In addition, in every society there are some people who have more of the *active-effective character* traits (see Handbook chapters 5, 30), and these people tend to be likely to do much more L-SP. High L-SP is a dominant status in every society, but not a very noticeable or important one, in the view of most people.

14. Interactions among social status/demographic variables

Prior studies have shown that variables indicating an individual's SES are often positively correlated (e.g., the level of formal education, income, assets, occupational prestige), which suggests that their levels are causally interrelated. For this reason, in multivariate analyses (e.g., multiple regression analysis), SES should mainly be measured by a composite index, rather than by several discrete measures, in order to avoid statistical multi-collinearity. However, because formal education level includes effects of intelligence and other factors, it is usually wise to keep formal education level separate from the more economic aspects of SES.

The influence of marriage on volunteering may be mediated by an individual's other characteristics, such as parental status or religious attendance. Musick and Wilson (2008) found that after controlling for frequency of church attendance, the positive effect of marital status on volunteering vanished. The impact of having children in the household on volunteering may vary by gender. Using two waves of the Americans' Changing Lives panel study (1986–1989), Wilson and Musick (1997b) studied volunteers' attachment to their work and found that those who have more children in the household were more likely to remain in the volunteer labor force. The effect was significant for women (the interaction of gender and the number of children is included in the analysis).

Rotolo and Wilson (2007) studied the combined effect of work and parental status on volunteering among women. They found that mothers of school-aged children are more likely to volunteer if they are homemakers, while mothers of pre-school children are less likely to volunteer if they work full-time. In a study of the effect of widowhood on older adults' social participation, Utz et al. (2002)

found that widowhood interacted with income and education in its effect on formal participation (e.g., meeting attendance, religious participation, and volunteer obligations). Widowed persons with lower SES have significantly lower levels of formal participation than non-widowed persons or widowed persons of higher SES. Widowed persons with no children have higher levels of formal participation.

15. Interactions between social statuses and other kinds of variables

As shown long ago by Smith (1966; see also Handbook Chapters 30 and 31), when appropriate psychological variables are present in a multivariate analysis trying to explain volunteering, many or all of the demographic variables tend to decline in statistical importance/significance, or even drop out entirely. The reason for this is simple, in the view of Smith's S-Theory of behavior (2015, 2017a, 2017b): The main importance of demographic variables in explaining volunteering is the underlying set of causal relationships between social roles/statuses/demographics as micro-sociological variables and the more psychological variables such as attitudes and personality traits, which in turn are the real causal factors affecting much of volunteering. Such psychological variables are correlated with social roles/demographics both because of selection and socialization effects involved in them.

Smith (2017b), analyzing the 2014 Russian national sample survey data (N = 2,000) and explaining formal volunteering (FV), finds that the set of psychological variables as predictors accounted for about 2/3 of the total variance explicable. Quoting from that paper, "In OLS multiple regression analyses, 24 psychological predictors accounted for 63.6% of the R^2 in FV. All 58 S-Theory predictors combined explained 67.4% of R^2 showing psychological predictors were crucial." Of the usual demographic/R-CT predictors, only part time work reached statistical significance. SES and education predictors did *not* show up as significant, disconfirming R-CT, and confirming the broader RDST and S-Theory (Smith 2017a).

This social-psychological/psycho-sociological, but really interdisciplinary, approach of S-Theory (2015, 2017a, 2017b) is directly contrary to the R-CT/economic approach to explaining the impact of demographic factors on volunteering. The many studies reviewed in Handbook Chapter 31 suggest that Smith's interdisciplinary S-Theory and his RDST explanatory approach elaborated in this chapter fit the empirical data on association volunteering (FV) far better and in a more nuanced way than the simplistic, overly economic R-CT.

16. Conclusions about the two theories: Dominant statuses versus resources-capital

The results of the literature review in this chapter about social status/demographic influences on participation in voluntary associations suggest

that social status/role and demographic variables generally confirm the RDST and S-Theory (Smith 2015, 2017a, 2017b) much more than the R-CT (Wilson 2000). In addition, Smith (2015) recently studied many predictors of formal volunteering in a large (N = 2,000) national sample interview survey of adult Russians, testing his S-Theory of human behavior (Smith 2017a). Some 58 different potential predictors of such volunteering (using a highly reliable six-item index) were measured, by single items or multi-item indices, including 10 demographic predictors. Combined with several health-related predictors, such demographic predictors explained 36.2% of the variance in volunteering in an OLS regression analysis (Smith 2015). However, when the more psychological predictors and contextual factors were added, 67.4% of the variance was explained. In a related paper on the same Russian data set, as just noted above, Smith (2017b) showed that the set of 24 psychological predictors alone accounted for 63.6% of the variance in formal volunteering. Hence, these data show that among Russian adults, psychological predictors are very substantially more important that the demographics in accounting for variance in formal volunteering. If R-CT were actually valid, this would clearly not be the case. The S-Theory and RDST interpretation is that demographics and social roles shape individual psychology, rather than the resource-capital aspects being crucial, contrary to R-CT. R-CT thus seems substantially and significantly disconfirmed in the Russian data, which carefully measured both demographic and also contextual and psychological predictors and had a very highly reliable measure of FV (Cronbach alpha = .91).

E. Usable knowledge

Nonprofit associations and nonprofit service agencies with volunteer programs, as well as government agencies and businesses interested in promoting voluntary participation and volunteering, need to understand the social status/role and demographic factors that influence an individual's decision to participate and volunteer. The fact that individuals of different age, gender, race/ethnicity, immigrant status, SES, and family status may participate or volunteer for different types of organizations suggests that associations and VSPs would be more effective in their membership and volunteer recruitment efforts if they targeted people with relevant, specific, social status, and demographic characteristics. Research by McPherson and Rotolo (1996), for instance, suggests that local voluntary associations already do this naturally to some extent, each one usually having its own kind of demographic niche (in a multi-dimensional demographic property-space) in the local population of associations. In addition, prior studies suggest that religious organizations and youth-service organizations are preferred venues for minority and immigrant population to develop civic attitudes and participation skills (Wang and Handy 2013; Wang, Yoshioka, and Ashcraft 2013).

More generally, the content of RDST suggests how volunteer recruitment might be more successful if targeted toward people with more and higher-level dominant statuses in their societies at the present time.

F. Future trends and needed research

In the future, dominant social statuses/roles and demographic variables will likely continue to be associated with volunteering, as both participation and volunteering in associations and in VSPs (see Chapter 15). However, based on the conclusions of Handbook Chapters 30 and 31, we suggest that future research pay more attention to the mediating role of biological, psychological, and contextual variables, reviewed here in Handbook Part IV, as causal influences on association participation and volunteering. Further careful testing is needed especially with regard to social status/demographic variables that are relevant to *both* RDST and R-CT theories and might show differential results. Particular attention is needed to how either theory can explain both cross-cultural and historical variations in how social status and demographic variables affect association participation and other volunteering. Careful attention to and measurement of related psychological variables seems critical, given the recent results of testing S-Theory in Russia in explaining formal volunteering (Smith 2015, 2017b).

In such future research, it is also crucial to use *both* association volunteering measures *and* also volunteering in volunteer service programs (VSPs) as dependent FV variables. Musick and Wilson's (2008) impressive review volume contributes mainly to understanding VSP volunteering, which they define as their main focus (see Handbook Chapter 15). The book tells us relatively little about association participation as volunteering, which is a major gap. However, association participation and related active membership and volunteering are by far the oldest and most widespread forms of volunteering in the world (see Handbook Chapters 1, 26, 50, and 51), without question. VSPs are *very recent* social innovations in human history (see Smith 2016c; also Handbook Chapter 1). They are common mainly in post-modern/post-industrial service-information nations (Handbook Chapter 15).

Our review of the literature on social status/demographic determinants of voluntary participation reveals several gaps in the recent research. First, future studies need to explore the influences of additional interactions among key social status/demographic variables – such as race/ethnicity, SES, immigrant status, sex, age – to demonstrate the combined influence of various social status or resource variables. Second, most existing studies of determinants of participation in voluntary associations are based on cross-sectional data. Additional studies using panel data are needed in the future to assess causal relationships between social status/role variables in relation to voluntary participation.

Third, much more multivariate research is needed that includes several other basic types of variables, such as contextual variables and various psychological variables, besides the usual social status and demographic variables if we are to make progress in our attempts to explain more variance in volunteering and association participation. A good example of the inadequacy of background predictors in explaining FV is the recent dissertation by Yao (2015). Using US national sample survey data collected 2012, she is only able to explain 2.3% of the variance in an MRA explaining FV using the 16 available demographic predictors. With similar predictors, plus health predictors, Smith (2015) accounted for 36.2% of the variance in a reliable measure of FV for his Russian national adult sample interview data. However, the psychological variables *alone* explained 63.6% of the variance in the same FV index.

The several other chapters in this Handbook in Part IV show the substantial importance of such an interdisciplinary approach, as suggested by Smith's S-Theory (2015, 2017a, 2017b; see also Handbook Chapter 2). The ultimate weakness of the R-CT and the general demographic/micro-sociological approach to explaining volunteering is disguised in documents like Musick and Wilson (2008) and Wilson (2012). While useful and interesting as fairly comprehensive literature reviews of volunteering in VSPs, they fail to include a variety of extant multivariate statistical analyses reported in the literature that would help us to understand the relative statistical power, and eventually the causal influences, of various categories of determinants of volunteering, as presented partially in Handbook Chapters 2, 30, and 31. Further, they tell us very little about *association* participation and volunteering, the dominant global form of volunteering over all of the past ten millennia.

G. Cross-references

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29
Volunteering in Three Life Stages

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A. Introduction

As a person goes through the various stages of life, many things change, including the ways one volunteers and for what reasons (Musick and Wilson 2008). This chapter reviews research on formal volunteering at three different life stages: youth, elderly, and parental volunteering. In each stage, we discuss the definitions, unique characteristics, and scope of volunteering. We further analyze the existing knowledge on motivations, benefits, challenges, and impact for each age group. Furthermore, we discuss the cultural differences of volunteering in each stage in various regions around the world. We conclude with a comparison between the three groups and discuss future trends. The three life stages examined are more distinct and meaningful in industrial and post-industrial societies than in less complex societies, owing to mass education and longer lifespans. Given wide cultural differences in how individuals progress through these stages, the intersection of life-cycle stage and cultural setting are major variables in understanding patterns of volunteering.

Generally, the study of volunteering in specific age groups or categories is not well developed. There is quite a lot of research on youth volunteering and seniors volunteering, but much less on which looks at other age groups and comparisons between them. Second, research is uneven globally on volunteering through the life cycle, with far more attention given to the topic in North America and Europe than elsewhere. Volunteering cannot be discussed in general without understanding the uniqueness of volunteering in different social groups in various regions. The utility of increased research in these areas is that it will allow a better understanding among volunteer organizations on how to target certain age groups and maintain volunteers long term.

First, we will look into volunteering through adolescence: what are the unique characteristics and scope of youth volunteering. We will then move to the other end of the age spectrum: elderly volunteering. The unique importance

and benefits of volunteering in the third age will be discussed. Finally, we will look into parental volunteering: a life stage that is often overlooked although parents to school-aged children typically demonstrate the highest rates of volunteering in Western settings. We will examine familial and parental volunteering – either adults alone or together with children, a rapidly growing form of volunteering in some countries.

B. Definitions

This chapter accepts the set of general definitions in the Handbook Appendix.

As discussed elsewhere in this Handbook, definitions of volunteering developed in Western settings may miss some of variability present across the globe. In advanced postindustrial societies, characterized by nuclear families, formalized systems for education, and health care and other social services, volunteering usually takes on a recognizable form of time donated to nonprofit organizations working for the public good. In non-Western settings, forms of volunteering are more diffuse. For example, in Muslim societies, voluntary acts will entail care for extended family, neighbors, and those in need, and distribution of charitable gifts as part of religious obligations. The lines are more blurred between familial, community and national service in these contexts. When informal types of service and care make substantial demands on discretionary time, fewer hours will appear as volunteered if measured only in formal nonprofit settings. This tension between formal and informal volunteering calls into question the quality of some data collected across societies using one standardized form of questions.

Within that context, little research is available across multiple cultures on how volunteering shifts over the course of the life cycle. Recent studies in Egypt suggest that youth volunteering is on the rise, less as part of established adult-run organizations, but more likely in the context of new groups that youth themselves are initiating. These groups are often inspired by reinterpretations of religious practice and encompass tens of thousands of young volunteers (Ibrahim 2012). Definitions of volunteering need to take account of aspects of agency and intensity of commitment in multiple settings.

1. Youth volunteering and youth associations defined

Youth volunteering can be defined as activities with a positive social benefit done by adolescents between ages 12 and 22 who volunteer for no monetary reward (Haski-Leventhal et al. 2008). Some youth volunteers are encouraged or obliged to do so by their schools, or as part of the school curriculum, and, while this is seen as a way of instilling the lifelong habits of volunteering, these youth may not be considered as volunteers in the narrow sense, which includes only volunteers who act of their own free will. In recent years, opportunities for

volunteering have become increasingly institutionalized by schools, nonprofit organizations, and government-funded programs (Musick and Wilson 2008). Volunteer community service entails an *organized and formal time commitment,* more than episodic helping or an incidental altruistic or pro-social act. Another form of volunteering common in many societies, particularly in developing countries, is religiously motivated volunteering. It deserves special consideration because strong religious injunctions to volunteer and social pressures to do so can also reduce the purely volitional aspect of volunteering (Sparre and Petersen 2007).

2. Senior volunteering and senior associations defined

Senior volunteering entails all those volunteer activities undertaken by individuals who are defined as seniors/older adults/elders. There is no clear definition of senior/older age, and no broad agreement on the age at which a person becomes "old." Hopkins and Pain (2007) argue that proposing a fixed age at which an individual enters "older age" undermines the fluidity of transitions and ignores that chronological age and biological age are often not in parallel. Nonetheless, in order to address senior volunteering, it is necessary to have some idea as to who are to be considered "seniors." Cattan et al. (2011) in their review of the quality of life benefits of volunteering in older age chose to review studies that looked at individuals aged 50 or older. Similarly, this is the age used by major charities in the United Kingdom and the United States for their membership (Cattan et al. 2011), and as the point of entry into older age by recent UK Research Council research programs on older adults. As such, senior volunteering is defined here as engagement by people aged over 50 for their community with no monetary reward.

3. Parental and family volunteering defined

Currently, the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) of the United States tracks fund-raising, sitting on a committee, or volunteering in the classroom as parent volunteer activities (Vanden-Kiernan, McManus, and Chapman 2005). However, this definition captures only a limited spectrum of parental volunteer activities in the United States. We therefore define *parental volunteering* a little more broadly as unpaid work undertaken by people who care for school-aged children with no monetary reward, in order to benefit the community and educational institutes, as well as their children.

Based on Reilly and Vesic (2002), we define *family volunteering* as family members working together to enrich the lives of others, strengthen family ties, and improve the quality of community life. Family volunteerism was also defined as "the willing participation in activities that ultimately benefit others by a group of two or more people who consider themselves family but are not, primarily, in a business relationship" (Lewton and Nievar 2012:691). Family volunteering

can be done by the entire or part of the nuclear family or by members of the extended family together. It can be to benefit the family's own community or others, including international volunteering by families.

C. Historical background

Formal volunteering first arose and flourished about 10,000 years ago, beginning in preliterate, horticultural village societies, with such activity occurring in small, local, grassroots associations (or GAs) that arose for the first time in this period (Nolan and Lenski 2006; Smith 1997, 2000; see also Handbook Chapter 1). This horticultural economic and associational revolution (the first of four such, distinct revolutions in human history; Smith 2016) led to of the initial rise of the voluntary nonprofit sector (VNPS). For the next several thousand years, the VNPS consisted solely of (a) GAs as nonprofit organizations, labeled here NPOs (or nonprofit groups, NPGs), (b) formal volunteers in such GAs, and (c) informal volunteers, who had existed since the beginning of our species 150,000–200,000 years ago (Smith 2016; see also Handbook Chapter 1).

In preliterate societies, down to about 5,000 years ago, human life was simpler in many ways. In particular, there were mainly two life stages: childhood and adulthood. Children passed into adulthood at puberty or shortly thereafter and then entered adulthood and the parental stage discussed in this chapter. The stage of youth or adolescence did not really occur distinctly, being largely a result of the later Industrial Revolution and mass education (c. 1750+ CE/AD) that accompanied the third of the four economic and associational revolutions identified and discussed by Smith (2016; see also Handbook Chapter 1). Because human lifespans were generally shorter in preliterate and in later agrarian societies, old age and the elderly life stage were less frequent and shorter (Nolan and Lenski 2006). Hence, the life stage of old age or the elderly is also largely a result of the Industrial Revolution and advances in medicine, sanitation, and so on. The analysis of three life stages of formal volunteering in this chapter thus has historical relevance only in the past 200 years or so in industrial and postindustrial societies.

D. Key issues

1. Youth volunteering

(a) Scope of youth volunteering around the globe

A recent national study in the United States indicates that 35% of 12th graders, 31% of 10th graders, and 27% of 8th graders volunteered once or more in the last month prior to being surveyed (Child Trends 2011). When participation is defined more broadly to include other forms of community service such as

school-based required service or service learning, as many as 60% or more of young people report having served (Musick and Wilson 2008).

The Australian Bureau of Statistics only measures people aged 18 and above. In the 2010, 27.1% of people aged 18–24 volunteered, compared with 36% of the general population. Young females were much more likely to volunteer compared with young males (33.2% vs. only 21.3% of males), and young volunteers tended to volunteer in one organization, compared to two to three organizations among older volunteers (ABS 2011). In a national survey of Australian adolescents (aged 13–24), 71% of 1,219 young people had not done any volunteering or community service in the past month (Weber 2011).

In Israel, 32–40% of adolescents volunteered for their community in the years 2005–2006. Of those who volunteered, 40% did so through school community services (the program in Israel is known as "Personal Commitment"), and 94% of the youth volunteers did so at least weekly, for three or four hours a week on average (see Haski-Leventhal et al. 2008).

China has experienced a strong growth in volunteerism in the past few decades. The Chinese government has taken initiatives to promote volunteerism since the 1980s. A survey conducted in 2001 estimated that a total of 769 million Chinese aged 18 years and older (or 85.2% of the adult population) volunteered formally and informally. They contributed a total of 18.9 billion hours, an average of 77 hours per volunteer annually (Ding 2005). In Egypt, only 2.3% of the youth reported volunteering in 2009, with another 3% saying they went in search of volunteer activities. However, 69% of Egyptian youth sought volunteering opportunities in a mosque or church, suggesting the strong influence of religion in Egypt on volunteer practices (Population Council 2011).

(b) Motivations of and influences on youth volunteering

What leads youth to volunteer has been studied, and socialization to volunteering through parents, school, and church was found to be very important (Sundeen and Raskoff 2000). Other motivations include patriotism and religious beliefs, sometimes operating in combination (Ibrahim 2012).

Indicators of socio-economic status also have been shown to relate to youth voluntary participation. Youth whose parents have a high level of education are more likely to volunteer than parents with only a high school degree or less (Child Trends 2011). Youth from higher socio-economic backgrounds have been found to serve more than those from lower socio-economic backgrounds (Volunteering in America 2012). This is likely due to more opportunities being available in higher-income neighborhoods and because youth from lower-income neighborhoods have less time to due to work responsibilities.

Schondel and Boehm (2000) showed that youth motivation to volunteer was similar to that of older volunteers, and common themes included helping

others, social interaction, and recognition. However, some motivations were more important in youth volunteering, such as socialization to pro-social behavior, self-actualization, and peer pressure. Omoto et al. (2000) demonstrated that younger volunteers were more motivated by relationship concerns. Haski-Leventhal et al. (2008) found that the main motivations for youth volunteers were feeling good about oneself, hoping that volunteering will help one in the future, and social motivations. In settings where young men and women have restricted social access to each other, volunteering becomes an accepted venue for interaction.

(c) Barriers to volunteering at younger age

There is little research focusing on barriers to volunteering among young people. Some studies have shown a decline in the attractiveness of volunteering among young people. Davis Smith (1999) showed that volunteering suffers from negative image among young people, perceived as expensive, time consuming, boring, and outdated, and found that 61% of young people in the United Kingdom could not see the point of volunteering, and 41% thought their friends would think badly of them if they volunteered. Haski-Leventhal and her colleagues (2008) found that social anxiety played an important part among young people in Israel who wanted to volunteer, and to overcome this barrier young people preferred to come in groups when they start volunteering. Other barriers for youths can be misperceptions about what volunteering is and who can do it; lack of knowledge or access; and inability to afford out-of-pocket expenses sometimes necessary to volunteer (Volunteering England 2008). In addition to the individual barriers to volunteering, there are some barriers in the organizational level. Some organizations, even ones that help youth, do not target youth as volunteers.

(d) The impact of volunteering at a young age

Volunteering was found to have a positive impact on adolescents' success in school, and it helped reduce several behavior problems, such as drug abuse, violence, and early pregnancy (Schondel et al. 1995). Youth volunteering was found to be related to better grades in school, ambition for higher education, higher self-confidence, and motivation to accomplish tasks, and to less behavioral problems and less unwanted pregnancies.

Young people who volunteer are less likely to use drugs or engage in risky behaviors, and are more likely to have positive academic, psychological, and occupational well-being. They are more likely to have a strong work ethic when they reach adulthood and are more likely to volunteer and vote. Service during youth is also related to greater respect of others, leadership skills, and an understanding of citizenship in adulthood (Morrissey and Werner-Wilson 2005).

In addition to personal gain, youth volunteers were found to have more positive attitudes toward society: adolescents who volunteered acquired social responsibility, had more knowledge about others in their community, and were more capable of decision making than those who did not volunteer (Sundeen and Raskoff 2000). Youniss and Yates (1996) theorized that through this process, a social or civic identify is formed, clarified, and strengthened in ways that last through life. Evidence of this was seen in Arab countries experiencing recent political uprisings. Youth with volunteer backgrounds were more likely to be involved in nonviolent service activities during demonstrations and less likely to remain involved in street protests when those turned violent (Ibrahim 2012).

There are also benefits for the community and the recipients of service by youth volunteers. Youth volunteers are more likely to transfer skills related to technology innovation within their organizations and to help them relate to youth beneficiaries more effectively through music and other aspects of youth culture. Recipients of youth services such as the elderly benefit from the energy, enthusiasm, and presence of youth volunteers. Nonprofit and service provider organizations benefit when youth complete tasks and projects that may not have been started or finished otherwise.

2. Senior volunteering

(a) Scope of senior volunteering around the globe

Toward the end of the life cycle, when work and family obligations are reduced, individuals report finding new meaning and social connection in their lives through volunteering. Some research points to the fact that elderly people, having more time, volunteer more (Herzog and Morgan 1992), while others show a decline of seniors' volunteer activity. For example, in the United States where levels fell from 48% volunteering in ages 30–49 to 44.9% in ages 50–64 and only 40.6% among people over 65 and 37% at the age of 75 and over, creating an inverted-U shape for the relationship between age and volunteering (Independent Sector 2001). However, elderly persons who do volunteer invest more hours than younger volunteers (Van Willigen 2000). Religious-based volunteering is especially popular among elderly persons, as well as volunteering with peers at senior centers (Van Willigen 2000). In a study on volunteering among women aged 50–80 (Bowen et al. 2000), three-quarters of the women volunteered at some point in their lives and 40% were current volunteers. Volunteering in a younger age contributed to the likelihood of volunteering at an older age.

Based on the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE) data, Haski-Leventhal (2009) compared volunteering in different European countries. Overall, 10% of elderly Europeans who participated in the SHARE

study volunteered, but the highest rates of volunteering were found in Northern Europe: 20.7% in the Netherlands, 17.8% in Sweden, and 17.5% in Denmark. The lowest rates of volunteering were found in Southern Europe: 2.2% in Spain and 3% in Greece. In England, the 2007 Helping Out Survey (Low et al. 2007) found that 38% of 45–54-year-olds, 42% of 55–64-year-olds, and 41% of over 65-year-olds were regular formal volunteers, while the 2010 National Citizenship Survey (Drever 2010) reports that 28% of 50–64-year-olds, 30% of 65–74-year-olds, and 20% of over 75-year-olds regularly engage in formal volunteering.

In Australia, 42.5% of people aged 55–64 volunteered during 2010, compared with 36.9% of those aged 65–74, 27.6% of the 75–84 age group, and only 12.4% of those aged 85 and above. In all these age groups, males volunteered in higher rates than females. For example, 38.2% of 64–75-year-old males volunteered versus 35% of females. However, in the last age group (85+ years), females volunteered more than males (17% vs. only 4%) (ABS 2011).

In the United States, the US Bureau of Labor Statistics (2012) estimated in their Current Population Survey that in the year ending September 2011, 30.6% of those aged 45–54, 28.1% of those aged 55–64, and 24% of those aged over 65 engaged in regular formal volunteering, compared with 26.8% of the population as a whole.

(b) Motivations of and influences on elderly volunteering

Elderly volunteers differ from younger volunteers in their motivations to volunteer. Okun et al. (1998) found that the social motive was stronger among older volunteers and that they were less motivated to volunteer by career concerns. Volunteering can address the social needs and loneliness that sometimes characterize third age, that is, age following retirement and children leaving home, and can promote a sense of usefulness. Older volunteers are often motivated to volunteer out of affiliation, and are more likely to have high satisfaction and commitment, as long as there is sufficient institutional support (Kovacs and Black 1999). Low et al. (2007) showed that motivations particularly significant for seniors were *having time to spare*, *wanting to meet people and make friends*, and *as a part of religious beliefs*. Some motivations decline in importance for seniors, such as the needs and interests of family and friends and getting a paid career or learning new skills.

(c) Barriers to volunteering at older age

The *Helping Out Survey* from the United Kingdom (Low et al. 2007) found that the two perceived barriers to volunteering which become particularly significant in older age are an individual having an illness or disability and feeling too old to volunteer. Ehlers et al. (2011) note that in the United Kingdom a lack of social contacts can prevent some seniors from learning about volunteering

opportunities. While seniors retired from paid employment may have more free time, in the Netherlands, France, Germany, Denmark, and Finland seniors often find they have a number of caring commitments within the family, which limit the time available for volunteering. In Italy, the rise in retirement age has meant there is less time for volunteering in older age (Ehlers et al. 2011).

(d) The impact of volunteering at an older age

Seniors volunteering can have a positive impact on society, as well as on older volunteers. Elder volunteers can provide not only services that otherwise would be unavailable or more expensive but also services that are more compatible to older clients, understanding their needs and situations (Haski-Leventhal 2009). Volunteering by older people can help eliminate isolation, strengthen community participation, enhance self-esteem, change stereotypes, and promote social and political consciousness.

Haski-Leventhal (2009) studied the relation between volunteering and well-being among 30,023 older Europeans in 12 countries, demonstrating an overall positive correlation between volunteering and perceived health, life satisfaction, and self-assessed life expectancy and a negative correlation to depression. Musick and Wilson (2003) also found a negative effect of volunteering on depression, but only for people over 65. Van Willigen (2000) found a significant association between volunteering and life satisfaction, especially for those who volunteered more hours and for more than one organization. Demura and Sato (2003) showed lower depression rates among elderly volunteers in Japan, and that volunteering was a means to social reintegration, especially for those living at home.

Furthermore, research showed a positive relation between volunteering and physical health. Volunteering can help develop social networks that buffer stress and reduce disease risk (Haski-Leventhal 2009). Volunteers have access to more information about the benefits of exercise and preventive medical care (Wilson and Musick 1999).

3. Parental and family volunteering

(a) Scope of parental and family volunteering around the globe

A concept close to parental volunteering is parental involvement in school, which is measured by attendance at a general meeting, a meeting with a teacher, or a school event, and by volunteering or serving on a committee. The National Center for Education Statistics of the US Department of Education collects information on parental involvement in school. All four measures of parental involvement in school rose significantly between 1999 and 2007 (US Department of Education 2008). In 2007, 46% of students in kindergarten through 12th grade had a parent who volunteered in school or served on a committee, compared with 37% in 1999. Parents with children in primary

school and parents with higher education are more likely to volunteer, while parents of Hispanic and black students were less likely (Child Trends 2011). In Hong Kong, parental volunteering has increased in the past two decades. Research indicates more parent volunteers in schools with high socio-economic status (SES) in Hong Kong (Ho and Tsoi 2001), with parent volunteering being extensive, parents' initiatives stronger, and the rate of parent participation higher. This trend is somewhat counterintuitive, as it corresponds to a time in which greater numbers of women were entering the formal workforce and therefore had less time available for volunteering. One plausible explanation is that parental volunteering increases as state funding for schools decreases and more of the extra-curricular programs rely on volunteers rather than paid staff. As for family volunteering, The Independent Sector report found that in the United States over half of all volunteers had volunteered with a family member (Toppe et al. 2002). The field of volunteer administration has seen a positive trend toward formal family volunteering with initiatives such as the Points of Light Foundation's Family Matters project (Littlepage et al. 2003).

(b) Motivations of parental and family volunteering

Motivations may derive from the perceived benefits of parental volunteering; better class placement, parents spending time with their child, acting as role models for their child, gaining influence over the direction of school resources, honing parenting skills, building social networks through volunteering, and increasing community connections. Using data from the 2003 National Household Education Survey of the United States, Gee (2011) found that parents with multiple children at the same school are more likely to volunteer at the school than those with a single child there. This implies that parents are motivated by the private benefits when they make decisions about contributing time to their children's schools.

Regarding motivation to volunteer as a family, Littlepage et al. (2003) reported that when asked why they volunteer together, adults identified being a good role model and transmitting their values, having fun, spending quality time together, and religious reasons. In contrast, while the children identified religious reasons, fun, quality time together, and giving back to the community, none of the children identified transmission of values or being a good role model as a reason to volunteer together. Lewton and Nievar (2012) explained that through interacting with each other, volunteering together allows families to strengthen relationships, share experiences and values, socialize with each other and other families, and have fun. Family members may also be able to practice skills, including positive parenting practices. Children have unique benefits from family volunteering such as exposure to real world experiences and career information. Another motivation for families with children to volunteer together is that parents want to raise their children to believe that

everyone has a responsibility to their family, friends, neighbors, and community. This motivation is also found in Muslim communities where parents want to instill practices of care and "giving back" as part of transmitting religious values (Daly 2008).

(c) Barriers to parental and family volunteering

The barriers to volunteering at this life stage include time constraints and lack of opportunities. The likelihood of parental volunteering varies with the number of children in the household, the age of the children, the parent's employment status, and marital status (Musick and Wilson 2008). Preschool-age children make it difficult for parents to find time to volunteer. Knoke and Thompson (1977) found that membership rates of voluntary association were highest among either young married parents with school-age children or older families with children of any age.

Littlepage et al. (2003) detailed some of barriers to family volunteering: doors to volunteering open more slowly for families; late nights and early mornings; emotional cost; and coordinating volunteering is harder with children present. Another barrier to family volunteering is the lack of volunteering opportunities suitable for children – not too difficult physically and emotionally and which allows several people working together on the same task. It requires creative ideas and openness from volunteer organizations.

(d) The impact of parental and family volunteering

Parental volunteering in school can enrich the overall learning environment, affect the norms and expectations of the school, strengthen social networks, and contribute to the growth of social capital among students, school personnel, and community members (Brown 1998). A review of studies on parent participation at school indicates that it can have a significant influence on student achievement and self-confidence (Burke 1999). Children whose parents volunteered at the reading program reported greater confidence as readers and increased motivation to read. Students viewed their parents as role models and trusted partners in helping them assess their own capabilities and performance. Support from parents also provided these children with the self-confidence to persist when confronted with challenges. Parent involvement in school also helps parents' expand community connections and empowering them in other areas of their lives. Another important impact of both parental and family volunteering is the intergenerational transmission of volunteering behavior (Bekkers 2007).

There are also many specific benefits to family volunteering. Reilly and Vesic (2002) studied families volunteering together at a seniors' center. Their experiences were described as enjoyable, meaningful, and integrative. They confirm that family volunteering successfully combines community service and leisure

into a gratifying and worthwhile activity for participants of all ages, extending the customary boundaries of the concept of family recreation. Family volunteering allows people to better balance work–family–leisure demand by combining at least two of the three (employers now offer family volunteering opportunities too; see Haski-Leventhal et al. 2010). In a study of family volunteering through the "Family Matters" organization, Littlepage et al. (2003) detailed perceived benefits: bringing the family closer together, value system being strengthened by volunteering, children seeing involvement of parents, and children realizing how lucky they are. In a reversal of the expected pattern of adults introducing children to volunteering, a study in Egypt found that youth members of a popular social service organization, Resala, were bringing parents and siblings into the habit of volunteering, especially with regard to fostering and visiting orphans or special needs children (Sparre 2013).

4. Comparisons between the three age categories of volunteers

Omoto et al. (2000) proposed, "As people move through the life course, they attach different meanings to the volunteer role, and that these meanings are directly related to the agendas they pursue through volunteerism" (p. 182). At different ages people have different life tasks, and from these life tasks, more specific motivations flow. This chapter demonstrates that young volunteers, older volunteers, and parental volunteers contribute their time in different ways, for different reasons, with different targets and benefits – although some similarities exist between the three groups.

Persons at the age bracket of 12–22 develop social awareness and self-concept and are usually highly exposed to peer pressure. They have more discretionary free time than at later stages of life, and primary drivers to volunteer are not only for social motivations but also for advantages related to future careers. Benefits of volunteering at this age are dramatic and may last for a lifetime – for the individual volunteer, the service recipients and society. Youth volunteers can suffer social anxiety more than older and parental volunteers, which is why they often volunteer in groups. However, peer pressure can also become an obstacle to volunteering if young people perceive that friends would think badly of them for volunteering.

Older volunteers are similar to youth volunteers in the fact that social motivations play a key role for their willingness to volunteer, but for different reasons; in older age, levels of loneliness with the loss of social roles increases, and seniors may volunteer to replace them. However, unlike younger volunteers, they are not concerned about their future career. The benefits of elderly volunteers to society are important, not only through the skills and experience they bring to volunteering and services they provide but also through the benefits to themselves in the form of better mental and physical health, and a resultant societal benefit.

Parental volunteering is aimed at providing services and modeling their children. People with school-aged children seem to be more likely to volunteer across the world due to these two important reasons. Another growing trend, one not been covered sufficiently in the academic literature, is family volunteering. It potentially plays an important role in shaping the face of our future society and deserves more attention from academics and volunteer organizations. The lack of awareness and opportunities are the major barriers to family volunteering.

Examining the types of organizations each of these groups volunteer for, an interesting pattern emerges: youths volunteer mostly in educational institutes and for other young people; elders volunteer the most in senior centers and for other senior citizens; and parents volunteer the most for their children's schools. This implies that people volunteer for causes close to not just their hearts but also their age (or the age of their children, in the last group).

E. Usable knowledge

With changing demography, associations and VSPs may struggle in the future to find enough members and volunteers, and therefore services for community and disadvantaged groups could be lacking. Consequently, it is important to be prepared. This may be accomplished by tapping the various social groups that supply volunteers and by understanding their motivations and barriers and point out the impact of their efforts. Many complain that young people do not volunteer, but this is not necessarily so. Rather, compared with their older counterparts, they volunteer for different reasons and in different channels (e.g., via online and micro volunteering, international volunteering). Organizations using volunteers will need to create interesting and accessible opportunities to attract young volunteers. In addition, offering family volunteering opportunities can not only attract a large segment of the population that is more likely to volunteer in any case but also help introduce new generations to the importance and benefits of volunteering. Finally, with the Baby Boomers currently retiring, an immense number of potential volunteers are joining the *volunteer market*. It is vital to involve them in volunteering, not only to benefit service recipients but also to achieve, among other benefits, better physical and mental health among the volunteers themselves.

In addition to the efforts by organizations to recruit youth, parental, and elderly volunteers, other stakeholders and third parties can assist (Haski-Leventhal et al. 2010). Government can help increase volunteering among these groups through social policy, social marketing, campaigns, and recognition. Businesses can help by introducing family volunteering as part of the corporate volunteering opportunities for their employees, as well as help employees who are on the edge of retirement by offering them optional

placements in volunteer organizations. Educational institutions such as schools and universities can encourage volunteering through service learning, recognition, and admission procedures. Finally, the media also have a vital part in celebrating and encouraging volunteering among youth, parents, and elders.

F. Future trends and needed research

While in some Western countries, such as those in Western Europe, age pyramids show that in the near future there will be more elders than young people, in many other countries in the developing world this trend is reversed, with young people more frequent by far. As such, understanding the future age groups, who are more likely to volunteer and why, is essential to maintain the voluntary workforce. In addition, recent trends in volunteering, such as online, corporate, and family volunteer, may change the way each of the age groups discussed in this chapter will volunteer in the future. Younger people may focus more on micro and online volunteering, as well as on international tourism volunteering (voluntourism). Family volunteering is expected to become a growing trend, allowing more people to volunteer with their children, sometime through their workplace (corporate and family volunteering combined). While Generation X and Baby Boomers retire, we may see technology taking over volunteering in this stage as well.

Further academic research is required for all three age groups. We need to expand our body of knowledge on motivations, benefits, barriers, and impact. There is a real lack of knowledge regarding the historical background of youth, elderly, and parental volunteering, as well as the distinctiveness of organizations each group tends to volunteer for. Comparative, multinational studies are required. There are only a handful of articles comparing these groups to each other over multiple settings, as well as other age groups. International studies comparing these groups in various regions around the world are also necessary. Culturally sensitive definitions of volunteering in various settings are required to make comparative studies more meaningful. This chapter suggests some interesting differences in the ways and the reasons why people volunteer in different life stages, but more work is needed.

Finally, of all the age groups discussed in this chapter, the one that is the most understudied is family volunteering. As it is a growing trend, the attention of academics and practitioners is needed to tap on to this trend, study it, and develop it. Youth volunteering in particular needs to be understood in light of growing trends toward politically motivated movements such as Occupy Wall Street and the uprisings of the Arab Spring, where youth are key organizers and participants, and bring their own generational character to emerging social and political causes worldwide.

G. Cross-references

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30

Conducive Motivations and Psychological Influences on Volunteering

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A. Introduction

For over 60 years, research has shown that formal volunteering (FV) is influenced significantly by psychological factors and variables, which many scholars see as the results of individual genetics, socialization into one's culture and social roles, and idiosyncratic personal experiences. Such predictors are sometimes referred to as *dynamic variables*. This chapter reviews research from various nations mainly on such motivational factors as personality traits, values, general and specific attitudes, habits, intentions, and goals/values as influences on FV. Less research is available on other, potentially relevant, psychological factors, such as affects-emotions, intellectual capacities, cognitions–information–perceptions, and the self, let alone on serious pain as a factor affecting volunteering. Yet some, often much, empirical evidence and also relevant theory support the necessity of studying such psychological factors, as well as motivations in understanding FV, partially validating the recent S-Theory of Smith (2014b, 2015a, 2017b). Smith's (1994) Active-Effective Character (A-EC) Model, now re-named as the Active-Prosocial Character (A-PC) Model, is also supported. FV is one common example of prosocial behavior, which has received extensive study for several decades, especially by psychologists (cf. Dovidio et al. 2006; Schroeder and Graziano 2015; Schroeder et al. 1995; Wittek and Bekkers 2015).

There are huge numbers of studies and many research reviews that focus on how social status/role variables (demographics) are related to various measures of association membership and activity FV (Layton 1987; Musick and Wilson, 2008; Payne, Payne, and Reddy 1972; Pugliese 1986; Rochester, Paine, and

Howlett 2010; C. Smith and Freedman 1971; Smith 1975, 1994; C. Smith and Freedman 1972; Smith, Reddy, and Baldwin 1972: Part II; Tomeh 1973; Wilson 2000, 2012; see also Handbook Chapter 28). Many other studies focus on demographic predictors of FV in volunteer service programs (VSPs) of nonprofit organizations (NPOs), government agencies, and some for-profit businesses, especially for-profit hospitals (Musick and Wilson 2008; Wilson 2000, 2012).

Study of psychological variables as influences has been less frequent, but has been increasingly substantial, especially in the past two decades (Musick and Wilson 2008; Smith 1994; Wilson 2000, 2012). All of these psychological variables/predictors are understood here in the larger context of Smith's (2014b, 2015a, 2017a, 2017b) new S-Theory, or *Synanthrometrics*, as a general theory of individual human behavior, especially pro-social behavior. As suggested in Handbook Chapter 25, many of these psychological factors have partial genetic roots (e.g., Bouchard 2004; Bouchard and Loehlin 2001; Chamorro-Premuzic, von Stumm, and Furnham 2011; Sternberg and Kaufman 2011).

B. Definitions and theory

1. Definitions

This chapter accepts the definitions presented in the Handbook Appendix. Special definitions are needed here, however, for the follow terms/concepts:

S-Theory (synanthrometrics): General, comprehensive new theory of human individual behavior, especially *pro-social* behavior, developed by Smith (2014b, 2015a, 2017a, 2017b). Emphasizes psychological variables in the prediction of behavior, such as formal volunteering, and serves as one organizing principle of this chapter. States that seven categories of Psyche/psychological variables are necessary and sufficient to describe the individual human mind for the purposes of understanding, explaining, and predicting any and all individual behavior: motivations, affects, goals, intellectual capacities, cognitions, felt pain, and the self.

Motivations (motives, dispositions): Individual tendencies or dispositions to act in certain ways, usually linked to situations with one degree or another of situational specificity or generality. Main types of motivations identified by S-Theory are personality traits, general attitudes, specific attitudes, habits, and intentions (Smith 2017a). However, goals/values, affects/emotions, and other psychological predictors also have relevance to motivations. Unfortunately, the terms *motives* and also *motivations* are often used loosely, so one cannot be sure what is meant when these terms occur in research without examining how they are measured.

Personality: Personality variables can be defined as "those dispositional characteristics than an individual manifests in his [or her] behavior in a wide variety of different types of situations" (Smith 1966:250; see also 2017a). How personality variables are measured has a major impact on their relationship to behavior. Explicit/self-report measurement of personality, usually by questionnaires or sometimes interviews, is the widespread *trait approach*, while implicit/unconscious approaches characterize the *motive* or *need approach* (e.g., McClelland 1985; McClelland, Koestner, and Weinberger 1989; Winter, John, Stewart, Klohnen, and Duncan 1998).

General attitudes: General attitudes are combinations of cognitions-perceptions-beliefs and emotions-affects regarding types of things, activities, events, situations, groups, or persons that *do not involve specific examples or names*, but that have associated motivational dispositions. Examples are general attitudes toward women, organizations, work, volunteering, associations, nonprofit agencies, and so on (Smith 1966, 2017a).

Specific attitudes: Specific attitudes are combinations of cognitions-perceptions-beliefs and emotions-affects regarding *specific, named objects*, interpreting the latter term broadly as including activities, events, situations, groups, or persons and that have associated motivational dispositions. Examples are specific attitudes *toward a named (specifically identified)* thing, activity, event, situation, company, government agency, family, voluntary association, nonprofit agency, volunteer role, and so on (Smith 1966, 2017a).

Habit dispositions/habits: There are two distinct senses of the term habits.

(a) *Psychological habits:* Learned, enduring, situation-specific, behavior-dispositions for the detailed performance of instrumental tasks with one's hands or other body parts, usually having significant and often strong psychological force (cf. Bargh and Chartrand. 1999; Duhigg, 2012; Schwartz and Begley 2002; Smith 2017a).

(b) *Life course habits (sociological habits):* Repetitive patterns of individual behavior that tend to endure for years, sometimes throughout the adult life course of an individual (Smith 2017a).

Intentions (behavioral intentions): Dispositions to act in some particular manner in the near future to achieve some goal or outcome, based on all aspects of motivations (Fishbein and Ajzen 2010; Smith 2017a).

Affects (emotions): Affects refer to one or more types of emotions and feelings as perceived by an individual, ranging from more enduring temperament factors (emotional traits) to temporary emotional feelings at a given time and even micro-emotions, felt only fleetingly, often only implicitly/unconsciously (Smith 2017a).

Goals (values): Goals are outcomes sought and preferred ways to achieve these. As a broad type of goal, values are trans-situational preferences that reflect major choices of activities and goals in a person's life, but they are often more abstract than personality traits and tend to be weaker in affecting behavior (Hitlin 2003; Hitlin and Piliavin 2004; Smith 1994:252, 2017a). Examples are patriotism, democracy, ecological balance, peace, and prosperity.

Intellectual capacities (intelligences): Various aspects of how an individual's mind can achieve optimal performance, when properly motivated, in regard to various activities that involve language, mathematical symbols/logic, music, bodily movements, spatial relationships, one's own emotions, other people, etc. (cf. Gardner 2011; Smith 2017a; Sternberg and Kaufman 2011).

Cognitions (perceptions, beliefs, schemas): Cognitions have many aspects, ranging from immediate perceptions (of circumstances internal and external to the body) to beliefs and to sets of beliefs, as coherent ideologies (Smith 2017a).

Felt pain levels: Pain refers to noxious and aversive feelings that relate to perceived damage or dysfunction in one's body, usually localized but not always (Smith 2017a).

Self: The Self is a sense of personal identity that organizes the Life Stance IVs (*LS*, or M, A, G, I, C, π), as six key aspects of the Psyche. The Self also provides substantial consistency in a specific individual's behavior over time, usually creating significant individuality in the patterning of Core Life Stance IVs, and hence significant uniqueness of each individual's mind or psychological system/Psyche (cf. Allport 1955; Barkley 2012; Hood 2013; Smith 2017a).

2. Theory

In his dissertation (Smith 1964) and the subsequent article based on it, Smith (1966) took research on psychological or dynamic influences much further than prior researchers. He developed brief interview measures (indices, each based on a few interview items) for many personality traits, several general association-relevant attitudes, and many specific association-relevant attitudes. The general theory behind this development of relevant psychological measures was a combination of the personality and social structure approach of Inkeles and Levinson (1954) and the comprehensive approach to explanation in the social-behavioral sciences of Allport (1950). From these, Smith developed a theory of *the ideal participant* in associations, based on the fit between personality broadly viewed and the role of a volunteer/participant in associations. In various later publications, Smith has labeled this theory of the *ideal participant* the *active-effective character (A-EC) model* (Smith 1975; 1994). More recently, Smith refers to this set of character aspects as the active-prosocial character (A-PC) model, stating that the A-PC refers to more than just personality traits.

Earlier statements of the Active-Effective Character Model can be found in Smith (1975, 1980 a, b, c, 1983, 1985, 1994, 2004, 2010 a, b, 2014a); and Smith and Theberge (1987). Preliminary results of factor analyses indicated that the Active-Effective Character is a valid construct, which permits a highly reliable composite index to be created (see Smith 2017b). This A-EC Index is a substantial predictor of formal volunteering (ibid.). Relevant *personality* traits were measured by multi-item indices (Smith 1966:265), including trust, willingness to meet new people, lack of personal cynicism, social confidence, lack of need for autonomy, achievement orientation, efficacy/internal control, planning, optimism, [life] satisfaction, self-confidence, moralism, psychic adjustment, and non-fatalism (as a single item).

The *general* association-relevant *attitudes* were attitudes toward "how to spend one's leisure time, toward formal organizations in general, and toward [associations] as a type of formal organization" (Smith 1966:250). Multi-item indices were constructed (Smith 1966:265) for general [association] instrumental value, formal group preference, service orientation to leisure time; but some single-item indices were also used: free time perceived, general obligation to participate in [associations], parents' participation in [associations] in general, informal relations [with other people], church attendance, and number of times voted. The latter three measures of activities were seen as proxies for attitude measures, which would be preferable. But such items mainly measure social-leisure participation, which usually predicts FV (e.g., Smith 1975, 1985, 1994, 2015a; see also Handbook Chapter 5). Measures of various other volunteering-relevant and participation-relevant general attitudes could be added in future research.

Specific association-relevant *attitudes* were "attitudes that pertain to a particular named [association] of interest" (Smith 1966:251). Multi-item indices were constructed (Smith 1966:265–266) for rewards for participation in a specific [association], social support within the specific [association], commitment to the specific [association], attractiveness of the specific [association], personal fit with the specific [association], efficacy of the specific [association], outside significant-other support for the [association]. In addition, single item indices were used for obligation to participate in the specific [association], and parents' approval of specific [association]. This set of indices was the most comprehensive ever used to measure specific association attitudes, and likely remains so. Such measures could be used in studying any kind of FV. The predictors of this set could be extended in the future by adding measures of attitudes toward specific types of volunteering and volunteer roles.

In multivariate regression analyses, Smith (1966:255) explained 71% of the variance in discriminating active members from demographically matched non-members using three types of psychological variables – personality traits, general attitudes, and specific attitudes. Social background variables added no

variance explained, given the matching procedure. In a second subsample, 56% of the variance was explained discriminating active from inactive members within associations, using no matching procedure (p. 259). Personality traits were the strongest set of variables (p. 259) and when social background variables were added, no added variance was explained. This latter finding suggests that although people may be influenced to join associations by social background variables, such variables are of little importance in explaining the intensity of their activity once people are members. At that stage, psychological influences predominate. Subsequent research has confirmed this finding.

In subsequent literature review papers and chapters, Smith (1975, 1985, 1994, 2015b, 2015c; Smith, Reddy, and Baldwin 1972: Part 2) and other researchers (e.g., Musick and Wilson 2008; Wilson 2000, 2012) have shown that many other studies generally support these early findings on the substantial importance of psychological variables in explaining volunteering and association participation. However, multivariate analyses including all of these sets of psychological variables and also social background variables have been rare until the past two decades (e.g., except for earlier studies by Berger 1991; Crigler 1973; Grupp and Newman 1973; Hougland and Wood 1980; Reddy 1974; Rogers 1971; Rohs 1986; Smith 1973; Townsend 1973).

When any of the main types/subsets of psychological dispositions is studied, the tendency is to include only one or two types of measures, rather than the broad range studied by Smith (1966), suggested and expanded by S-Theory (Smith 2014b, 2015a, 2017a, 2017b), and listed above under Definitions. Psychologists usually prefer to have lengthy (30–100 item) measures of only one or two constructs, which practically prohibits studying many psychological variables simultaneously. When three or more domains of explanatory variables are included in multivariate analyses of volunteering, including psychological variables, the amount of variance explained is usually far greater than otherwise, sometimes in the 40%–60% range (Berger 1991; Rohs 1986; Smith 1975:260, 1994:256, 2015a; 2017b).

With measures of personality traits, general attitudes, intention, affects, goals, intelligence, cognition, felt pain, and the self as psychological predictors, *and no other types of predictor*s (i.e., without demographics, biological factors, or external context), Smith (2017b) accounted for 63.6% of the variance in FV with data from a large national sample of adult Russians (see details in Handbook Chapter 31). This is likely the most variance in FV ever explained by a variety of psychological predictors in national sample survey data.

The more recent research reviews by Musick and Wilson (2008) and by Wilson (2012) generally support the Smith (1966, 1975, 1985, 1994) model, using various personality and attitude measures (usually measures of general attitudes, not of specific attitudes). The additional research reviewed or

highlighted in this chapter continues to support the substantial importance of psychological variables, properly measured, on FV, both in associations and in service volunteer programs.

Smith's (1975, 1994, 2010a) *active-effective character (A-EC) model* (or now, active-prosocial character model/A-PC) is a further elaboration of his 1966 ideal participant psychological model sketched above. This A-EC/A-PC Model hypothesizes that various forms of FV and other productive or instrumental leisure activities are explained significantly by a variety of types of psychological influences that are inter-correlated in the general population, including the following:

(a) conducive personality traits and motivations (altruism, trust, sociability, sense of efficacy; optimism; achievement orientation; openness to new experiences, etc.);

(b) conducive values (e.g., individualism vs. collectivism, independence vs. dependency, self-help vs. being helped by others;);

(c) conducive general attitudes toward leisure, formal organizations, associations, volunteer service programs (VSPs), civic engagement, community participation, formal and informal volunteering, and productive/instrumental leisure;

(d) conducive specific attitudes toward one or more named associations, association types, VSPs, and/or toward particular volunteer/participation roles;

(e) conducive intentions to join or participate in such FV contexts/roles (e.g., Fishbein and Ajzen 2010);

(f) conducive affect/emotions (e.g., empathy, emotional stability, low impulsiveness, low social anxiety, and other social and moral emotions; Frank 1988);

(g) conducive goals/values sought that relate to FV, including goals of productive/ instrumental leisure activities, helping other people outside the home and in the local community, joining and/or participating in associations or VSPs, not spending leisure time on TV/CD-listening or napping/resting, and not mainly enjoying socializing with one's family in the home;

(h) conducive intellectual capacities (general intelligence, and especially verbal-linguistic, interpersonal, and intrapersonal (emotional) capacities; Gardner 2011);

(i) conducive cognitions (e.g., beliefs or ideologies about civil liberties and the role of associations in democracies; perceptions of the value and efficacy of associations, VSPs, volunteering, and civic participation; perceptions of social pressures by others to volunteer, join, and be active or more active in associations or VSPs);

(j) conducive zero, low, or non-serious pain felt or fleeting pain if serious; and

(k) conducive aspects of the self, such as identification with the FV role, having a very social self, and seeing the association or VSP as one's own—part of one's ego-extensions (e.g., Gomez, Brooks, Buhrmester, Vazquez, Jetten, and Swann 2011; Piliavin and Callero 1991).

C. Historical background

Early sociologists (e.g., Durkheim [1897] 1970) presented hypotheses about the influences leading to pro-social behavior in general, which includes both formal and informal volunteering. Max Weber also wrote about associations ([1910] 1972). However, the empirical study of psychological dispositions as influences on volunteering is quite recent historically, beginning only in the 1950s in the United States by sociologists. An important early article was by Beal (1956), who proposed "Additional Hypotheses in Participation Research." Similarly, Bronfenbrenner (1960) wrote of "Personality and Participation: The Case of the Vanishing Variables." Several others in this period similarly pointed to the importance of personality and attitudes as *dynamic* variables that took us beyond social background/demographic variables in explaining volunteering or participation in associations (e.g., Copp and Clark 1956; Gough 1952; Harp 1959; Larson and Catton 1961).

Smith (1964, 1966) studied empirically the extent to which personality and attitude variables affected participation/volunteering in various associations in Chile. For the first time, he contrasted these various psychological influences with the effects of social background variables. Large numbers of studies of psychological influences, especially personality and attitudes, on volunteering and association activity have been published in the past 20–30 years.

Part Two of the book edited by Smith, Reddy, and Baldwin (1972) contained review chapters that on how FV was influenced by social background and roles (Payne, Payne, and Reddy 1972), attitudes (Mulford and Klonglan 1972), personality and capacities (Reddy and Smith 1972), and contextual and organizational determinants (Smith and Reddy 1972b). Chapter 15 (Smith and Reddy 1972a) provided an overview of how all these factors might be fit together, with an illustrative diagram reproduced in the present Handbook. This Part Two was a forerunner of Part IV of the present Handbook, now 44 years later. Our research field of voluntaristics has come a long way (cf. Smith 2016a).

Studies of affects–emotions, intellectual capacities, cognitions–perceptions, and pain as psychological influences on FV have been rare, and seldom done simultaneously in combination. However, Smith's (2014b, 2015a, 2017a, 2017b) S-Theory insists that such variables are essential to understanding volunteering and other individual behavior, whether pro-social, antisocial, or otherwise characterized. Research by Smith (2015a, 2017b) on a national sample of Russian adults demonstrates the general validity of S-Theory

using such a very broad range of psychological explanatory variables (see below, Section D, #13).

D. Key issues

1. Complexities of explaining motivations for volunteering

For all psychological factors, an underlying issue is how enduring or stable these are in an individual's lifetime. Empirical data are weak on this point, owing to researcher inattention even in longitudinal studies, but most such factors seem to be relatively enduring over months and even years. For instance, Bekkers (2012) found that trust was rather stable over a four-year period. Similarly, Cheung, Lo, and Liu (2014) found the general attitude of social responsibility to be stable over a six-month period.

An enduring problem in studying psychological variables has been the problem of identifying accurately and reliably the differences among various concepts/constructs. The *same* construct may have *various* names as studied by different researchers and in different historical decades (e.g., locus of control, efficacy, competence). Also, *different* constructs may have the *same* name (e.g., *functional motives* as in the Volunteer Functions Inventory of Clary, Snyder, Ridge, Copeland, Stukas, Haugen, and Miene 1998; *implicit motives* as measured by coding of spontaneous responses to pictures such as the Thematic Apperception Test of McClelland, Koestner, and Weinberger 1989; *trait-based motives* as measured by objective tests or questionnaires, as described by Winter, John, Stewart, Klohnen, and Duncan 1998). Only by carefully examining the measurement procedures can such problems be somewhat resolved, but the situation remains perennially confusing. Smith (2017a) states that eventually brain-imaging techniques may help us resolve such issues.

Related to the foregoing point, psychologists and other socio-behavioral scientists often disagree about which category of psychological factor a given construct/variable fits into best. Consider empathy, which involves imaginatively feeling as another is feeling, especially given problems or difficulties. Some researchers see this as a personality trait. Others, including Smith, view empathy as an affect trait, given the emphasis on feelings/emotions. Because of the necessity for cognitive activity to have empathy, this factor might also be seen as a kind of cognition. Thus, disagreement can be expected about the categorizations used in this chapter.

Another, causally deeper problem lies in the meaning of the terms *motive* and *motivation* in common language as contrasted with technical terminology. In common language (everyday speech by laypersons), both terms refer to self-reported reasons that individuals give for why they behave as they do. These terms may also refer to estimated reasons why other people behave as they do. Either way, such purported reasons may or may not be accurate, *often not*.

People may lie, or give socially desirable answers or statements. At the deepest level in the brain, however, *individuals never actually know why they do anything that is not an automatic reflex action* (e.g., knee-jerk patellar reflex). People in general have no neural/brain linkages between the actual decision-making circuits in their brains and their conscious minds (cf. Gazzaniga 2008:294–300, 2011:chapter 3). People routinely fabricate stories/narratives/estimates about why they (or others) behave as they do, using the *interpreter region* of their brains (ibid.).

Even before such neuro-scientific facts were know fairly recently, astute socio-behavioral scientists/observers had invented the concept of *motive talk*. Motive talk refers to individuals talking about their own motives, often truthfully in terms of intention, but still usually erroneously, for the basic reason of essential ignorance, given above. Thus,

Smith (1994:257) wrote the following on this topic:

> For example, investigators ask respondents why they participate and content themselves with the resulting answer. This can be termed the motive talk approach (Groom, 1969; Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1986; Uzzell, 1980). Personality traits and attitudes toward the volunteer group or groups in general are not explored. Part of the problem is lack of time or space in the interview or questionnaire. But something else needs to give so that there is room for more attitude, personality, and situational variables. Rochford (1985, p. 73) shows that other variables can be much more important than *motive talk*.

Empirical evidence for the importance of many of the following types of psychological factors can be found in prior literature reviews on volunteering through the year 2000 (Mulford and Klonglan 1972; Reddy and Smith 1972; Rochester, Paine, and Howlett 2010; Smith 1964, 1966, 1975, 1994; Smith, Reddy, and Baldwin 1972: Part 2; Tomeh 1973; Townsend 1973; Wilson 2000; Wilson and Musick 1997, 1999.) This chapter will focus mainly (but not solely) on relevant research published since the year 2000 on volunteering in associations, although the book by Musick and Wilson (2008) reviews much research on volunteering in service volunteer programs, as does the review article of Wilson (2012).

2. Personality factors

(a) Explicit personality traits approach

This approach to personality factors/variables depends on conscious self-report by respondents, usually via objective tests and questionnaires, but sometimes also by survey interviews more recently. Such traits tap into conscious self-perceptions as cognitions of an individual, which may or may not be deeply

accurate and predictive of behavior. Explicit traits measured also tend not to correlate highly with alternative, implicit measures of the same hypothetical constructs (e.g., achievement, affiliation, extraversion). This is not so much a matter of which approach is *correct*, as it is that these alternative measurement approaches tap into different levels of the self and Psyche, explicit and implicit (e.g., McClelland et al.1989; Spangler 1992; Winter et al. 1998). A basic problem with the personality trait approach is the sheer number of potential traits that can be measured and that might affect any behavior. Long ago, Allport and Odbert (1936) examined a comprehensive English dictionary (about 400,000 words) seeking all of the words that referred to aspects of personality. They found nearly 18,000 words that apply to different aspects of personality (p. vi). Among these, the authors decided that about 4,500 adjectives described relatively enduring personality traits. At the other extreme, much attention is given these days to the *Big Five* traits, also referred to the *Five Factor Model* (FFM)—Openess to new experience, Conscientiousness, Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Neuroticism/ OCEAN (Fetvadjiev and van de Vijver 2015; John and Srivastava 1999). In this chapter, we can only treat superficially the relevant personality traits that have received recent empirical attention, giving illustrative examples, rather than trying to be comprehensive.

(i) Five Factor Model/FFM.   Not surprisingly, given the popularity of the FFM among psychologists, research involving these FFM traits in relation to FV and other prosociality (pro-social behavior/PSB) has been most common recently. Lodi-Smith and Roberts (2007) did four meta-analyses, one of which focused on FV as a DV, examining only seven prior studies. They found that both conscientiousness and emotional stability (positive end of neuroticism) of the FFM to be systematically associated with more FV. They also present a useful multivariate model of many S-Theory predictors in relation to *social investments,* meaning PSB involvements like FV (p. 71). Using a US national sample with a longitudinal design, Atkins, Hart, and Donnelly (2005) found that children classified as *resilient* (in terms of three, combined FFM factors— conscientiousness, extraversion, and agreeableness) were more involved in FV 8–10 years later as adolescents, compared to other children. Okun, Pugliese, and Rook (2007) used longitudinal data from a US national sample of older adults (aged 65–90 years) to show that extraversion had a significant total effect on FV in VSPs, but not a significant direct effect. Matsuba, Hart, and Atkins (2007) used a cross-sectional US national adult sample to show similarly that more resilient people spent more time in FV. Vantilborgh, Bidee, Pepermans, Willems, Huybrechts, and Jegers (2013) used a convenience sample of Belgian volunteers to account for an R^2 of .20 using demographics, FFM, psychological contracts and interaction terms to explain hours volunteered. Conscientiousness and

agreeableness traits were statistically significant, as were types of contracts, as goals.

In a national Dutch sample of adults, Bekkers (2005) found that people higher in conscientiousness were higher in civic participation, with various confounds controlled. People higher in extraversion were higher in volunteering. Bekkers also found significant interaction effects between hourly wages and three personality dimensions. Other studies have also found interaction effects in studying personality and FV (Carlo, Allen, and Buhman. 1999: Carlo, Okun, Knight, and de Guzman 2005; Vantilborgh et al. 2013).

Several studies with varied, non-representative samples of volunteers also found that one or more FFM predictors (especially extraversion and emotional stability) had significant influences on FV (Bakker, Van der Zee, Lewig, and Dollard 2006; Carlo, Okun, Knight, and de Guzman, 2005; Paterson, Reniers, and Völim 2009). Studying a convenience sample of US university students, Carlo et al. (2005:Table 1) found that a reliable four-item index of volunteering was significantly predicted (.01 level) by FFM agreeableness, extraversion, conscientiousness, and openness, but not neuroticism

(ii) Active-prosocial character (A-PC) and prosocial personality (P-P). Significant earlier work by Smith on the A-PC as associated positively with FV has been described previously in this chapter in Section B, #2. Other prior research on the A-PC is also described in Handbook Chapter 5, in relation to explaining the Leisure General Activity Pattern (LGAP). Here we will note briefly recent work on the *prosocial personality* (P-P) construct. Because of the focus only on personality traits, this construct is narrower than Smith's A-PC construct, which also involves other dispositions, as well as affects, goals, etc.

There are various threads of research with different versions of P-P. For instance, Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen (1991) asked a convenience sample of 258 human services volunteers and 104 non-volunteers to rank the importance of 28 motives. The term *motives* is used loosely to mean potential reasons for FV. Factor analyses showed that most items clustered into a single, general factor. Smith views this factor as related to the A-PC. Another independent study, by Scheufele and Shah (2000), uses US national sample survey data to study how various predictors affect social capital, including civic engagement (a version of FV). Personality strength (combining self-confidence and opinion leadership) significantly affected all three social capital measures, including FV. Smith argues that such results suggest that personality strength is an aspect of the A-PC.

Penner, Fritzsche, Craiger, and Freifeld (1995) devised a scale to measure the P-P (or *altruistic personality)* construct, drawing on the fine qualitative study by Oliner and Oliner (1988). In doing so, Penner et al. were ignoring the firm conclusion of a review book on prosocial emergency intervention/ helping

(Piliavin, Dovidio, Gaertner, and Clark 1981) that seeking evidence for such a personality construct had been futile. Ironically, that same year Rushton (1981) published an article entitled *the altruistic personality* (see also Rushton, Chrisjohn, and Fekken 1981). Penner et al. (1995) described the process of constructing and validating the 56-item Prosocial Personality Battery which has two factor components, (1) other-oriented empathy and (2) helpfulness, both with usual high alpha reliabilities (.80+). In validation studies described, one or both of the two Prosocial Personality Battery factors correlated significantly with FV measures, with the helpfulness scale usually being stronger. Using a convenience sample of US volunteers and non-volunteers (N = 1100+), Penner (2002:455) showed that both Prosocial Personality Battery dimensions were significantly associated with three measures of FV. Carlo, Eisenberg, Troyer, Switzer, and Speer (1991) had devised a similar scale for Altruistic Personality a few years earlier. Jeffries (1998) suggested an altruistic personality index based on five primary virtues, suggesting a positive relationship with altruistic (prosocial) behavior.

Subsequent use of the Prosocial Personality Battery has shown one or both factors to predict FV and other prosocial behavior significantly in various samples (e.g., Penner, Dovidio, Piliavin, and Schroeder 2005). Penner (2002:461) includes PSP in his general model of sustained FV, which has been significantly confirmed empirically in longitudinal research on volunteers in an AIDS service nonprofit (Penner and Finkelstein 1998) and separately among hospice volunteers in a related cross-sectional study (Finkelstein, Penner, and Brannick 2005).

In his collaborative research on FV in Russia, Smith (2016c) measured briefly many personality traits in the survey of 2,000 adults (see methodology details in Handbook Chapter 31). He included 17 interview items that tried to assess nine facets of his construct of Active-Prosocial *Personality* (A-PP), as a key aspect of the broader Active-Prosocial *Character* (A-PC), which also includes non-personality factors. Pairs of relevant items (once a triplet) were included that sought to measure four of the FFM traits (with neuroticism vs. emotional stability measured separately, under mental health and affects), plus energy, altruism, efficacy, optimism, and interpersonal trust as traits. All but trust cohered as a general, first factor in a principal components factor analysis, leading to a highly reliable (alpha = .85) 14-item index of A-PP (MAINPERS3_IX; Smith 2017b).

This A-PP index had a Pearson bivariate correlation of r = .38 (below .001 level, two-tailed) with a highly reliable DV index of FV (alpha = .91). Hence, an even broader version of A-PP is validated in these data as a moderate predictor of FV. However, this A-PP predictor was not statistically significant in the 58-predictor OLS regression with FV, likely because of demonstrated collinearity of A-PP with measures of attitude, affect, goal, and self. Trust, which did not cohere with the A-PP, had a much lower but positive and statistically significant

correlation (r = .11) with FV, but also dropped out of the total 58-predictor regression.

(iii) The dark triad: Socially aversive traits.   There are some negative/socially aversive personality traits that likely have negative relationships with FV and other pro-social behavior. Paulhus and Williams (2002) identified and labeled narcissism, Machiavellianism, and psychopathy as the *Dark Triad* – three related negative traits. All three traits are related to emotional empathy deficits, but not to cognitive empathy deficits (Wai and Tiliopoulos 2012). A meta-analytic review by O'Boyle, Forsyth, Banks, Story, and White (2014) examines the research on this set of traits, showing their relationship to the very widely studied Big Five personality traits (Digman 1990; Fetvadjiev and van de Vijver, 2015). Antisociality is a major component of psychopathy, according to a global research review by Neumann, Hare, and Pardini (2014). Although there seems to be no direct research relating such traits to FV or other key measures of pro-social behavior, there is some relevant indirect research dealing with social support, social symptomatology, and counterproductive workplace behavior (e.g., Kellett 2008; Stead, Fekken, Kay, and McDermott 2012; Wu and LeBreton 2011). Significant negative impact of the Dark Triad traits on FV and other pro-social behavior is likely, given the anti-social nature of these traits.

Social anxiety, social phobia, and Avoidant Personality Disorder: There is an important personality dimension having to do with fear of people that can have marked effects on all kinds of pro-social behavior, including FV, that involves direct interaction with others, especially with people outside one's immediate household and nuclear family. The initial stage involves shyness, but when more serious, the trait is termed *social anxiety*, then potentially progressing *to social phobia*, and finally, at the extreme, to *Avoidant Personality Disorder* or *APD* (Reich 2009; Rettew 2010). APD has only recently entered the standard mental health diagnostic manual for clinicians in the United States (DSM-III-R and DSM-IV; Rettew, p. 284). The diagnostic criteria stated in the latter manuals clearly suggest that individuals with APD will likely not do much pro-social behavior in person, including FV. Zimmerman, Rothschild, and Chelminski (2014) interviewed and classified 859 psychiatric outpatients in Rhode Island. Personality disorder was the most frequent diagnosis (45.5%), and within that group, APD was the most frequent such disorder (14.7% of total outpatients studied). Research on 1,427 Norwegian twin pairs indicated that both APD and social phobia had significant genetic influences, as well as environmental influences (Reichborn-Kjennerud, Czajkowski, Torgersen, Neale, Ørstavik, Tambs, and Kendler 2007). Among normal individuals, there is evidence of a related trait, termed *attachment avoidance,* which has been shown to have a negative relationship with FV by Erez, Mikulincer, van Ijzendoorn, and Kroonenberg 2008).

(iv) Other explicit traits.   There are at least 100 other explicit traits that could potentially affect FV and/or other prosocial behavior (PSB), either positively or negatively, but only a few have been investigated recently with this DV (e.g., the intimacy motive should affect PSB; McAdams 1992). Prior research reviews have noted many additional personality traits, not repeated here (Smith 1975, 1994; Musick and Wilson 2008; Wilson 2000; 2012). We will only give a couple of examples here. In a four-year, national sample, longitudinal, panel study in the Netherlands, Bekkers (2012) found that volunteers had higher average trust because less trusting people were more likely to quit volunteering. Van Ingen and Bekkers (2013) used five national sample panel studies to show that individuals who do civic engagement are more trusting, but attributed this to selection effects, not socialization effects. Hence, there is consistent evidence that greater general trust may lead to civic engagement. Greenberg (2001) also found trust to predict FV in a sample from the Philadelphia region in the USA. Uslaner (2002) used US national sample data to show that the trait of optimism led to more trust, which in turn was associated with more civic participation. But trust mainly predicted communal (non-political) FV, not political FV (Uslaner and Brown 2005). In Japan, national sample survey data showed that trust predicted irregular (e.g., episodic) FV, but not regular FV.

The trait of efficacy (locus of control) has also been found to predict FV and civic participation (Fischer and Schaffer 1993; Greenberg 2001; Hidalgo, Moreno-Jiménez, and Quiñonero 2013; Sardinha 2011; Smith 1966; Stukas, Hoye, Nicholson, Brown, and Aisbett 2015).

Prouteau and Wolff (2008) used French national sample survey data to show that an affiliation trait (not directly measured) predicted FV, both association membership and volunteer work. Many people volunteer to make friends and meet other people (see Handbook Chapter 7). Lu (2013) did research on 500 college students in China, finding that people who are more passionate, sincere, and considerate are more likely to volunteer. Dockhorn and Werlang (2009) studied NPO volunteers in Brazil, finding that volunteers tended to be more capable of intimacy, empathetic, considerate, emotionally stable, independent, and conforming than the average for the general population. Bekkers (2010) found empathy associated with greater intention to volunteer. Dong (2015) used US national sample data to show that greater risk propensity is associated with volunteering and with doing so more often.

(b) Implicit Deep Motives and Needs Approach

A fairly recent kind of complexity in studying psychological factors as predictors of FV has been the issue of implicit versus explicit measurement strategies, as noted briefly under the Definitions Section B #1bove. We quote here the relevant text from Handbook Chapter 31 on this issue:

S-Theory states that all of the seven Psyche Macro-IVs (motivations, affects, goals, intellectual capacities, cognitions, pain, and the self *must* be measured both implicitly/unconsciously as well as explicitly/consciously (e.g., by self-report; Smith 2016b). There are several studies that demonstrate the significant influence of implicit motivation on formal volunteering (e.g., Aydinli, Bender, and Chasiotis 2013; Aydinli, Bender, Chasiotis, Cemalcilar, and van de Vijver 2014; Aydinli, Bender, Chasiotis, van de Vijver, and Cemalcilar 2015; Aydinli, Bender, Chasiotis, van de Vijver, Cemalcilar, Chong, and Yue 2015). In Aydinli, Bender, Chasiotis, van de Vijver, Cemalcilar, Chong, and Yue (2015), both explicit and implicit prosocial motivation significantly influence sustained FV.

Perugini, Conner, and O'Gorman (2011) showed that an *explicit* prosocial personality measure of helpfulness significantly affected an index of general volunteering, but *implicit* measures of altruistic attitude and altruistic self-concept did not. By contrast, an implicit measure of altruistic attitude predicted a related DV, specific monthly FV, but the explicit prosocial personality measures did not. Thus, implicit disposition measures may or may not predict FV, thus either reinforcing explicit disposition measures or not. The main point, however, is that implicit disposition measures can at times affect FV and other prosocial behavior. This fact is to be expected from the very large research literature showing the effects of implicit motives on many types of behavior (e.g., Schultheiss and Brunstein. 2010).

3. General attitudes

(a) National sample studies

Not many general attitudes have been examined in multinational research projects, beyond the World Values Survey (Inglehart, Basañez, Caterberg, Diez-Medrano, Moreno, Norris, Siemienska, and Zuasnabar 2010). One exception is a study of religiosity in 15 Western European nations by Paxton, Reith, and Glanville (2014). They found religious salience (as well as private prayer and belief) to predict FV. Some US national sample studies have found general attitudes to predict FV. For instance, Kim and Wilcox (2013) found that *familism*, as a general attitude favoring activity and relationships within the household and family, reduced FV in secular associations. This relationship was stronger when combined with religious congregation involvement. The authors defined *insularity* as a leisure lifestyle that emphasizes congregational and family involvement, while ignoring broader secular and civic involvement. Smith (2017b) found evidence of such insularity in his study of FV in Russia. In the Netherlands, Bekkers (2005) found that a general interest in politics predicted civic volunteering with many other potential confounds controlled. Brady, Verba, and Schlozman (1995), using a US national sample, found political

interest to predict significantly political participation, which is a related kind of pro-social behavior done in leisure time. Clements (2012) used a British national sample panel survey to show that political interest and partisanship predicted environmental FV.

In other national sample research, Manatschal and Freitag (2014) found that among Swiss adults strategic reciprocity predicted FV in non-solidary associations, while altruistic reciprocity had a negative relationship. Sokolowski (1996) found in US survey data that altruism and an interest in self-improvement predicted FV. In another US adult sample, Farrell (2013) found that a general attitude toward the moral status of nature (i.e., being unenchanted/neutral vs. seeing intrinsic value vs. seeing nature as sacred) affected FV, with the middle category of individuals most likely to get involved in an environmental group. Using US national sample data, Okun and Michel (2006) found volunteering was predicted by generative concern, as a general attitude toward helping younger people. Using a US national sample survey, Einolf and Chambré (2011:305) also found generativity (essentially, generative concern) to be a significant predictor of hours of FV per month with many other predictors controlled. They also found obligation to volunteer to be a significant predictor. With a national sample in Japan, Okuyama (2012) found secular (but not religious) association FV to be predicted by positive attitudes toward nonprofits and by civic mindedness, in a regression with other predictors controlled. With a French national sample of associations and some members, Prouteau and Tabariés (2010) found that association leaders had more activist general attitudes/motives than average members.

The general attitude of religiosity has been found to predict FV in many studies. Gibson (2008) used a longitudinal US sample to show that teenaged youth did more FV when they were intensely religious (measured by theological conservatism and frequent church attendance). Using a national adult sample in the UK, Storm (2015) found that secular FV was predicted by religiosity, generalized trust, and individual autonomy attitudes. Haruyo (2014) found that religiosity predicted FV in a Japanese national sample.

Using longitudinal US national sample data, Einolf (2010) measured general moral obligations with a 19-item factor score, and also *extensivity* as a moral sense extended to non-kin and even strangers, with a second factor score. Volunteering time and money to social causes was one item in the set. Moral obligations in the 1995 wave significantly predicted volunteering for altruistic organizations in both the 1995 and 2005 waves of the study (p. 148). Extensivity also significantly predicted volunteering (for non-kin). In a related study, Einolf (2013) found that spirituality predicted FV, with other predictors controlled, including other religious involvement predictors.

(b) Convenience sample studies

As an example of studies using convenience samples, Gallagher and Strauss (1991) reviewed research on union member participation, finding many examples of the influence of general attitudes toward unions and politics. In review articles, Kollmuss and Agyeman (2002) and Dennis and Zube (1988) found various general attitudes toward the environment and ecology predicted environmental FV. Penner (2002:455, 457) used a US convenience sample of 1100+ volunteers and non-volunteers to show that religiosity predicted three measures of FV. Akintola (2011) examined motivations underlying South Africans volunteering in AIDS care, using qualitative data from 57 volunteers, finding that FV was predicted by general attitudes, such as concern about the community, concern for others, and employment benefits. Tsai, Chen, Lui, Tung, Chung, Hu, Yeh, and Huang (2008) found familism to predict low FV in Hong Kong. In a survey with data from 17 nations (mostly Anglo and Western European), Gesthuizen and Scheepers (2012) showed that the general attitude of cosmopolitanism (vs. localism), inferred from the kind of media used by an individual, significantly predicted frequency of association participation per year as FV, with several demographic factors (including education) controlled.

Many other studies of special volunteer samples show that general attitudes predict FV in various nations, sometimes using attitude measures that might be used systematically in predicting any type or measure of FV: altruism (Unger 1991), pro-social attitudes (Briggs, Peterson, and Gregory 2010), prosocial value motive (Carlo et al. 2005), public service motivation (Clerkin, Paynter, and Taylor 2009), social responsibility (Cheung, Lo, and Liu 2014); pro-volunteering attitude (Lammers 1991); civic obligation (Matsuba, Hart, and Atkin. 2007), and confidence in charitable NPOs (Bowman 2004); higher life satisfaction (Sardinha 2011).

Most of the similar general attitudes used by Smith (1966) that could be used in studying any type or measure of FV have been neglected in subsequent research. The extensive research literature on general attitudes in relation to FV show that, for any specific activity type or measure of FV, general attitude items could easily be constructed that will help predict FV (e.g., Dennis and Zube 1988; Forsythe and Welch 1983). Sometimes these prosocial general attitude measures mediate the effects of personality traits on FV (Carlo et al. 2005).

4. Specific attitudes

(a) National sample studies

As noted in the Definitions Section B, #1 above, specific attitudes are combinations of cognitions–perceptions-beliefs and emotions–affects regarding *specific, named objects*, interpreting the latter term broadly. Given this specificity,

national sample research has been rare with this type of predictor of FV. When measured regarding a specific association in a national sample, the procedure has asked respondents about which one or two associations are (a) most important to them or (b) in which they participate most often. Then respondents are asked about specific attitudes toward one or both such associations, if any are named. However, most research on specific attitudes involves special, non-national, convenience samples, usually participants in some specific association.

A few national sample studies have focused on specific attitudes toward one's community of residence. For instance, Okun and Michel (2006) used US national sample data on older respondents to show that FV was predicted by a greater sense of community, with other factors controlled. In his national sample survey of FV in Russia (see methodology description in Handbook Chapter 31), Smith (2017b) found that liking one's community more had a significant correlation (r = .24; .001 level) with an FV index, and remained significant (.001 level) in a regression analysis with many other predictors controlled.

(b) Convenience sample studies

Too many convenience sample studies find specific attitudes to predict FV to be able to cite here, given space constraints, but we will cite a few as examples. Penner (2002:461) found that specific attitudes regarding an individual's relationship to an NPO predicted three measures of FV in a US convenience sample of volunteers and non-volunteers. Grube and Piliavin (2000) used a convenience sample of volunteers for the American Cancer Society to show that rated prestige of an NPO was positively associated with hours worked and negatively associated with intent to leave the volunteer role. Brayley et al. (2015) used a small convenience sample of older Australians to show that subjective norms and attitude toward specific volunteering predicted willingness to volunteer in the future. Omoto and Snyder (1995, 2002) with US volunteer data presented and successfully tested a *volunteer process model* that involves some organizational predictors, such as organizational integration, that are special attitudes (see also Penner, Dovidio, Piliavin, and Schroeder 2005:14.14). Bekkers and de Witt (2014:10) in a literature review suggest that several specific attitudes toward a volunteer-involving organization (VIO) predict FV (i.e., awareness of need, severity of need, reputation of VIO, efficacy of FV in VIO). In a US panel study of members of a socio-political association, the respect received from other members predicted more individual FV (Stürmer, Simon, and Loewy 2008).

Greenslade and White (2005) used panel data from older volunteers in an Australian NPO to show that specific attitudes toward FV in the group predicted more FV. Veludo-de-Oliveira, Pallister, and Foxall (2013) used a sample of

volunteers from a UK charity to show that sustained FV was predicted by a felt specific attitude of subjective norm to participate. In a panel study of volunteers in three Israeli community centers, some specific attitudes predicted volunteer retention as FV (Gidron 1985). Cova, Pace, and Skålén (2015) used Italian data on Alfa Romeo car fans to show specific attitudes led to FV in a fan club, terming such members *brand volunteers*. Chang (2011) found that individuals in Taiwan who are leisure oriented and entertainment oriented, as general attitudes, are more likely to participate in casual/leisure volunteering. For example, people who like to dance, act, or play music (as amateurs, not professionally) tend to devote themselves to similarly performance-oriented volunteer activities at the local and community levels. Sardinha and Cunha (2012), in their study of the Catholic Scouts Association in Portugal, identified two key, general attitudes (latent constructs) that affected volunteering, based on the Volunteer Motivations Inventory: social-oriented motives (SOM) and personal-oriented motives (POM). The first factor, social-oriented motives (SOM), clusters the following key categories of volunteer motivations: values, recognition, social interaction, reciprocity, and understanding. The second factor, POM, clusters the following key categories of motivations: reactivity, self-esteem, social, career development, and protective.

5. Habits

(a) Psychological habits

Research now shows that much of human behavior is rather automatic, performed by habits with little conscious attention, if any (Bargh and Chartrand 1999; Duhigg 2012). However, such psychological habits have seldom been investigated as a predictor of FV, in part because they are difficult to measure accurately, especially in survey research or questionnaires. We could find no empirical studies to cite regarding how and whether psychological habits affect FV, as S-Theory indicates they do.

(b) Life course habits

Life course (L-C) habits have received only superficial research attention in the sense that some research relates current FV to prior FV, especially to childhood or adolescent FV. Because measuring L-C habits nearly always involves self-reports from individuals, these predictors can also be categorized under Cognitions in S-Theory, which is where most demographic predictors are classified. Researchers sometimes use the term *volunteering habits* when inquiring about prior volunteering, without any special attention to the degree to which FV has been an individual's habit (e.g., Haski-Leventhal, Ronel, York, and Ben-David 2008). We treat L-C habits in this chapter under Habits more generally. In general, FV at one point in time tends to predict very well FV at a later point in time, other things equal. (e.g., Penner and Finkelstein 1998; Wilson

and Musick 1997). But the longer the time interval in months, or especially years, the weaker the associations usually become.

L-C habits themselves tend to originate in childhood or adolescence, as part of the developmental and socialization processes for pro-social behavior, building on relevant behavior genetics (Eisenberg 1992; Eisenberg and Mussen 1989; Penner et al. 2004:14.9–14.10; see Handbook Chapter 25). There is now much explicit, often longitudinal, research on experiential antecedents of L-C habits, but not necessarily using the term *L-C habits* or just *habits*. Both parental FV during an individual's childhood and involvement in FVs and student government in secondary school have been shown to predict subsequent individual FV in various studies reviewed in Handbook Chapter 28. For instance, Andolina, Jenkins, Zukin, and Keeter (2003) used US data on youth to show that habits learned at home, lessons from school, and experiences in associations were positively associated with subsequent civic participation. In a US national sample survey, the Corporation for National and Community Service (2005) showed the positive association with more FV when one or both parents do FV (especially regularly) and when the youth attends religious services more frequently, as socialization experiences. A Dutch panel study by Vermeer and Scheepers (2012) showed that religious socialization in Christian families predicted both religious and secular FV later, even controlling for religious congregation involvement. However, Mustillo, Wilson, and Lynch (2004) used US data on two generations of women to show that, over the long-term in one's life, the socio-economic status received from one's parents has a more important as influence on FV than one's parents as role models. But none of these types of studies directly measure the psychological habit involved.

6. Intentions

Although intentions are important predictors for nearly any human behavior, research on intentions as predictors of FV mainly has occurred in the context of testing the Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA; Fishbein and Ajzen 2010) or the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB; Ajzen 1991), as discussed in Handbook Chapter 31. For instance, using panel survey data on volunteers from an Australian NPO, Greenslade and White (2005) found intention to do FV at time 1 to predict FV at time 2 in regression analyses. The TPB was superior to the functional approach, using the Volunteer Functions Inventory (Clary, Snyder, and Ridge (1992), although both approaches had value. In a panel study of a convenience sample of young people, Marta and Pozzi (2008) found that intention to do FV at time 1 predicted FV at time 2. Marta, Manzi, Pozzi, and Vignoles (2014) in a panel study with a convenience sample of Italian volunteers found that role identity as a volunteer predicted intention to volunteer three years later, which in turn predicted FV.

7. Affects/emotions

In the past two to three decades, various measures of affects/emotions have been shown to predict FV in many studies. Commonly used measures have included empathy (and sympathy), positive emotionality, volunteer satisfaction with FV, a match between original goals/motives for FV and actual experience of FV (leading to volunteer satisfaction), volunteer organizational commitment, and volunteer emotional burnout (which predicts exiting the FV). Again, the research literature is large, so only a few examples will be cited.

(a) *Empathy and sympathy*: Eisenberg and Miller (1987:91) did a literature review that showed trait empathy was positively associated with "both prosocial behaviour and cooperative/socially competent behaviour," where implicit, picture/story measures were not. Bekkers (2005) used a Dutch national sample to show that empathic concern predicted FV, with other predictors controlled. Haruyo (2014) found the same relationship in a Japanese national sample. Starnes and Wymer (2000:61) reviewed research on hospice FV, concluding that such volunteers were more empathetic, as well as being more compassionate and sensitive. Paterson, Reniers, and Völim (2009) studied UK telephone helpline volunteers, finding them to be better at perspective taking and empathic concern than non-volunteers among university students.

(b) *Positive emotionality*: Using a factor measure of positive emotionality as being positively and pleasurably engaged with one's social and work environments, based on a very lengthy personality questionnaire, Dawes, Settle, Loewen, McGue, and Iacono (2015) analyzed data from a panel study of twins from the population of Minnesota, USA. They found that time 1 positive emotionality significantly predicted time 2 volunteering. The Mikulincer and Shaver (2009:part III) book has chapters that discuss how positive emotions predict prosocial behavior in general, including empathy, compassion, and forgiveness. Jiménez and Chacón Fuertes (2005) used Spanish data on volunteers to show that positive emotionality was associated with intention to continue FV. Swain, Konrath, Brown, Finegood, Dayton, and Ho (2012) hypothesize the existence of a general non-kin altruism affect/feeling, based on neuroscience research.

(c) *Volunteer satisfaction/enjoyment:* In general, higher volunteer satisfaction predicts the duration of FV in a specific role or NPO, and also predicts that a volunteer with make more financial donations to the NPO, hence being quite important to any association or NPO agency (Barraza 2011; Finkelstein 2007; Wisner, Stringfellow, Youngdahl, and Parker 2005). Galindo-Kuhn and Guzley (2002) devised and tested the Volunteer Satisfaction Index (VSI), which identified four dimensions of this variable: organizational support, participation efficacy, empowerment, and group integration. Testing the VSI on a convenience sample of volunteers, regressions by the authors showed that

participation efficacy and group integration significantly predicted volunteer satisfaction and were also predictors of intent to continue FV. Okun, Infurna, and Hutchinson (2015) used older people (65+ years) in a US national sample panel survey to show that both volunteer satisfaction and volunteer enjoyment predicted more FV hours, which in turn predicted longer FV period of service. Barraza (2011) used panel data on a sample of college student volunteers in California to show that time 1 positive emotional expectations (for sympathy and satisfaction with FV) predicted time 2 intentions to continue volunteering, identification with the volunteer role, and persistence as a volunteer 6 months later for new volunteers. Haivas, Hofmans, and Pepermans (2013) used data on Romanian volunteers to show that the degree of autonomy and competence needs satisfaction mediated the influence of satisfaction on FV intentions. Similarly, satisfaction of the initial VFI motives/goals of sports event volunteers led to more sustained FV (Peachey, Lyras, Cohen, Bruening, and Cunningham 2014). Barbaranelli, Caprara, Capanna, and Imbimbo (2003) used a convenience sample of volunteers in Italian human service NPOs to show that volunteer satisfaction is determined by a disposition to help, self-perceived efficacy, perception of organizational efficacy, and a motivation to volunteer.

(d) *Match between initial goals/motives for FV and actual experience*: According to the extended functional motives approach to explaining FV (Stukas, Worth, Clary, and Snyder 2009), volunteers will be more satisfied with their volunteering if their initial motives/goals for FV are met in their experiences of FV. This is often termed a *matching approach* to the Volunteer Functions Inventory (VFI; Clary, Snyder, and Ridge 1992). Stukas et al. (2009) use a volunteer sample to show that measures of such marching for individuals predict FV better than the VFI goals and affordances (opportunities) alone. Better matching of the individual's initial motives leads to greater satisfaction and resulting organizational commitment, as intentions to continue FV. Many other studies find similar results for FV experiences marching initial VFI motives/goals (e.g., Finkelstein 2007; Güntert, Neufeind, and Wehner 2015; Peachey, Lyras, Cohen, Bruening, and Cunningham 2014).

(e) *Volunteer organizational commitment:* Commitment is an affective/emotional variable, linking the self to an organization and usually to a role within it. In this sense, organization commitment (OC) is also related to the self, as discussed below. OC usually predicts significantly intent to continue FV and actual future FV. For instance, Penner and Finkelstein (1998) used panel data for volunteers in an AIDS service NPO, finding that time 1 OC significantly predicted time 2 FV. Cha, Cichy, and Kim (2011) in a cross-sectional survey of volunteer board and committee members of clubs found similarly that OC predicted intention to continue FV. Grube and Piliavin (2000) and Penner and Finkelstein (1998) both found that OC predicted the length of time volunteers worked for a

service NPO. Laverie and McDonald (2007) found that OC was associated with emotional attachment and role identity importance, which influenced FV.

(f) *Emotional burnout:* Burnout (emotional burnout) occurs in many roles, not just for volunteers, and usually is a response to role stress. This concept refers to an individual being emotionally *sick and tired* of an FV role or associations/VSP, very often leading to a volunteer quitting the FV role. Bakker et al. (2006) note three key aspects of burnout in volunteers; emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and lack of accomplishment, all of which can be predicted significantly by the Big Five/FFM personality traits, reviewed earlier. Starnes and Wymer (2000:61) reviewed research on hospice FV, concluding that such volunteers exited from FV because of "volunteer service [emotional] burnout, communication problems, unrealistic expectations, and insufficient use of the volunteer staff." Cyr and Dowrick (1991) developed and tested a *Burnout Questionnaire* to assess burnout susceptibility among volunteers.

8. Goals/values

(a) The values construct/concept:

The construct or concept of *values* has undergone a renaissance of interest recently in various fields and disciplines (cf. Brosch and Sanders 2016). In 2004, Hitlin and Piliavin titled their review article, "Values: Reviving a Dormant Concept." These authors distinguish values from attitudes, traits, norms, and needs (p. 360). They note (p.361) that, "Roccas et al. (2002) suggest the following differences [between personality traits and values]: Traits are enduring dispositions; values are enduring goals. Traits may be positive or negative; values are considered primarily positive." Hitlin and Piliavin (2004:362) note that "Perhaps the most influential definition of value traces back to Kluckhohn 1951, p. 395): 'A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the *desirable,* which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action.' "

Miles (2015) updates the usual explicit view of values/goals to include implicit/unconscious values. He uses European Social Survey national sample data from 25 nations to show that, like personality and attitudes, values operate with a dual-process model, both implicit and explicit. He shows (p. 680) that, "values predict self-reported behaviors in a variety of substantive domains [including pro-social behaviour] across 25 nations and they operate using automatic cognitive processes."

Dunlop, Bannon, and McAdams (2016) found moderate rank order consistency of the goals across three years in a convenience sample of young adults. Oesterle, Johnson, and Mortimer (2004) found similar consistency in values from adolescence to early adulthood in a panel study of volunteers. However, Okun and Shultz (2003), using a sample of NPO volunteers, found that older

people were more likely to favor social values on the Volunteer Functions Inventory (see below), where younger people favored career and understanding values.

Schwartz has developed the most extensive recent theory of values, or *theory of basic values,* in his terminology (Schwartz 2012). Empirical research in 82 countries so far supports this theory (p. 1), and he developed two instruments to measure individual value priorities (pp. 10–12). Of the 10 virtually universal values, the one most relevant to FV is *benevolence* (p. 7) whose defining goal is "preserving and enhancing the welfare of those whom one is in frequent contact with." That this is a *universal value,* and also that it is ranked #1 in priority among the 10 basic values by people, suggest that here is a solid value basis for prosocial behavior (PSB) and even FV in most cultures/nations. Schwartz distinguishes values from competing constructs such as attitudes, briefs, norms, and [personality] traits (pp. 16–17).

Schwartz and Butenko (2014) have recently validated the Schwartz refined basic values theory (now with 19 values) with Russian data, examining correlations of specific value measures with examples of behavior expected to correlate or not correlate with each value. Benevolence was decomposed into two facets: *caring* for the in-group members and *dependability* in benevolence to in-group members. A meta-analysis of research by Parks-Leduc, Feldman, and Bardi (2015) shows that correlations of the Schwartz values with FFM measures of personality are low, indicating that such traits and values are empirically distinct measures. Fischer and Boer (2015) found somewhat closer correlations between FFM traits and Schwartz values, but variability across 14 nations.

Hitlin and Piliavin (2004:381) stated in their review chapter that "Values are only distally related to behavior." And (ibid.), "Behaviors may also be influenced by more than one value." Further, they argue (p. 382) that values influence behavior through their linkage to the self (see sub-section below). In a recent review article, Cieciuch, Schwartz, and Davidov (2015:45) discuss when values tend to be activated by individuals as influences on behavior (e.g., when individuals are planning and acting rationally, rather than impulsively, and have thought about tangible implications of implementing values).

(b) The Value Functions Inventory (VFI):

Clary and Snyder (1991) introduced the *functional approach* to motivation for FV, and developed the VFI instrument, which has been widely used in the past two decades. In terms of S-Theory, the motives studied by the VFI are indeed values or Goals, as in the name of the instrument. Basically, the authors have identified six goals/values that they believe are common motives for formal volunteers, and measure them with significant distinctiveness (cf. Clary and Snyder, 1999; Clary, Snyder, and Ridge 1992; Clary, Snyder, Ridge, Copeland, Stukas, Haugen, and Miene 1998). Both these authors, and many others, have

shown for US data and some other nations that one or more of the six VFI goals/values predicts both volunteer satisfaction and (variably) either intention for future FV, duration of future FV, and/or hours of FV done (Brayley et al. 2015; Clary and Snyder 1999; Finkelstein 2007; Omoto and Snyder 1995; Stukas, Hoye, Nicholson, Brown, and Aisbett 2015; Stukas, Snyder, and Clary 2015). Multiple values and especially other-oriented/altruistic values of the VFI (helping, understanding) usually predict FV better than the other values (e.g., Gage and Thapa 2012; Marta, Guglielmetti, and Pozzi 2006; Stukas, Hoye, Nicholson, Brown, and Aisbett 2015). The VFI values predicted organizational commitment for student volunteers in Malaysia (Nazilah, Rozmi, and Fauziah 2012). When FV experiences match initial VFI motives, volunteers tend to be more satisfied with their FV, which leads to more future FV intentions and behavior, as discussed previously in sub-section D, #7, d.

Although the VFI approach has shown itself to be useful in explaining and predicting volunteer satisfaction, commitment, future intention for FV, and actual FV, this approach by itself rarely if ever explains much of the variance in FV. VFI measures added 7% of the variance to explain willingness to volunteer in the future in a small Australian convenience sample of older people (Brayley et al. 2015; Shye (2010) provides a general critique of the VFI functional approach, summarized in Wilson (2012:181): "Overall, the scheme can be faulted for being eclectic with no clear theoretical basis for the functions or their overall number; the functions cannot be shown to be exhaustive or exclusive; and they are not all of the same level of generality." In addition, there is susceptibility to social desirability response set, with VFI items suggesting volunteering motives/goals that the respondent would not otherwise have considered and that also may be false. Motivations can vary in their salience in different situations, and the VFI approach does not deal with this issue. Nonetheless, the VFI/functional approach is useful in its place, especially if or when supplemented with other measures of goals/values and by the rest of the predictors of FV suggested by S-Theory (e.g., Smith 2017a, 2017b).

(c) Miscellaneous values

A variety of studies in the United States and elsewhere have shown different goals/values than the VFI set to be relevant to predicting FV. For instance, Güntert et al. (2015) found it necessary to add two new values to the set of six measured by the VFI (excitement and good citizenship) when studying sports event FV, and found these to help predict FV. There is no good reason for a researcher to confine oneself to measuring only the six VFI goals/values if one wishes to explain more variance in FV (see prior paragraph).

A general problem in asking any respondents about their various goals/values regarding FV is that the results are unlikely to be accurate. The qualitative/

open-ended verbal responses are generally *motive talk*, rather than deep revelations regarding causality (see Section D, #1, above). The key reason for that inherent ignorance is the fact discovered by recent neuroscience that the conscious segments of human brains are totally unconnected to the central decision-making segments (cf. Gazzaniga 2008:294–300, 2011:chapter 3). Unfortunately, the same criticism of self-reports applies also perfectly to fixed-answer questionnaire items of any kind.

All self-reports of any kind are estimates, sometimes mere uninformed guesses, regarding motivations, affects, and goals/values. The demonstrated existence of implicit/unconscious motivations, affects, goals, and cognitions adds to the unreliability of self-report data in predicting FV or any other behavior, even when people are trying to tell the truth as they see it. However, the very large amount of variance in FV explained by S-Theory (Smith 2017b) using Russian survey interview data suggests that not all is lost. With careful and redundant (that is, repeated, multi-item) questioning, a researcher can find out by self-report many useful estimates of an individual's true motivations, etc. If this were *not* true, large amounts of variance in FV or other pro-social behavior could not be explained in large samples, with corrections for degrees of freedom. Random numbers cannot explain much variance in any behavior if appropriate corrections are made for statistical degrees of freedom.

There have been some national sample surveys in various nations that investigated goals/values with fixed-answer self-report formats. Bekkers (2005) used Dutch national sample survey data to show that post-materialist values/goals significantly predicted FV with many other predictors controlled. In another article, Bekkers and Bowman (2009) used a Dutch national sample panel survey to show that FV was predicted by confidence in charities (as a general attitude), which was taken to be a proxy for altruistic values (which predicted FV when charity confidence was not in the regression). In a national sample of elderly Belgians (65+ years), Dury, De Donder, De Witte, Buffel, Jacquet, and Verté (2015) found that altruistic values and also religiosity (treated in this chapter as a general attitude, but also reflecting a personal value) significantly predicted FV with many other predictors controlled statistically. Both of these factors also predicted potential volunteering, if an individual were to be asked to do FV.

Various other studies, using convenience samples, have also found goals/values to predict FV in various nations: Boz and Palaz (2007) for Turkey; Chang (2011) and Chou (1995) for Taiwan; Corbin, Mittelmark, and Lie (2016) for Tanzania; DiMaggio (1996) for the United States; Ghose and Kassam (2014) for India; Ralston and Rhoden (2005) for the UK; Shantz, Saksida, and Alfes (2014) for the UK; Vellekoop-Baldock (1990) for Australia; Wilkinson Maposa, Fowler, Evans, and Mulenga (2005) for South Africa. Batson, Ahmad, and Tsang (2002) emphasized four broad types of goals/values that are hypothesized to

predict civic participation, based on much prior research on helping behavior: egoism, altruism, collectivism, and principlism.

9. Intellectual capacities/IQ

Contemporary research on intelligence distinguished many kinds of intelligence, or *intelligences*, no longer relying on a single measure of IQ (e.g., Gardner 2011). S-Theory suggests that the key types of intelligence influencing FV are general intelligence (as a holdover version of IQ), verbal-linguistic intelligence, and social intelligence. Some research supports these hypotheses, although the influence of intelligences on FV has rarely been studied.

Gesthuizen and Scheepers (2012), included in their cross-national research one overall measure for cognitive competence connected to formal education as a determinant of volunteering. They created an index of cognitive competence (general intelligence) based on performance measures that referred to prose, document, and quantitative literacy. With various other demographic factors, including formal education, controlled statistically in multilevel regression analyses, the authors showed that cognitive competence of the individual was a significant predictor of frequency of association participation per year as FV (p. 70). Formal education of the individual and of his/her parents were still statistically significant, but were much reduced in strength as predictors of FV. *Thus, much of the apparent influence of formal education on FV, found nearly everywhere, is likely a result of educational selectivity for more cognitively competent individuals.*

There are very few national sample surveys studying FV that include measures of intellectual capacities. Most researchers seem either uninterested in this variable or unaware that it can be simply measured in a survey interview by a few vocabulary items. The national US sample survey by Brady, Verba, and Schlozman (1995) is an exception, focusing on the explanation of political participation, which is a kind of pro-social behavior done in leisure time. Verbal intelligence was measured by a 10-item vocabulary test, which correlated r = .51 with formal education (p. 273). In an OLS regression analysis (p. 280), verbal intelligence was a significant predictor of overall political participation, which included a few direct FV measures like political meeting attendance.

In the national sample survey of FV by Russian adults reported by Smith (2015a, 2017b), the verbal intelligence measure was six-item antonyms test (alpha = .66). The bivariate correlation of intelligence with a highly reliable, six-item measure of FV (alpha = .91) was r = .17 (significant at the .001 level, two-tailed). When verbal intelligence was entered into an OLS regression with 57 other potential predictors of FV, it remained significant (.05 level), though weak in beta weight strength.

Social intelligence has also been studied a bit, but not much, in relation to FV. Clearly, this kind of intelligence should theoretically have some positive

association with FV, especially for leadership roles. In 1939, Chapin was the first researcher to examine how social intelligence relates to FV, finding a positive relationship in a convenience sample. Very recently, Carl and Billari (2014) used US national sample data to show that trust and *verbal* intelligence are significantly and fairly substantially correlated, as has been shown elsewhere several times. In seeking explanations for this finding, one hypothesis advanced was that more intelligent people are better able to assess the trustworthiness of other people, hence showing social intelligence. This needs to be tested with direct measures of emotional intelligence as well as verbal intelligence.

10. Cognitions, information, experiences, beliefs, ideologies

Cognitions as a concept refers to a very broad category of predictors in S-Theory. Its contents range from immediate perceptions during every waking moment of ones' life all the way to coherent ideologies that involve a large set of beliefs (e.g., religious ideology, political ideology). Also included are all of the memories one has of past experiences, including implicit memories of most (perhaps all) of the experiences one has ever had, remembered consciously or not. We can only scratch the surface of the relevant research literature here.

We have already considered experiences as predictors to some extent when we focused on the matching of FV experiences to initial motives/goals of volunteers in examining the VFI under Affects (e.g., Clary, Snyder, Ridge, Copeland, Stukas, Haugen, and Miene 1998; Finkelstein 2008; Peachey, Lyras, Cohen, Bruening, and Cunningham 2014; see also Section D, #7, c and d above). Clearly, all psychological factors develop over the lifespan, largely based on experiences, but initially also based significantly (often substantially) on maturation, genetics, and epigenetics (e.g., Grusec and Hastings 2008; Santrock 2015). Leu and Cheng (2005) found that *generational experience* (or the *cohort effect*) is an important determinant for volunteering behavior in Taiwan. Individuals within the same age cohort tended to embrace similar values. The authors found that people aged 50 or above in Taiwan were generally less willing to participate in voluntary activities than other generations.

Various studies of FV point to prior experiences as predictors of FV (e.g., Gazley 2013; Liarakou, Kostelou, and Gavrilakis 2011). But we will focus here on two types of cognition studies: cost-benefit perceptions, and beliefs/perceptions, as predictors of FV.

(a) Cost–benefit perceptions:

Many studies over the past six decades have examined perceptions of cost and benefits as predictors of FV, reflecting a rational choice theory (RCT) approach. An early example was the study by Rogers, Heffernan, and Warner (1972). Somewhat more recently, Prestby, Wandersman, Florin, Rich, and Chavis (1990) studied 29 block associations in New York City, finding that more FV was associated with perceiving more social/communal and more personal

benefits. Similarly, Norton, Wandersman, and Goldman (1993) found cost-benefit perceptions to be associated with FV in self-help groups. Some other recent studies find the same positive associations of perceived cost-benefit balance influencing FV (Handy and Mook 2011; Lee and Brudney 2009; Morrow-Howell, Hong, and Tang 2009; Warburton, Terry Rosenman, and Shapiro 2001).

(b) Other beliefs/perceptions:

Bekkers and de Witt (2014) hypothesized that FV would be greater when individuals perceived the efficacy/success of their activities. A few studies support this idea. Martinez and McMullin (2004) studied decisions to do FV for a recreational association, finding that perceived efficacy was an important factor, as were competing commitments. Passy and Giugni (2001) studied participants in the Swiss solidarity movement, finding that perceived effectiveness of one's possible future activity in the organization was a key factor affecting FV.

Other studies show that FV tends to be greater when individuals:

• Perceive a psychological contract with the organization (Vantilborgh et al. 2013).
• Have more intense religious belief (Forbes and Zampelli 2014).
• Perceive a norm of reciprocity (Layton and Moreno 2014).
• Perceive a social norm of protecting the environment (García-Valiñas, Macintyre, and Torgler 2012).
• Perceive neighborhood user-friendliness and sociability (Buffel, De Donder, Phillipson, Dury, de Witte, and Verté 2014).
• Have more religious belief (Paxton, Reith, and Glanville 2014).
• Perceive respect from other organization members (Stürmer, Simon, and Loewy 2008).
• Perceive a social norm about doing something illegal or unethical as long as no one finds out, scored negatively to predict less FV (Okuyama 2012).
• Expectations for satisfaction from FV (Barraza 2011).
• Perceive task and emotional support as likely from organization (Boezeman and Ellemers 2008).
• Perceive volunteering time is convenient for own work schedule (Miller, Powell, and Seltzer. 1990).
• Perceive efficacy/effectiveness of own FV in the volunteer-using organization (Mayer, Fraccastoro, and McNary 2007).
• Perceive more personal control over their FV behavior, as part of the Theory of Planned Behavior (Brayley et al. 2015).

11. Pain felt

Serious and lasting pain as a predictor of FV has received virtually no research attention, although S-Theory states that such pain markedly reduces or

eliminates FV and most other PSB (Smith 2017a). Thomas, Peat, Harris, Wilkie, and Croft (2004) found that severe pain interferes with many kinds of behavior, but do not mention FV. Smith (2017b) studied pain as a predictor of FV in his analysis of a Russian national sample. He found no significant effect of pain on FV, possibly because the interview item did not elicit enough individuals with serious pain in the past 12 months.

12. Self and role identity

Study of how the self relates to FV is a relatively recent development, mainly occurring in the past 25 years or so. Some identity researchers (e.g., Grube and Piliavin 2000; Piliavin and Callero 1991) analyzed the transformation of the sense of self that is affected by, and that in turn sustains, volunteering. Using the national representative survey of blood donors, Pilavin and Callero (1999) found that the individuals who identified themselves more as blood donors judged the likelihood of future blood donations to be higher than those for whom donor identities are less salient. This *role identity approach* has been subsequently taken up in studying FV. The concept has also been termed *identity fusion* by some, but still leads to sustained FV (Swann and Buhrmester 2015). Making a connection with value theory, Hitlin (2003) argues that values form a core of personal identity as the self, with various values predicting the volunteer identity.

Wilson (2012:180–181) reviews several recent studies that show that involvement of the self with the volunteering role predicts FV, often quite strongly. Self-identity as a volunteer can be a very important and salient social identity, with special relevance to continuing, sustained FV, as contrasted with initial FV (Chacon, Vecina, and Davila. 2007; Finkelstein 2008a, 2008b; Finkelstein, Penner, and Brannick 2005; Laverie and McDonald 2007; Marta and Pozzi 2008; Matsuba, Hart, and Atkins 2007; Penner 2002). Verplanken and Holland (2002) showed that behavioral decisions are much affected by values important to the self. Various panel/longitudinal studies confirm the importance of role identity for FV over the long term (eg., Barraza 2011; Finkelstein 2008a; Marta, Manzi, Pozzi, and Vignoles 2014; Stürmer, Simon, and Loewy 2008). Marta and Pozzi (2008) found role identity to be the best predictor of intention to do FV in a panel study of a convenience sample of young people.

The critical importance of the self to sustained FV is further shown by Boezeman and Ellemers (2007), whose study of fund-raising volunteers showed that pride and respect received from an organization directly affect volunteer commitment and hence FV. A meta-analysis by Lodi-Smith and Roberts (2007) supported the importance of role identity or psychological/self investment in the FV role for predicting FV. Cialdini, Brown, Lewis, Luce, and Neuberg (1997) provided evidence that role identity, or *oneness* as they term it, explains why empathic concern seems to predict FV. They show that using oneness as a

predictor reduces the importance of empathic concern as a predictor of FV, turning the situation into a self-oriented mode.

13. Combining all factors to predict FV

Studies on national sample survey data that use many, let alone all or nearly all, of the predictor types identified and discussed in this chapter, are very rare indeed. Some multivariate models with several types of factors used to explain FV are discussed in Handbook Chapter 31. In the most comprehensive attempt so far, Smith (2015a, 2017b) applied his new S-Theory (2014b, 2015a, 2017a) to explaining volunteering in a large (N = 2,000 adults) national sample survey of Russian adults (see more details in Handbook Chapter 31). Measures of psychological predictors such as personality traits, general attitudes, intention, affects, goals, verbal intelligence, cognitions, felt pain, and the self were included.

In OLS multiple regression analyses, the Russian interview data showed that these various psychological predictors, such as those reviewed in this chapter, were substantial predictors of a very reliable dependent variable criterion of FV (alpha reliability = .91). Some 63.6% of the FV variance was explained (Smith 2017b). Adding 34 more non-psychological (e.g., social background, health, context) predictors only increased the FV variance by a few percent (from 63.6 to 67.4%; ibid.).

E. Usable knowledge

When one considers genetic, health, macro- and meso-context, and demographic predictors of FV (see Handbook Chapters 25, 26, 27, 28, and 29), it is usually hard to make use of accumulated knowledge in supporting and enhancing FV and organizations where FV takes place, mainly associations worldwide. But many of the psychological factors described in this chapter have easier applications as usable knowledge. One could screen for individuals with more promising/pro-social personalities, but this does not fit well with the goals of most associations. Personality screening might work better with volunteer service programs (VSPs).

Perhaps the most readily manipulated FV causal factors reviewed here are attitudes, habits, intentions, goals, and cognitions, with affecting individual's sense of self also possible. Recruitment efforts can make use of the knowledge reviewed here in direct mail, email, and social media. Posters can also be used. The experiences of active members and volunteers can be managed so as to provide various rewarding experiences, foster role identity, and develop satisfaction of initial VFI values of a volunteer or member and other motives/goals.

National governments can play an important role in providing a favorable environment both for associations and for volunteering. Research has shown that active support for both youth and senior volunteering can grow only

where the general social and cultural context appreciates and supports the contribution both of youth and of elderly citizens and of voluntary action by them. Similar support by both governments and also by private foundations is also needed for associations and volunteering involving the mid-age-range of people.

F. Future trends and needed research

The likely future trend in the next few decades is for motivational and other psychological factors to become increasingly important as observed influences on volunteering. The observed relevance/importance of demographic predictors will likely decline substantially as the underlying psychological factors are measured properly and included in regressions, as in the Russian S-Theory survey (Smith 2017b).

Much more research is needed on psychological factors in volunteering and civic participation. While much relevant research has been done in past few decades, most of it has been done on small, often haphazard/convenience samples, and has used only a small set of types of psychological measures. Very rarely has any single study included a variety of measures of personality, attitudes, affects/emotions, goals/intentions, intellect, cognitions, and the self, as done in Smith (2015a, 2017b) with substantial success. To get very high R^2 results, there must be substantial variation in the FV or other criterion measure and also in crucial predictors, otherwise limited variation will significantly reduce the R^2 found.

Also very important is testing the various psychological predictors of FV in a wide variety of nations. As Henrich, Heine, and Norenzayan (2010) have shown clearly, people from WEIRD nations are generally quite unlike most other people on the planet. This adjective *WEIRD* refers to nations that are Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic. However dominant such nations are in current geopolitics, data from samples of WEIRD nations are seriously biased if the researcher wishes to generalize to humans on earth. Thus, it is crucial for FV research and all other research to be done on samples from non-WEIRD nations as well as on samples from WEIRD nations

As Handbook Chapters 26 and 50 have shown, national characteristics vary markedly in relation to effects on FV and other criterion variables. Inkeles and Smith (1974), among others (e.g., Inglehart et al. 2010), have shown that the industrialization and modernization processes change the average personality of people in nations transitioning from agrarian to industrial societies/economies. The *modern* [modal; average] *personality* has traits that make such persons far more likely to join and participate in associations or VSPs than the average person in an agrarian economy. Inglehart et al. (2010) have further shown that post-modernization, as a result of becoming information-service

societies, also changes people's attitudes and values in ways conducive to certain kinds of volunteering and association participation.

Similarly, democratization tends to lead to average/modal personalities that are conducive to volunteering of both main types, FV and INV (Smith 1995). Both industrialization and democratization have been long-term trends in world societies for the past century or two, although the trend for democratization is variable through time (Huntington 1991; Inglehart 1997; Inglehart and Welzel 2005; Lijphart 1999). Some scholars and social observers think that democratization may have reached a plateau in the past decade or two, perhaps even retreating some globally (Diamond 1999; Kurlantzick 2013). For these reasons in part, the future trend toward more impact of psychological factors (vs. social roles and demographics) in volunteering and association participation is suggested here. Longitudinal panel surveys are also crucial here, to observe changes in national population characteristics in relation to psychological predictors of FV.

What we most need now are national sample surveys, especially multinational surveys such as the World Values Survey (Inglehart et al. 2010), that include many *types* of psyche measures identified here, as suggested comprehensively now by S-Theory (Smith 2014b, 2015a, 2017a). In addition, future research on Psyche IVs needs to measure *un*conscious/implicit versions of attitudes, emotions, goals, cognitions, and the self, rather than only conscious/explicit versions. This is a crucial methodological principle of S-Theory (Smith 2015a, 2017b). Panel studies with several time points or waves of data collection will be especially important as we try to sort out the multivariate complexity of explaining FV.

G. Cross-references

Chapters 28, 31, and 38.

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31

S-Theory as a Comprehensive, Interdisciplinary Explanation of Volunteering and Pro-Social Behavior

David H. Smith (USA) with Stijn Van Puyvelde[1] (Belgium)

A. Introduction

Part IV of the Handbook reviews major influences on why people start, continue, and stop formal volunteering (FV) or never volunteer in the first place. As usual in this Handbook, we focus on FV, not informal volunteering (INV). Simply put, the central question of this chapter is, "How much of the total variance in FV measures can be explained and by which major types of explanatory variables, both directly and indirectly, and through interaction effects?" The answers to this question will be partial, owing to insufficient research that simultaneously uses all the major variable types of Part IV in the same research projects. The answers will also vary according to which type of measure of FV is used as a dependent variable (DV).

Thus, in this chapter, we try to fit the many types of influences together into a coherent overall picture of why people do or do not volunteer as individuals. Several prior theories of volunteering are reviewed here and elsewhere from four socio-behavioral science disciplines – psychology, sociology, and economics in this chapter. A similar review of relevant research on political volunteering was presented in Handbook Chapter 23, from the viewpoint of political science.

Smith's (2014b, 2015, 2017a, 2017b) S-Theory is presented briefly, with the results of partially testing that model using national sample survey data on adult Russians. S-Theory incorporates the full range of explanatory variables (independent variables/IVs) reviewed in the chapters of Part IV (Four) of the Handbook. By explaining an adjusted R^2 of 0.674 (67.4% of the variance) in a reliable index of formal volunteering (FV), S-Theory is shown to be a very powerful human science theory of FV (and of other pro-social behavior in related articles), even when only tested partially.

This test of S-Theory using survey interview data necessarily omits measures of implicit/unconscious Psyche variables and also measures of behavior genetics (an individual's specific genes) affecting volunteering, which are also required by S-Theory for the comprehensive explanation of any behavior. The measures

of the Self included are very limited, and many Body and Environment IVs are also omitted.

B. Definitions

Standard definitions of volunteering are used from the Appendix of the Handbook. In addition, it is important for the reader to understand the concepts of correlation coefficients, multiple regression analysis (MRA), and variance explained.

Correlation coefficients are statistics that represent the degree of relationship between two variables, ranging from r = –1.00 to +1.00. The sign of a correlation tells us which end of one variable goes with which end of another variable. Negative correlations mean that the high end of one variable is associated with the low end of the other variable. Positive correlations indicate that the high end of one variable goes with the high end of the other. Although there are other types of correlations, we will refer uniformly to Pearson correlations here, symbolized as *r*, which make assumptions about ratio scale measurement and the normality of statistical distributions of the variables used.

Multiple regression analysis (MRA) involves computation of multiple correlation coefficients, which represent the combined statistical influences of two or more explanatory/predictor (independent) variables as IVs on a DV being explained or predicted. Henceforth, we shall simply say *explained*, since the statistical techniques for prediction and explanation are identical, with only the time of computation varying (before vs. after an event or outcome). Multiple correlation coefficients are symbolized by a capital *R*, similar to the small *r* symbolizing the two-variable (bivariate) Pearson correlation coefficient. The original form of MRA was Ordinary Least Squares (OLS), but now there are many more recent versions.

Variance explained refers to how well one or more IVs can account for the variation in DV scores or data. With a Pearson correlation coefficient, *r*, the variance explained is the square of the *r* ($r \times r = r^2$), ranging from 0.00 to 1.00 as a proportion (which can also be expressed as a percentage of the total variance, from 0.0% to 100.0%). OLS MRA is especially valuable because the multiple R^2 ($R \times R$) is the variance explained by the MRA, also ranging from 0.0 to 1.0 as a proportion, or from 0.0% to 100.0% as a percentage. The proportion 1.00, and also the corresponding percentage 100.0%, both represent perfect statistical explanation/prediction. Although correlation coefficients estimate roughly the strength of a relationship, the variance explained is a more accurate measure, whether r^2 for two variables (one IV and one DV) or R^2 for more IVs. Unfortunately, several of the more recent statistical versions of MRA do not provide valid estimates of the explained variance, which limits their usefulness for the present chapter. Time series MRA, with panel data for two or more time

points on the same individuals, gives more insight into causality, without fully demonstrating such causality.

C. Historical background

Empirical study of the multiple influences of major IVs on DV measures of FV, including association membership or association activity, has only been done since about 1950. Smith (1966) cites some earlier studies and performs OLS MRAs that estimate the general effects of several main types of IVs. Earlier studies of the various influences on volunteering rarely used MRA. Further MRA studies of FV were reported in Part 2 of Smith, Reddy, and Baldwin (1972b), Smith (1975), and Smith (1994). In the past few decades, MRA approaches have become more common (e.g., Musick and Wilson 2008; Wilson 2000, 2012).

What has been special about research on volunteering and civic participation in the past couple of decades has been the inclusion of a wide range of predictors and the development of highly multivariate models in various socio-behavioral sciences, as is shown in this chapter. Cross-sectional research (one time data collection only) still dominates in frequency, but also special has been the increasing use of longitudinal, time series, or panel studies of participation (data collection at two or more times on the same individuals).

D. Key issues

1. Measures of volunteering and civic participation

Which kinds of measures of FV have received sufficient research with multiple types of explanatory variables to permit us to estimate, even roughly, the impact of particular IV types? A preliminary review of the literature suggests that measures of (a) number of association memberships (or, more commonly, number of association membership *types* selected from a list provided to the respondent), (b) active membership in associations (attending meetings and other events, committee work, leadership and board activity, as types of FV for one's association), (c) hours per week or month spent in service volunteering (whether in associations or in volunteer service programs/VSPs) and (d) length of time in months or years doing FV have received the most attention. Hence, many, actually most, measures of volunteering have received insufficient research attention relative to these four common measures.

Smith (2014a) listed many more types of potential measures of FV and INV, as follows, with subsequent additions (N = 35):

- Decision to volunteer in a VSP
- Decision to become an official member of an association

- Decision to engage in informal volunteering (INV) (no group or organization involved)
- Beginning to do informal volunteering with some specific person
- Activating official membership in a specific association
- Becoming an active member in a specific association (some volunteer work done)
- Activity on a committee of a specific association
- Formal/official leadership in a specific association (usually, elected by the members)
- Informal/unofficial leadership in a specific association (often as a former elected officer or board member)
- Beginning volunteering (volunteer work) in a specific VSP
- Performing a special role of volunteer responsibility in a specific VSP
- Intensity of formal volunteering (FV) (e.g., hours per week or month) in an association or VSP
- Intensity of informal volunteering (e.g., hours per week or month)
- Duration of formal volunteering in time units (e.g., number of months or years served)
- Duration of informal volunteering in time units (e.g., number of months served)
- Temporal patterning of volunteering – regular/habitual, episodic/short-term, and so on.
- Number of INV recipients in a given month or year.
- Number of INV events/episodes in past week or month.
- Intention or decision to exit formal volunteering from a specific association or VSP
- Intention or decision to exit informal volunteering for a specific recipient
- Exit from formal volunteering for a specific association or VSP
- Exit from informal volunteering for a specific recipient
- Re-entry into (rejoining) FV of the same or a similar sort
- Life history pattern of formal volunteering for associations and VSPs
- Life history pattern of informal volunteering for a specific recipient
- Life history pattern of informal volunteering for all recipients
- Formal volunteering in prior specific periods of time (day, week, month, year, decade)
- Informal volunteering in prior specific periods of time (day, week, month, year, decade)
- Intensity of current total pattern of formal volunteering (low to high overall)
- Intensity of current total pattern of informal volunteering (low to high overall)
- Variety of current total pattern of formal volunteering (low to high overall variety)

- Variety of current total pattern of informal volunteering (low to high overall variety)
- Planned/intended future intensity of formal and informal volunteering (low to high overall)
- Planned/intended future variety of formal and informal volunteering (low to high overall)
- Full range of other socio-culturally approved leisure activities (including the Leisure General Activity Pattern, or LGAP; see Handbook Chapter 5).

Civic participation can be seen conceptually as a very broad version of volunteering or of individual voluntary action, in Smith's view here. Cnaan and Park (2016) present a comprehensive list of types of civic participation, including volunteering, association participation, charitable giving, pro-environmental behaviors, various political and social behaviors, and supporting or helping others (informal volunteering). No single study has ever come close to including adequate measures of all of these.

Another important aspect of the measurement of volunteering and civic participation involves the stages or time phases of such participation. Most research on this field focuses on the initial stage, either the decision or intent to volunteer or current volunteering. More recently, however, it has become clear that sustained or continued volunteering is especially important for associations, and also for volunteer service programs (VSPs), as volunteer departments of larger, parent organizations. The predictors of such stage two *sustained volunteering* may be different, at least in emphasis/weights, from the predictors of stage one *entry volunteering* (e.g., Chacon, Vecina, and Davila 2007). These two stages can be expanded to sub-phases: Entry decision-making versus actual entry; sustained volunteering versus exit decision-making versus actual exit. Haski-Leventhal and Bargal (2008) presented a detailed version of five such stages, although the first author has been advocating six for decades. Attention can also be given to a re-entry phase, for instance, when an individual moves to a new place of residence. Omoto and Snyder (1995, 2002) similarly present a set of sequential stages for formal volunteering

2. Interrelationships of volunteering and civic participation measures

Another key question concerns how the above measures interrelate statistically with each other, such as in a factor analysis, in major surveys that measure two or more of them. Unfortunately, we have found no studies that come close to measuring more than a few of the above aspects of volunteering or civic participation in the same study, hence preventing a comprehensive answer to this question about interrelationships. In general, however, formal volunteering is substantially correlated with informal volunteering/INV (Einolf 2011; Smith 2015). One fundamental reason is that both are central types of prosocial

behavior – behavior that seeks to benefit one or more other people, for whatever reasons. When we study FV or any other aspects of prosocial behavior, we may expect similar underlying psychological and other influences.

We differentiate *INV* from the label *IV*, which refers to an independent variable or explanatory/predictive variable. Any measure of either FV or INV usually correlates positively and significantly with other measures of either or both. Handbook Chapter 5 reviews many studies that have supported this relationship, with research also showing that both FV and INV are usually correlated positively with various other kinds of socio-culturally approved leisure behavior. The positive manifold (set of positive correlations) of societally approved leisure activities is termed the *Leisure General Activity Pattern* (LGAP). In Handbook Chapter 5, much empirical evidence is presented for the LGAP from prior research, including volunteering and civic participation as part of the LGAP.

3. Prior multivariate models/theories: Psychological perspectives

(The Sub-section #3 below quotes from Smith 2017a, with permission.)

In the past two or three decades, psychology and psychologists have made great strides toward a more truly interdisciplinary approach to human behavior, as well as toward more sophisticated methodology. Especially important has been the shift in social psychology research in recent decades from studying mainly bystander intervention in problem situations/personal crises as pro-social behaviour to studying various other forms of pro-social behavior, including volunteering (cf. Piliavin 2009).

The recent great strides in this subfield of social psychology regarding prosocial behavior can be seen in various recent books summarizing such research (e.g., Brown, Brown, and Penner 2011; Dovidio, Piliavin, Schroeder, and Penner 2006; Mikulincer and Shaver 2009; Schroeder and Graziano 2015; Schroeder, Penner, Dovidio, and Piliavin 1995; Semin and Echterhoff 2010; Stürmer and Snyder 2010). There are also key review articles on the determinants of pro-social behavior (e.g., Eisenberg and Miller. 1987; Keltner, Kogan, Piff, and Saturn 2014; Penner, Dovidio, Piliavin, and Schroeder 2005; Piliavin and Charng 1990).

Fishbein and Ajzen long ago began one major new line of theory and research in their Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA), summarized in Fishbein and Ajzen (2010). For them, intention (IN in S-Theory, one kind of Motivation/M as a Key Psyche Macro-IV) to do a certain action/behavior, fully explains that action/behavior. A meta-analysis of many independent studies and of other meta-analyses showed that such intention explained about

28% of the variance in behavior on average (squaring the reported average multiple R =.53; p. 48).

Starting with a simpler model, Fishbein and Ajzen progressed to a model of human behavior that asserts intention is in turn determined by three immediately prior variables (pp. 398–399) – *attitude toward the behavior* (in S-Theory, AB, which is one kind of Felt Specific Attitude/FSA, under the key Macro-IV of M/Motivation in the Psyche Mega-IV), *perceived social norm* (PNC/Perceived Norm of Close people in S-Theory, as a specific kind of C/Cognition as a Key Macro-IV in the Psyche Mega-IV), and *perceived behavioral control/PBC* or self-efficacy (PCS/Perceived Control over Self and body in the Micro-Environment, in S-Theory, under Cognition/C as a key Macro-IV in the Psyche Mega-IV).

The slightly improved Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB), as stated by Ajzen (1985, 1991), adds Perceived Behaviour Control (PBC) along with Intention as the only two *direct* determinants of behavior. Two small, convenience sample studies of the TPB in Australia show quite high R^2 (62%; 67%) using the TPB cognitions variables, but both predicted willingness to volunteer in the future not actual volunteering (Brayley et al. 2015; Hyde and Knowles 2013). However, both the TRA and TPB seem to have outlived their usefulness, and are clearly incorrect models of behavior (Sniehotta, Presseau, and Araújo-Soares 2014). The main problem is *not* that the predictors involved are unimportant, but rather that neither Intention, nor Intention plus PBC, predict behavior very well by themselves as demanded by these two theories. Many additional predictors are needed, as in S-Theory, other models, and studies by many other researchers, as shown in this chapter.

Intensive study of the influence of Goals/G and Intentions/IN on behavior has been an important recent trend in psychology, usually taking a much broader approach than Fishbein and Ajzen (e.g., Gollwitzer and Bargh 1996; Gollwitzer and Sheeran 2006; Moskowitz and Grant 2009). Goals and Intentions, as S-Theory IV types, have a central focus, respectively, on achieving a specific, future, valued state or outcome, and on specific behavior plans to perform behavior in order to achieve some desired outcome. A revolutionary change in the study and understanding of goals occurred about 1990, when psychologists began to pay attention to *unconsciously* selected implicit goals, in addition to consciously selected goals (Moskowitz and Grant 2009:9–13). Subsequent research has strongly confirmed such effects of the *un*conscious mind on goal selection and also on goal pursuit, making the TRA and TPB clearly inadequate for understanding many kinds and aspects of goal pursuit and related intentions/IN, given its central focus only on *explicit/conscious* intentions. Gigerenzer (2007) reviews research on the

role of intuitions (gut feelings, hunches) as unconscious intelligence and decision-making that is both common and fruitful in everyday life, being superior in satisfying outcomes relative to logical-rational decision-making in many or most instances.

The revolutionary change just noted regarding the importance of unconscious goals and intentions was part of a more general *cognitive revolution in psychology*, both theoretical and methodological: Careful new methods revealed that there were not only implicit/unconscious Goals, but also implicit/unconscious Motivations (including implicit Intentions), Affects/emotions, Cognitions/perceptions, and Self-regulation (as Key Macro-IVs of the Psyche Mega-IV in S-Theory), when properly measured (see various handbooks on these topics using the term *implicit* to refer to unconscious phenomena; e.g., Gawronski and Payne 2010; Wittenbrink and Schwarz 2007). This approach and model of the implicit or unconscious mind is sometimes referred to as the *new unconscious* (Hassin, Uleman, and Bargh 2005; see also Mlodinow 2012; Vedantam 2010). Thus, "the new unconscious is much more concerned with affect, motivation, and even control and metacognition than was the old cognitive unconscious" (Hassin, Uleman, and Bargh 2005:6; chapter 7). This theoretical and methodological revolution, involving many kinds of implicit or non-conscious psychological processes, also fundamentally challenges the foundations of *Rational Choice Theory* (*RCT*) in economics, psychology, sociology, and political science.

S-Theory states that all of the seven Psyche Macro-IVs (Motivations, Affects, Goals, Intellectual capacities, Cognitions, Pain, and the Self) *must* be measured both implicitly/unconsciously as well as explicitly/consciously (e.g., by self-report; Smith 2017a). There are several studies that demonstrate the significant influence of implicit motivation on formal volunteering (e.g., Aydinli, Bender, and Chasiotis 2013; Aydinli, Bender, Chasiotis, Cemalcilar, and van de Vijver 2014; Aydinli, Bender, Chasiotis, van de Vijver, and Cemalcilar 2015; Aydinli, Bender, Chasiotis, van de Vijver, Cemalcilar, Chong, and Yue 2015). In Aydinli, Bender, Chasiotis, van de Vijver, Cemalcilar, Chong, and Yue (2015), both explicit and implicit prosocial motivation significantly influence sustained FV.

Perugini, Conner, and O'Gorman (2011) showed that an *explicit* prosocial personality measure of helpfulness significantly affected an index of general volunteering, but *implicit* measures of altruistic attitude and altruistic self-concept did not. By contrast, an implicit measure of altruistic attitude predicted a related DV, specific monthly FV, but the explicit prosocial personality measures did not. Thus, implicit disposition measures may or may not predict FV, thus either reinforcing explicit disposition measures or not.

The main point, however, is that implicit disposition measures can at times affect FV and other prosocial behavior. This fact is to be expected from the very large research literature showing the effects of implicit motives on many types of behavior (e.g., Schultheiss and Brunstein. 2010).

Psychologists continue routinely to show the substantial importance of their traditional concepts and variable types, like conscious or semi-conscious Motivation (including personality traits, general and specific attitudes, habits, and intentions), Affects/emotions, Goals/values, Intellectual capacities/intelligences, Cognitions/perceptions, and the Self (see various handbooks on these topics). All of these lines of research substantiate the inclusion of such Macro-IVs in the Psyche Mega-IV of S-Theory. Relatively new in psychology is the increasing attention to multivariate models combining two or more of these categories of traditional psychological IVs in multivariate statistical analyses. For example, various major books and review articles have been published recently that combine several of these categories of IVs in attempts to explain pro-social behavior, or volunteering, as one DV type of such behavior (e.g., Dovidio et al., 2006; Keltner et al., 2014; Mikulincer and Shaver 2009; Penner 2000; Penner and Finkelstein, 1998). Such integrated theoretical and statistical approaches, usually based on survey interviews or questionnaires rather than on laboratory or field experiments, go far beyond the few IVs or IV types typically used in such experiments by psychologists.

Of special and innovative importance in some of these multivariate psychological models is a balanced attempt to include both *internal* or dispositional factors and also *external* or situational, organizational, or other environmental factors as influences on behavior (e.g., Hidalgo et al. 2013; Penner 2002; Penner, Dovidio, Piliavin, and Schroeder 2005; Penner and Finkelstein 1998). This approach is very promising, especially if taken much further than done so far. Social psychology in general has long shown in great detail that special, laboratory, *experimental* environments can have powerful effects on individual behavior (e.g., S. Fiske, Gilbert, and Lindzey 2010).

Based on a brief literature review and his own prior research, Penner (2002:461) presented and partially tested a complex and useful multivariate model of both dispositional and organizational influences on sustained volunteering, including several S-Theory predictors. He distinguished between initial (entry) volunteerism and sustained volunteerism. *Entry volunteering* is to be predicted by demographic factors, beliefs, values, prosocial personality, and volunteer-related motives (attitudes, goals) as psychological predictors. Volunteer social pressure and situational factors are also predictive of initial volunteering, as micro-context predictors in S-Theory. Organization

characteristics similarly predict volunteering, as meso-context predictors in S-Theory. Relationship with the organization, as specific attitudes in S-Theory, are also predictors. All of these affect the decision (intention) to volunteer, which in turn predicts initial volunteering behavior. At the next stage, *sustained volunteering* is predicted mainly by volunteer role identity (importance of volunteering to the self), with lesser influences of all other predictors. While one of the best earlier models, the Penner model omits such key S-theory predictors as macro-context (municipality, state, nation), affects/emotions, intellectual capacities, and body/biological predictors.

There is also a minor sub-field of psychology, variously called *ecological psychology* or *environmental psychology*, which focuses on the objective nature and effects on behavior of *natural* settings in daily life. The most interesting variation of this ecological approach was begun by Barker about 1950, and re-invented or elaborated later by various other psychologists with variations in terminology and methodology (Schoggen, 1989, Chaps. 1, 13). The essential innovation by Barker was focusing on the *objective* socio-bio-physical micro-environment of behavior, termed *behavior settings*, as relevant variables, rather than focusing only on individuals' *subjective* perceptions and interpretations of their situations or behavior settings, whether experimental, hence artificial, laboratory or field settings or natural behavior settings of daily life (Schoggen, 1989:chapter 1). Barker correctly pointed out that most of psychology in the 20th century to his time had ignored natural behavior settings, nearly always creating artificial settings in the laboratory – hence destroying any independent effects of natural settings. Over the next few decades from 1950, Barker and his colleagues used naturalistic observation of children in two small towns to develop an inventory of behavior settings (chapter 4), and to identify various key analytical characteristics of such settings (chapters 5–8). The central finding of this extensive program of research was that natural behavior settings can often be very powerful influences on behavior, even more powerful than internal (dispositional) psychological factors in many settings where socio-cultural system conformity pressures are strong (pp. 361–362).

Natural behavior settings have an independent impact on behavior because, in a given society (and sometimes, in a given subculture of a society), there are many normative expectations for behavior embedded in (associated with) the behavior setting as *standing patterns,* to use Barker's terminology (Schoggen 1989:31). These socio-culturally-expected normative patterns are relatively independent of specific individuals, and hence rather objective, not merely subjective or unique to a given individual. Other psychologists, as well as sociologists and geographers, have studied behavior settings and their associated normative (customary, moral) expectations (Schoggen,

1989:chapter 13). The edited book by Magnusson (1981) is another excellent example of the psychology of situations. Unlike the Barker research tradition, this book has chapters that focus on (a) actual (objective) situations and micro-environments (Part II), (b) perceived (subjective) situations and micro-environments (Part III), and (c) analysis of person-situation fit and interactions (Part IV). A special strength of the volume is some chapters that provide analytical classifications of natural situations (especially Chaps. 2 and 6). All of this research on the psychology of situations validates the inclusion of the objective/actual Environment/E Mega-IV in S-Theory, as well as the individual's subjective/personal perceptions of the environment, as part of the Cognitions/C in the Psyche Mega-IV.

Environmental psychologists and other scholars interested in prosocial behavior affecting the environment *(pro-environmental behavior)* have done much research in the past few decades, collectively finding that most S-Theory predictor types are relevant to this type of civic participation (cf. Cnaan and Park 2016). Kollmuss and Agyeman (2002) reviewed many models of such environmental behavior that collectively included personality traits (self-efficacy/locus of control; conscientiousness/sense of responsibility; p. 243), general pro-environment attitudes, knowledge of environmental issues and of how to reduce personal impact on the environment (Cognitions; ibid.), and verbal Intention/commitment to engage in pro-environmental behavior (ibid.). But other psychological predictors are also necessary, such as altruism, empathy, unselfishness, low competitiveness, and felt satisfaction of most personal needs (p. 244).

Still other predictors are also needed (Kollmuss and Agyeman 2002:246), such as pro-environmental attitudes (both general and specific) and goals/values, opportunities to act pro-environmentally (micro-context and meso-context), incentives for pro-environmental behavior (micro-context and meso-context), and positive perceived consequences of relevant behavior (Cognitions). Various constraints on pro-environmental behavior also need to be considered as predictors (p. 247), such as temperament and emotional limitations, lack of responsibility or low sense of personal efficacy, and practical limitations like lack of time, money, and relevant information. In addition, factors like demographics, institutional arrangements (macro-context), economic considerations/costs, socio-cultural norms (macro-context), motivations, goals/values, environmental awareness (Cognitions), environmental knowledge (Cognitions), emotional involvement with the environment (Affects), personal priorities (Self), and habits (Motivations; pp. 248–257) have to be included to be comprehensive.

While Kollmuss and Agyeman (2002) stated no comprehensive model to incorporate all of the foregoing factors as predictors, S-Theory *does* include every type of predictor mentioned. There are, of course, many hundreds of empirical research studies supporting one or more of the many predictors noted above regarding environmental FV. For instance, Farrell (2013) shows that moral schemas, as values and beliefs, affect pro-environmental behavior in respondents to U.S. national sample survey. Dietz, Stern, and Guagnano (1998:450) used national US sample survey data to show that psychological predictors were much stronger in general than demographics in explaining pro-social behavior, and demographics had few *indirect* effects either. This study was noteworthy in showing that environment-specific attitudes were significant predictors.

Higgins and Shackleton (2015) studied volunteers from 26 conservation and environmental NPOs in South Africa regarding perceived benefits from and barriers to participation/volunteering (Cognitions). These varied some across three main categories of NPOs – wildlife, botanical, and green purposes. Enjoyment of the task was the main benefit for the latter two categories of volunteers, while greater life satisfaction was the key benefit for wildlife NPO volunteers. Perceived lack of time (Cognition) was a main barrier to volunteering for all three types of NPO volunteers, and perceived and actual inadequate communication between leaders and volunteers (Cognition, and Meso-Context) were also important for volunteers in wildlife and green NPOs.

Still another innovative area of psychology has been the inclusion of biological influences (variables, states and processes) on behavior, which reflects a well-established trend over the past several decades. Biological psychology (Breedlove, Watson, and Rosenzweig 2010; Gallagher, Nelson, and Weiner, 2004; Garrett 2014) and evolutionary psychology (Buss, 2014), have become accepted, related subfields, with large numbers of researchers involved. Health psychology is another related subfield (Straub, 2014; Sutton, Baum, and Johnston, 2004). Research in these areas focuses mainly on how internal psychological factors (Motivations/dispositions, Affects/emotions, Goals/values, Intellectual capacities, Cognitions/ perceptions, and the Self) are influenced by biological evolution, behavior genetics, development-maturation, epigenetics, neurophysiology, neurochemistry, the endocrine system, and other states and processes of the human body. Keltner et al. (2010:430–435) discuss biological substrates of prosociality (see also Smith et al. 2016:Chapter 25). Such research validates the inclusion of the Body/B Mega-IV and its Key Macro-IV-types in S-Theory.

4. Prior multivariate models/theories: Sociological perspectives

(The Sub-section #4 below quotes from Smith (2017a) with permission.)

"Like psychology, sociology has been expanding its models and theories to explain individual behavior in a more interdisciplinary manner, as *micro-sociology* (e.g., Collins 2008). We use here the example of sociologists working in the sociological sub-field, and also the interdisciplinary field, of *voluntaristics* (or *altruistics)*, which studies why people volunteer, among other voluntary sector phenomena (Smith 2013, 2016a). This is one example of the larger category of pro-social behavior – behavior that is intended to help or benefit others than oneself to some extent, often at some cost to oneself (in the case of altruism).

The earliest, broadly multivariate theory of FV with a wide range of predictor types was constructed and tested by Smith (1966) on volunteers in several voluntary associations in Chile. He compared active volunteers with inactive ones in various associations, and in other analyses compared active association volunteers with demographically matched non-members (non-volunteers). Based on survey interviews, he showed that combined measures of Socio-Cultural Roles (demographics), Personality Traits, General Attitudes, and Specific Attitudes explained 71% of the (sample size adjusted) variance in volunteering between active members and matched non-members (p. 255). Similarly, these various categories of IVs explained 56% of the variance in volunteering between active and inactive (nominal, passive) volunteers who were members of various types of associations (p. 259).

Strikingly, in both sub-samples demographic variables did not add *any* explained variance once the psychological measures were present in the MRAs. This is no surprise for the sub-sample with active volunteers versus demographically matched non-member non-volunteers, because of the careful demographic matching process (confirming that such matching was successful, as a quasi-experimental research design process). But the result is rather surprising for the sub-sample of inactive versus active volunteers among association members. This result implies that the usually observed effects of such demographic variables may be due, at least in part, to their psychological correlates, not to the intrinsic nature of the Socio-Cultural Roles themselves (e.g., age, sex, education, other socio-economic status IVs, marital status, religion, and political affiliation), nor to the resources or capital of various kinds involved in these demographic categories or roles (contrary to Wilson's Resource Theory of volunteering, as in Musick and Wilson 2008; Wilson and Musick 1997).

Houghland and Wood (1980) studied attitudinal correlates of participation in 58 local churches in Indianapolis, using data from mail questionnaires

sent to random samples of congregation members. Local religious congregations are usually membership associations, not nonprofit agencies (Cnaan and Curtis 2013). With several reliable indices of specific attitudes of members toward the churches involved, and an index measuring self-identification with the church, the authors could account for a remarkable 58% of the variance in an MRA predicting a highly reliable (Cronbach alpha = .85) four-item index of congregation participation (p. 351). About 48% of the variance was explained by the specific attitude indices, with about 6% more contributed by interpersonal influences, such as having more close friends in the church (as a meso-context predictor in S-Theory). Just as Smith (1966) had found also, seven social background/demographic predictors were unimportant, adding only another 1% to the variance explained (although four of the seven were highly significant statistically (.01 level) in bivariate correlations). Rational Choice Theory (RCT) is not an idequate model of how individuals select a religion and decide on how to participate in it (Bruce 2000; see also Smith et al. 2016:chapter 22.)

The earlier results of Townsend (1973:203) had been similar, studying off-campus association participation by US university freshmen. Using several small indices of general attitudes, his MRA accounted for 26% of the FV variance. In samples of university students from six Latin American nations, Smith (1973) found that membership in student, on-campus political associations was substantially predicted (R^2 13%–32% in different countries) mainly by such general attitudes as lack of acquiescent traditionalism, interest in political activity, socio-political radicalism, and intellectualism.

By 1980, Smith (Chapter 19 in Smith, Macaulay, and Associates 1980) had developed the concept of the *Active-Effective Character (A-EC).* This hypothetical construct refers to a socio-culturally-preferred character pattern, consisting of being above average (or well above, such as in the top quartile or decile) on a set of psychological dimensions (ibid. pp. 466–472): (1) verbal and social intellectual capacities; (2) effective personality traits (especially extraversion, ego strength, assertiveness, efficacy [internal locus of control], deferred gratification disposition, energy-activation, and stimulation-seeking); (3) *general* attitudes favoring community/civic/social engagement, extra-familial and organizational involvements, and cosmopolitanism (vs. localism and familism); (4) *specific* attitudes favoring discretionary time activities that are actively involving (vs. passive), social/interpersonal (vs. solitary), socially structured or organized (vs. informal), and instrumentally-oriented toward some accomplishment or useful outcome (vs. *only* expressive-enjoyable); and other factors. Individuals high on the A-EC tend to engage in more volunteering and association participation, as well as in other pro-social activities, rather than mainly in *passivities*, or *lethargic leisure*, such as TV viewing, thinking, music listening, resting, napping, etc. (Ibid.).

In a later literature review article, Smith (1994) showed that additional types of explanatory IVs also were needed in a more complete explanatory model for FV, in order to explain more of the variance. In addition to personality and attitude measures relevant to the Active-Effective Character, the review showed that FV could be explained in part by measures of the environment or context of the individual. S-Theory distinguishes among contextual IVs at three different territorial levels of scope: macro-context, meso-context, and micro-context. In a section on contextual variables (Smith 1994:245–246), the few available studies showed the significant impact of size and type of community, as a *macro*-context variable, on FV. Other studies showed a similar, significant impact on FV of the individual's current university, workplace, and voluntary association or nonprofit agency/volunteer program as *meso*-context variables. (See Smith et al. 2016:chapters 26 and 27, for recent reviews of macro- and meso-context predictors of FV.)

In another section (Smith 1994:252–253), on situations as *micro*-context variables, studies showed several situational variables had significant impacts on FV, controlling statistically for other factors (see Smith et al. 2016, Chapter 27, for a recent review of micro-context predictors of FV). The most powerful situational variables were personal influence factors, like being asked to participate or having friends/relatives in the association or volunteer program. Smith also showed that various kinds of Social-Leisure Participation (S-LP) variables (e.g., neighbor interactions, friendship activity, church attendance, political activity, informal helping, charitable giving, outdoor recreation) are positively correlated among themselves and also with volunteering (p. 253; see also Smith et al. 2016, Chapter 27, for a recent review of micro-context predictors of FV). As discussed in Smith (1980b), all of these activities are part of the (Leisure) General Activity Pattern/LGAP. He traces the existence of the LGAP to an underlying *Active-Effective Character (A-EC)* pattern of personality and attitudes and also to the tendency of high active-effective character individuals in any society to conform to socio-culturally approved ways of interacting and spending their leisure time (Smith, Macaulay, and Associates 1980:chapter 19; see also Smith et al. 2016:chapter 5).

Wilson and Musick (1997) presented a preliminary "integrated theory of volunteer work." In addition to demographic predictors, they frame the theory in terms of capital and resources—human capital, social capital, and cultural capital. Their data to test the theory comes from two waves (1986, 1989) of the Americans' Changing Lives panel study, with their criterion being an index of the number of types of groups for which volunteer work had been done in the prior 12 months. An R^2 of .426 was achieved using 14 predictors. This looks promising, until one notes that the time 1 FV index is by far the

main predictor of the same time 2 FV index (beta weight = .547). None of the other five statistically significant predictors have beta weights above .11 (education). Only one psychological predictor is used, valuing helping, and its beta weight is only .03 (.05 level). Smith here argues that such a theory is of little value and not well confirmed, because the time 1 measure of FV is what mainly predicts time 2 FV. But we already know from many prior studies that time 2 behavior of any usual kind tends to be strongly predicted by the prior time 1 behavior over periods of months or several years, sometimes longer. The failure to include many other types of predictors in this so-called *integrated theory* seriously calls into question how *integrated* it actually is, if at all (see Smith 2015, 2017a, 2017b; Smith et al. 2016, Part IV).

Musick and Wilson (2008) provided a book-length review of research on the many kinds of factors that have been shown to affect individual volunteering. The range of predictors included here is far more inter-disciplinary that the set in Wilson and Musick (1997). Their review confirmed in much depth all of the foregoing kinds of relationships from Smith (1975, 1994), and also added data previously missing on a few IV types. In Chapter 7, Musick and Wilson show that both better physical and better mental health are positively related to volunteering, even with statistical controls for other IVs. Dahal, Fertig, and Mustard (2013), more recently, further confirm this finding with longitudinal, national sample, US data, as have other researchers. Such research responds to Smith's (1975, 1994) identification of the need for research on how FV relates to health factors.

Even more importantly, Chapter 25 of Smith et al. (2016) makes a very strong case for the relevance of several other subtypes of biological IVs in explaining FV and other pro-social behavior (PSB) – evolution, behavior genetics, epigenetics, maturation, neurology, and hormones, as well as general health. Those results further validate including the Body/B Mega-IV in S-Theory. Musick and Wilson (2008:chapter 7) also showed that available time has an effect on volunteering, although the relationship is complex. Unfortunately, they presented no multivariate analyses that include both demographic/social background variables and the full range of personality, attitude, affect, context, self, and health variables as IV types. This key analytic gap makes impossible the accurate assessment of the relative and absolute impact of the various major types of IVs they discuss.

In the past several years, various other sociologists have constructed interdisciplinary theories or models to explain FV. Most of these theories go far beyond the earlier, more simplistic models that focus only on Socio-Cultural Roles, demographics, or resource-capital factors, which are the main foci of Musick and Wilson (2008). One rather comprehensive recent

attempt to explain FV, before S-Theory, was by Hustinx, Cnaan, and Handy (2010), who argued that, "no integrated theory has emerged." They sketch "a hybrid map" of FV theory that rather comprehensively reviews the necessary facets of what they see as needed. These authors suggest "three major challenges, or layers of complexity, that a unified theory of volunteering faces" – complexity-interdisciplinarity, appropriate and careful definition of volunteering, and hybrid multidimensionality that integrates various prior approaches to theory. S-Theory meets these challenges successfully (Smith 2014b, 2015, 2017a, 2017b).

Hustinx et al. (2010) briefly review prior definitions of volunteering, settling on a net-cost definition (Handy, Cnaan, Brudney, Ascoli, Meijs, and Ranade 2000), that traces back to Smith, Reddy, and Baldwin (1972a). They argue for measuring many varieties of the phenomenon (see Section D, #1 of Chapter 31 of Smith et al., 2016). Then the authors review briefly various types of influences on FV, mainly treating demographics and context factors. However, they omit consideration of biological-physiological predictors and give miniscule attention to the range of psychological predictors (See Smith et al., 2016, chapters 25 and 30). They include stages/phases of volunteering, as in Section D. #1 of Chapter 31 of Smith et al. (2016). They also discuss potential negative consequences or dark sides of volunteering (see Smith et al., 2016, chapter 54).

S-Theory, as described by Smith (2014b, 2015, 2017a, 2017b; Smith et al. 2016:chapter 31), satisfies the challenges raised by Hustinx et al., and adds predictor types they omit, although theirs is a fine attempt. Most importantly, S-Theory selects 19 key macro-predictors as crucial for explaining FV, where Hustinx et al. do no such thing. They provide no direct, multivariate, empirical evidence for their theory. However, S-Theory has been successfully tested, if partially, on a national sample of adult Russians, as described in Smith (2015, 2017b).

Turning to more limited sociological models, Bekkers (2005) used data from a Dutch national sample survey to explain either association membership alone or volunteering in associations, as alternative DVs. Looking at the volunteering DV, his multiple regression results (p. 446) showed significant effects of IVs from various major S-Theory IV types, including urbanization level as a macro-context Environment IV, age as a Body IV, Personality traits and General Attitudes as aspects of Motivation/M, which is part of the Psyche Mega-IV, some Socio-Cultural Roles (background/demographic) IVs, as part of the Psyche Mega-IV, and church attendance as a Social-Leisure Participation/S-LP IV, also as part of the Psyche Mega-IV. Strangely, only 9% of the variance could be explained.

Einolf and Chambré (2011) used national sample US data to test a similarly multivariate and interdisciplinary theory with various major IV types. Their DV, hours of general volunteering, was explained very substantially (about 41% of the adjusted variance) by similar and statistically significant IV types as used in Bekker's study and in S-Theory: neighborhood safety/quality as a macro-context Environment IV, Personality, General Attitudes, and the Self as Psyche IVs; some Socio-Cultural Roles IVs (social background/demographics, such as age, sex, race-ethnicity, occupational prestige, and income); and some Social-Leisure Participation IVs (informal neighboring activity, religious attendance, and association attendance). Occupational prestige and income were seen as resource variables. Both of the prior two studies were intentionally interdisciplinary, and the second one showed the value of such an approach in explaining more of the variance in volunteering. They also confirm the value of most of the various IV types being included in S-Theory.

Dury, De Donder, De Witte, Buffel, Jacquet, and Verté (2015) further tested the Einolf and Chambré model (hence listed in this sub-section, see above; although most of these authors were based in a university psychology unit), using a massive data set (N = 31,581) of home-dwelling, aging (60 years or older), Belgians in the Dutch-speaking region (Flanders). Respondents were classified as *volunteers* if they reported participating actively in one or more of 10 categories of voluntary work in the past 12 months. Non-volunteers who said they were willing to volunteer in the near future (seen as a future Goal in S-Theory, but not an Intention) were classified as *potential volunteers*. All others were classified as *non-volunteers.*

When combined actual and potential volunteers were compared with non-volunteers, the former were found to be significantly more likely to be female, more educated, more likely cohabiting (vs. other marital situations), and had children. More interesting were the findings that the actual or potential volunteers had significantly more favorable, general attitudes, in S-theory terminology, by being more religious and more altruistic. Also, such respondents were significantly higher in physical health but *lower* in mental health, surprisingly. These respondents were significantly more involved in social-leisure participation outside their homes (more likely to contact *friends* weekly, but *less* likely to contact *extended family* weekly), hence having a *non-familistic* general attitude. Actual and potential volunteers were also significantly more likely to do informal volunteering, by providing informal help to others outside the home, such as relatives, neighbors, or friends.

When actual volunteers were compared to potential volunteers, many predictors were again statistically significant (mostly < .001 level). Actual

volunteers were younger, more educated, never married, cohabiting, or if married never divorced, and higher in physical health. Actual volunteers were also more likely to participate in social-leisure activities outside the home. They were more likely to do informal helping/volunteering outside their homes. Their informal social relationships were also more *extra-familial* (vs. *familistic*): They were in more contact with friends weekly, but in less contact with extended family weekly. Unfortunately, no MRA R^2 is available yet for this subsample or the whole sample.

Beldad, Snip, and van Hoof (2014) studied a related kind of voluntary/prosocial behavior-intention – the intention to continue donating to a charitable organization. Using a haphazard (convenience) sample of adults from two Dutch cities, the authors used MRA to explain an adjusted 56% of the variance in intended continued donations using only six Attitude predictors. The single most powerful predictor was prior, positive experience with the specific organization (a Felt *Specific* Attitude/FSA IV), explaining 42% of the variance (p. 155). Other FSAs made statistically significant contributions to explanation, adding 13% more of variance explained. One Felt *General* Attitude/FGA predictor, perceived risk in donating money, was statistically significant, but only added another 1% of explained variance. Interestingly, the General Attitude of moral obligation to donate was not statistically significant in the MRAs. This study is very important in *validating the relevance of Special Attitudes, even more than General Attitudes, as key Motivation Meso-IVs in explaining pro-social, philanthropic behavior as one kind of DV.* This kind of FSA predictor was suggested long before by Smith's (1966) study, among others, and both FSAs and FGAs as Meso-IVs are included in S-Theory, as part of the Motivations/M Macro-IV of the Psyche Mega-IV.

Bekkers and de Witt (2014) reviewed prior reviews of FV determinants, adapting a multivariate model of charitable giving (Bekkers and Wiepking 2011) to explain FV. They contend that eight "mechanisms that drive volunteering" are (1) awareness of need (a Cognition, in S-Theory), (2) solicitation, or being asked (Micro-Context in S-Theory), (3) material costs and benefits (Cognitions in S-Theory), (4) Altruism (a Value and General Attitude in S-Theory), (5) Reputation in the organization (Micro-Context in S-Theory), (6) Psychological costs and benefits (Cognitions in S-Theory), (7) Values (Goals/values in S-Theory), and (8) Efficacy of volunteering (a Specific Attitude, under Motivations, in S-Theory). This scheme is more of a classification than a path model of influences through time, and has not yet been specifically tested. Wittek and Bekkers (2015) review briefly several major theories of prosocial behavior that include relevant variables discussed here.

Turning to a specific type of association participation, as an example of FV, labor union involvement has been studied with a variety of predictors for many decades, often explaining substantial variance. For instance, Kolchin and Hyclak (1984;255) used 1961 data on Detroit area auto worker unionists (UAW) to explain an R^2 of .204 with education, job skill level, friendliness (a kind of personality trait), a general attitude of commitment to the labor movement, and some specific attitude measures (job dissatisfaction, local union dissatisfaction, unrealized desire for another job). Huszczo (1983) explained union participation by demographic predictors plus political beliefs (Cognitions), general and specific attitudes, and Social-Leisure Participation (community political activities).

Kelloway and Barling (1993) developed a multivariate path model for explaining union participation. Regressions showed prior union socialization experiences, Marxist work beliefs (as Cognitions in S-Theory), and various specific attitudes toward the union to be significant predictors, with union loyalty (commitment, as a Self/role identity) and willingness to work for the union (as Intention) being the strongest predictors. Aryee and Debrah (1997), studying union members in Singapore, accounted for an R^2 of .43 with male gender, being married, more prior experience in the union (Cognition), general positive attitude toward unions, low general attitude toward the family (low familism value), positive specific attitudes toward the union (satisfaction, leadership, socialization), and commitment by the self to the union (role identity)."

5. Prior multivariate models/theories: Economic perspectives

Volunteering has also been studied from a microeconomic perspective. In this section, we review some economic literature on the determinants of volunteering. Handy et al. (2000) argue that for an individual to undertake any volunteering activity the benefits must be greater than the costs incurred for that activity. They make a distinction between private benefits (B_P) and social benefits (B_S) and assume that all costs (C) are private. For an individual to become a volunteer, the following condition must hold:

$$B_p + B_s > C \Leftrightarrow B_s > C - B_p \tag{1}$$

Otherwise stated, a person will become a volunteer if the social benefit/B_s of volunteering is greater than his or her perceived net private cost (C – B_P). But what are the factors that actually influence this net private cost? Some early economic studies with Canadian data (Day and Devlin 1996; Vaillancourt 1994; Vaillancourt and Payette 1986) point out the importance of having a career or family that is likely to benefit from volunteer work. A more recent study by

Sundeen, Raskoff, and Garcia (2007), by contrast, find that a lack of time, a lack of interest, and health problems are the most frequently mentioned barriers to volunteering by those who do not volunteer.

More generally, from a microeconomic perspective, three fundamental models have been developed to explain volunteer labor supply (Bruno and Fiorillo 2012; Freeman 1997; Hackl, Halla, and Pruckner 2007; Menchik and Weisbrod 1987; Ziemek 2006). First, the *public goods model* assumes that individuals volunteer because they want to increase the total supply of a public good or service. In exchange for donating their time to the provision of this good or service, they receive an *altruistic benefit*. Otherwise stated, these individuals obtain utility/satisfaction from increasing the utility of others who will benefit from the consumption of the public good. Second, contrary to the public goods model, the *private consumption model* argues that volunteers receive *warm-glow* utility from the act of volunteering itself. In this case, volunteers obtain *self-value benefits* such as satisfaction from the *type of work carried out, satisfaction from the fulfillment of social or ethical norms, and warm-glow* feelings from having done something good. Third, according to the *investment model*, volunteering provides an *exchange value benefit*. In this case, volunteering can be seen as a way to gain labor market experience, skills, and contacts. In sum, the main difference between these three microeconomic models is the psychological assumption regarding what motivates volunteers and what is of value to them.

Economic literature on volunteer labor supply is, however, not limited to the aforementioned microeconomic models. First, some authors have analyzed the decision to volunteer from a game theory perspective (Bilodeau and Slivinski 1996; Morath 2013; Myatt and Wallace 2008; Sahuguet 2006). Second, instead of treating volunteering as a homogenous activity, Segal and Weisbrod (2002) argued that the supply of volunteer labor may be heterogeneous across industries. They tested this heterogeneity assumption by estimating and comparing volunteer labor supply functions in health, education, and religious sectors. They found that changes in age, education, household composition, income, and tax status had different effects on the supply of volunteer labor in each sector. Third, besides examining which factors influence individuals' choices to provide volunteer labor, some authors have also analyzed factors that influence the relative allocation of volunteers' time among various type of activities without monetary rewards (e.g., Clain and Zech 2008).

In addition, from a macroeconomic point of view, there may also be factors that impact the aggregate supply of volunteer labor. Ewing et al. (2002) analyzed aggregate volunteer labor supply in the United States for the period 1987–1998 and found statistically significant associations between the supply of volunteers and macroeconomic variables such as the unemployment rate, GDP, and the population over 18 years old. Hackl, Halla, and Pruckner (2012) explored the effect of macroeconomic, institutional, and political factors on

volunteer labor supply across different countries. They found that lower rates of inflation and unemployment positively affected volunteer labor supply. However, they also found empirical evidence for the crowding out of volunteer labor among three governmental dimensions: (1) an increase in public social expenditures, (2) an increase in political consensus between voters and the government, and (3) an increase in government support for democratization.

In contrast to the economic literature on volunteer labor *supply*, only a few authors have examined the *demand* for volunteer labor (Destefanis and Maietta 2009; Emanuele 1996; Handy and Srinivasan 2005). They assume that the demand for volunteer labor by organizations is not a horizontal line at price zero but rather a downward-sloping demand curve. In other words, by implying that volunteer labor is not free, they challenge the assumption that organizations are accepting all volunteer labor offered to them. Organizations may need to train their volunteers and supervise them, which can lead to certain costs. Consequently, as the total cost of volunteers increases, organizations will demand fewer volunteers. Handy and Srinivasan (2005), for example, model the demand for volunteer labor by a hospital as a function of (1) the volunteer administration cost, (2) the CEO's satisfaction with volunteers, (3) the CEO's trade-off between voluntary time donations and money donations, (4) the number of beds at the hospital, and (5) the existence of a trade union in the hospital.

Only a few authors have discussed the role of volunteers in a corporate governance framework of nonprofit organizations (Jegers 2009; Van Puyvelde, Caers, Du Bois, and Jegers. 2012). More specifically, as suggested by Jegers (2009), a distinction can be made between voluntary principals (voluntary board members) and voluntary agents (operational volunteers) in VSPs of nonprofit organizations (agencies). Although some authors have investigated the motivation, commitment, and performance of voluntary board members (Handy 1995; Handy, Inglis, and Cleave 2006; Preston and Brown 2004), less attention has been given to the role of operational volunteers as agents of nonprofit organizations. Van Puyvelde et al. (2012) suggest that operational volunteers need to be controlled by their principals in order to avoid agency problems in nonprofit organizations. Although income is no part of their utility function, personal goals such as reputation or specific client goals may outweigh organizational goals. In addition, operational volunteers may also feel frustrated, constrained in their expected autonomy, or expect some kind of eternal gratitude (Jegers 2008). To avoid such problems, volunteers in VSPs need to be managed professionally. Volunteer behavior, however, is often difficult to manage in nonprofit organizations, since control and coach mechanisms that direct behavior in for-profit firms are not always available in a nonprofit context. Consequently, in order to better understand the role of operational volunteers in nonprofit governance, we argue that economic perspectives should be combined with

psychological, social, cultural, and biological perspectives on volunteering (see, e.g., Lipford and Yandle 2009).

[The rest of sub-section #5 below quotes from Smith 2017a, with permission.]

Reder (1999) calls the dominant theory of economics in general the *Resource Allocation Paradigm* (RAP). He notes (p. 43) that one definition of economics is as the field that deals with "the allocation of scarce resources among alternative uses for the maximization of want satisfactions" – where the last term is conventionally referred to as *utility* by economists. While defending the value of economics generally, Reder (p. 142) admits that, judged by the usual standard of the validity of any science – the ability to predict and control certain events, "economics has not been highly successful." He further argues that, not being able to predict or control relevant events very well using economic theory, economists have mainly fallen back on an alternative criterion of validity, with high consensus on this criterion among most economists, though not among outsiders in other scientific fields: *intellectual congeniality* (p. 147). This last term often means perceived theoretical elegance, but in practice means apparent (often just mathematical or statistical, not necessarily empirical) fit with well-established economic theory. Hence, economics is often quite resistant to empirical results or facts, even experimental results, which contradict or disconfirm their basic RAP (pp. 158–161). Though Reder does not suggest this, the basic economic theory of RAP is thus in part a kind of ideology, rather than only an empirically falsifiable model of empirical reality.

Given the probable accuracy of the foregoing characterization of economics by a distinguished, long-time, University of Chicago-based economist and professor, recent changes within economics toward theoretical convergence and relationships with other socio-behavioral sciences have been slow and weak, compared to recent developments in the other academic disciplines reviewed here (Reder 1999:chapter 14). Even more than academics in other socio-behavioral science disciplines, economists tend to resist strenuously the trend toward interdisciplinary cooperation and work. When teaching in graduate schools, economists usually defend their own intellectual turf and disciplinary boundaries (pp. 341–343). They often do this with a strong, felt (emotional) sense of the superiority of economics relative to the other socio-behavioral sciences, mostly based on economists' sophisticated mathematical-statistical techniques and basic RAP model. That is, the felt sense of superiority is not based on the objective ability of the RAP to explain the variance in individual behavior very well.

From the perspective of the other socio-behavioral sciences, traditional micro-economic theory (e.g., Kreps 2012) has been very limited in its choice

and use of relevant IVs. Non-economists often also see such theory as very limited in its central dependence on Rational Choice Theory (RCT; a variant of RAP for individual decision-making) as the sole, hypothesized, decision-making process affecting individual behavior. A large amount of research using behavioral games in experiments around the world has shown that *RCT often fails to predict accurately the empirical outcomes* (Field 2001, pp. 33–40). Where people should be initially or even consistently egoistic and selfish in such behavioral games/experiments, according to RCT, they are in fact often initially or persistently altruistic. Many sociologists and political scientists, as well as psychologists, have also used RCT as their theory in attempting to explain or predict behavior (pp. 40–45). They also find major limitations in the explanatory-predictive validity/power of RCT. Much empirical research now supports these deep failings of RCT.

With economists' basically emotional (irrational) as well as intellectual attachment to their basic RAP and RCT models, it should not be surprising that mainstream economics and core economic theory have not changed much recently. Instead, most economists tend to ignore or dismiss these widespread and highly multi-national empirical results that disconfirm RCT at the level of individuals. Partly as a result of the failings or flaws in RCT, a new subfield of economics has emerged in the past few decades, *behavioral economics*, which seeks to be the cutting edge of change and renewal in economics and economic theory (Camerer and Loewenstein, 2003; Heukelom 2014).

Behavioral economics is distinguished by seeking *non-rational* factors in decision-making (RCT with *bounded rationality*), such as emotions, thought shortcuts (*heuristics*), and cognitive biases, to better explain and predict the actual altruistic outcomes of many experiments using behavioral games (e.g., Frank 1988). Behavioral economists also study alternative versions of *utility* as self-interest, going beyond the traditionally narrow, economic definition of utility as *only* material/financial satisfactions (Heukelom, 2014). But other mainstream economists have often strongly resisted this new subfield of behavioral economics and its approaches, seeing them as unnecessary (e.g., Levine, 2012). Nonetheless, some innovative economists have recently been trying to include various other types of IVs and decision-making theory that better fit the reality of human behavior in behavioral games and in daily life than do the traditional RCT and RAP approaches.

Kahneman, Slovic, and Tversky (1974) did truly seminal work in behavioral economics, based mainly on laboratory experiments. They showed that *human decision-making is indeed irrational, not rational, in many ways, especially because of biases and shortcuts (heuristics) in our thinking, thus challenging*

the fundamental basis of RCT and RAP. According to S-Theory, these biases and heuristics reflect both the IV category of Felt General Attitudes/FGA, as an aspect of Motivations/M, and also the IV category of Cognitions/C, with both being parts of the Psyche Mega-IV. Using a different approach, Frank (1988) developed an economic theory of behavior that emphasized the role of Affects/A or emotions, in S-Theory terminology. Gneezy and List (2013) add a focus on Motivations (motives), as part of the Psyche Mega-IV in S-Theory.

The methodology of Gneezy and List (2013) has been very special, compared to other economists: they studied people in natural behavior settings (p. 3), as do some psychologists and most other socio-behavioral scientists. They argue that one key to understanding human behavior is to really understand what motivates people (p. 31). This often involves hidden meanings, varying interpretations of a situation, event, or incentive, and even implicit/unconscious motivational factors. Such findings validate the S-Theory methodological inclusion of implicit/unconscious measures of motivations and other Psyche IVs. These findings also show the importance of perceptions and interpretations (meanings), which validates inclusion of the Macro-IV of Cognitions/C in S-Theory. Gneezy and List also found (p. 210) that social pressure affects charitable giving, as does self-interest, validating both inclusion of the immediate, micro-context as the MIcro-Environment/MIE in S-Theory, and also the inclusion of the Macro-IV of Self/S in S-Theory as an aspect of the Psyche.

Ariely (2008) is another behavioral economist who has done a variety of interesting experiments showing the necessity of including many other variables than simple economic utility (financial-monetary rewards/payoffs) if we are to understand ordinary human behavior. The chapters of his book show the importance in daily decision-making of the relativity of a price to its context, the fallacy of supply and demand, our attraction to anything with apparently zero cost, the importance of social norms, the influence of sexual or other emotional arousal, the effects of ownership and expectations, how high prices make things more attractive, and other topics. His book title, *Predictably Irrational,* sums up much of what is inadequate about traditional micro-economic theory.

Kenrick and Griskevicius' (2013) book, *The Rational Animal,* also looks at behavior settings and decision-making in daily life. But they introduce biological considerations, such as the evolutionary fitness of some of our unconscious decision-making tendencies (pp. 207, 209). This approach validates the S-Theory inclusion of the unconscious mind and implicit measurements of the Psyche, as well as the S-Theory inclusion of the Body/B Mega-IV, with a variety of biological IVs and an underlying focus on human evolution.

These authors (p. 208) also distinguish "multiple subselves – each with different and sometimes conflicting priorities," validating and elaborating on the Self/S as a Psyche IV included in S-Theory. Field (2001:334–335) adduces evidence both from biological evolution and from experimental behavioral games to show that, *contrary to RCT, humans are indeed altruistically inclined*. This conclusion and its underlying empirical evidence further validate the inclusion of the Body/B Mega-IV in S-Theory. Such empirical results also challenge fundamentally the economic RCT and RAP, which only focus on monetary satisfactions as utility – never the psychic rewards of altruistic behavior (Churchland, 2011; Dovidio et al., 2006; Keltner et al., 2014), as discussed long ago by Smith et al. (1972a).

Kenrick and Griskevicius (2013) recognize that *the basic economic RCT and the broader RAP are simply inadequate models for most decisions in daily life*. They state (p. 211), "…. market economics is the wrong way to approach most of the decisions you make on a day-to-day basis." Although this statement is clear heresy to most economists, nonetheless empirical/experimental evidence regarding people in many societies, ignored by most economists, suggests that this statement is true (Field, 200I, pp. 33–40, 311; Henrich et al., 2001). The economic anthropology research by Sahlins (1974), and similar research by many others he cites, clearly indicates that for most of human existence on earth in small and nomadic preliterate tribes, the market pricing approach of RCT and RAP were quite irrelevant. But this is the kind of societal setting in which humans evolved, not market economies. Hence, the behavioral genetics in humans is most likely to push people more toward other forms of relationships or exchange than market pricing, which is mainly a recent social innovation in human societies, given our roughly 200,000 year history as a species. Market economies have only existed for a few thousand years (Ferguson 2009).

A. Fiske (1993) has deepened this analysis by suggesting that, in reality, human behavior today reflects (and also perhaps has reflected in most of our past as a species, with the exception of the fourth model) four quite different and alternative, structural models of human relations and exchanges/interactions. The first three models seem to be built into our biology and brains by evolution, but the fourth model, market pricing, is likely too recent in origin to involve behavioral genetics as a result of human evolution.

- *communal sharing* (simple sharing with others in the family, clan, group/society, common in preliterate societies, but still present in human primary groups, like the family and close friendship groups in modern societies);

- *equality matching* (each person tries to be fair, having as much as other people; this also seems to be part of human behavior genetics, and is common in preliterate societies);
- *authority ranking* (distributing resources according to inherited and/or achieved higher prestige/power/wealth positions in a hierarchy); and
- *market pricing* (as in RAP, which developed mainly with the *ascent of money* [Ferguson 2009] only a few thousand years ago).

Contrary to economic RCT and RAP models, A. Fiske (p. 240) suggests that "people find all four types of social relationship inherently satisfying.…" The selfish individualism and material (financial) utility maximization of the *market pricing model*, a common assumption in most socio-behavioral science disciplines and a fundamental assumption in economics, *is not consistent with much empirical data, especially decision-making in daily life but also in many behavioral games,* as noted above (pp. 237–240). There is now abundant empirical evidence that humans are by nature (evolutionary biology, behavior genetics, neuroscience, etc.) in part both social and altruistic – these tendencies are hardwired into our brains. Because mainstream economic theory (RTC, RAP) and the ideology of economists ignore these facts, such economic theory cannot be adequate for comprehensive understanding, explanation, or prediction of human behavior, as empirical evidence from recent research (i.e., the past two or three decades) now clearly demonstrates (Baumeister, 2005; Boehm, 2012; Bowles and Gintis, 2011; Cozolino, 2006; Greene, 2013; Lieberman, 2013; Tuschman, 2013: chapter. 20).

Smith suggests here that A. Fiske's (1993) typology of human relations and personal exchange-interaction perspectives needs to be supplemented by a fifth perspective: *emotional appreciation*. At all times in the history of our species, humans have likely made *decisions* about future behavior partly, or sometimes wholly, *based on emotional reactions to people, objects, and situations irrespective of other perspectives and considerations*. Recent research in behavioral economics attests to this fact, as does much research in psychology on decision-making, goals, willpower, and emotions. For instance, human choices of mates/partners, numbers of children to have, friends to relate to, places to reside, religious identity and activities, occupations, volunteering/civic participation, media exposure, and other leisure activities are strongly influenced by emotional appreciation factors, often far more than by the other four perspectives Fisk identifies. In fact, any given individual can be influenced to varying degrees by any combination of one or more of Fiske's four perspectives and Smith's fifth perspective, suggested here.

6. Biology, socio-behavioral science, and theoretical integration

[The Sub-section #6 below quotes from Smith 2017a with permission.]

Space considerations here forbid discussing this topic in more than a cursory manner. There is now a mountain of recent evidence solidly refuting the traditional *blank slate* approach of all the social sciences that has prevailed for the past century, ignoring the effects of human evolution and biology on behavior (Pinker, 2003). There can no longer be any serious doubt by objective scientists in any academic discipline that human biology has marked, but usually *not* deterministic, effects on human behavior (Barrett, 2011; Baumeister, 2005; Boehm, 2012; Bowles and Gintis, 2011; Breedlove et al., 2010; Brown, Brown, and Penner 2011; Buss, 2005; Carlson, 2012; Churchland, 2011; Cozolino, 2006; Field, 2004; Freese, 2008; Greene, 2013; Hatemi and McDermott, 2011; Keltner et al., 2014; Kenrick and Griskevicius, 2013; Lieberman, 2013; Marcus, 2013; McGue and Bouchard 1998; Smith et al., 2016:chapter 33; Tuschman, 2013:chapter 20; E. Wilson, 2004, 2013). This is as clearly true for human volunteering, pro-social behavior, and sociality as it is for any other aspect of human behavior (Bowles and Gintis, 2011; Field, 2004; Greene, 2013; Lieberman, 2013; Semin and Echterhoff, 2010; E. Wilson, 2004:chapter 7). The recent book by Brown et al. (2011) presents especially strong arguments and research summaries regarding the influence of evolution and neuroscience on pro-social behavior and altruism in humans, thus probably also applying to FV.

In the study of human physiology, health, and disease, the seminal article by Engel (1977) called for a *new medical model* that integrated social and psychological factors with biological factors in understanding and explaining physical health and disease or injury as DVs. Termed *the biopsychosocial model* (BPS Model), this interdisciplinary approach has subsequently become widespread among the researchers and even practitioners in the previously rather discipline-bound community of medical-health-disease researchers. The best evidence for this broad acceptance of the BPS Model in the USA can be found in two prestigious volumes published by the National Research Council, entitled respectively, *Health and Behavior* (Institute of Medicine, 2001), and *New Horizons in Health* (Singer and Ryff, 2001). The subtitle of the former states the main conclusion: "The Interplay of Biological, Behavioral, and Societal Influences." This is what S-Theory elaborates, specifies, and implements in great detail. The BPS Model, however revolutionary, is vague and programmatic as stated so far, rather than specific about which variables to include and how to combine them mathematically in explaining a particular health DV.

The most detailed description of variables (IVs) that should be included in the BPS Model can be found on pages 28–29 of the *Health and Behavior* book (Institute of Medicine 2001). In a chart adapted from O'Donnell and Harris (1993), all three Mega-IVs of S-Theory are mentioned, as individual physiological and psychological variable types, plus four types of environmental factors (without using this latter term, *environmental*, as a broader category): family/networks, organization, community, and population (societal). The main conclusion of about 25 years of research and theory about the BPS Model is given as Finding 1 of *Health and Behavior* (Institute of Medicine 2001:16): "Health and disease are determined by dynamic interactions among biological, psychological, behavioral, and social factors. These interactions occur over time and throughout development. Cooperation and interaction of multiple disciplines are necessary for understanding and influencing health and behavior." A few examples of research using the BPS Model in explaining health/disease/disorders as DVs are the following: Gatchel, Peng, Peters, Fuchs, and Turk (2007) review how the BPS Model has been applied to understanding chronic pain. Lindau, Laumann, Levinson, and Waite (2003) apply the BPS Model to understanding sexuality and health. R. Smith (2002) summarizes how the BPS Model has been applied successfully to understanding provider–patient relationships in primary medical care. Woods (1993) reviewed Chiauzzi's 1991 book on how the BPS Model has been used in preventing relapses in the addictions. Many examples could be cited for a variety of other types of health and disease DVs.

However, no small set of key Macro-IVs elaborating the BPS Mega-IVs has been identified, nor has a mathematical approach to combining these influences been described for the BPS Model, as S-Theory provides. S-Theory also shifts from a sole focus on health and disease/disorder DVs to all kinds of DVs, including pro-social behavior. Thus, S-Theory absorbs the fundamental, multi-disciplinary insight of the BPS Model, greatly broadens its DV focus, and develops a much more precise, quantitative, interdisciplinary theory with 19 specified key Macro-IVs of S-Theory that elaborate the three Mega-IVs on which the BPS Model and S-Theory agree. As it happens, these two theories were developed independently. Smith only learned of the BPS Model from a colleague (Edward O. Laumann, University of Chicago) in September of 2014, long after S-Theory had been developed and an article describing it in detail had been submitted to a Russian psychology journal (Smith, 2014b).

There can similarly no longer be any serious doubt that *culture, social structure (socio-cultural systems), and various individual experiences, often idiosyncratic, and learning from these also have marked effects on human behavior* (Baumeister,

2005; Hofstede, 2001; Prinz, 2012). However, there are clearly academics on either side of this nature-nurture continuum (not really a divide) who go to extremes in claiming victory or dominance for their side (Alcock, 2001:chapter 10; Kitcher, 1985). Such intemperance further confirms the contention of Greene (2013) that humans easily shift into the *Us vs. Them* mode of thinking and acting. Such outcomes result, in part, from our behavior genetics for this polarizing perspective and related behavior, but are also the result of relevant culture and socialization for in-group chauvinism in all societies ever studied carefully and systematically.

It is very important to note that, although biology, especially neuroscience, has much to tell us about the human brain and behavior, *biological reductionism in attempting to explain human consciousness, the human will/volition, and the human mind ultimately does not work well.* In all of the sciences, there are *emergent phenomena* at one level of complexity that cannot be well explained by simply adding up or extrapolating from the next lower level, less complex, phenomena (Holland 1999). For instance, the properties of living cells cannot be fully derived by understanding and extrapolating only from chemistry and/or physics. Similarly, one cannot derive the properties of socio-cultural systems (societies, cultures, organizations) by understanding and extrapolating only from human individual psychology.

There is now substantial evidence that neuroscientists cannot derive all the properties/characteristics/states and processes of human consciousness, as one emergent aspect of the human mind, simply by understanding and extrapolating *only* from the human brain and neurology (Schwartz and Begley, 2003; Stapp, 2009, 2011). However, many neuroscientists boldly argue the contrary, seeing consciousness as totally (vs. partially) reducible to and explicable by neurology, neurochemistry, and neurophysics. They argue that the human will is a *false feeling* we have – an *epiphenomenon* (e.g., Libet et al., 1999; Maasen et al., 2003; Pockett et al., 2006). But nearly all of these neuroscientists, and others who agree with them, are ignorant of the role of consciousness and human will/volition in quantum mechanics, not surprisingly. Quantum mechanics (theory) is highly mathematical and abstruse, with a very large number of relevant particles and their properties to keep track of.

The physicist Stapp (2009, 2011) has shown that consciousness and the human will are utterly necessary for understanding the physical universe, both at the sub-atomic/particle level and at all larger scales of space-time magnitude. Whatever neuroscience shows or purports to show, quantum mechanics is the most incredibly precise and well-confirmed theory of reality ever constructed. Quantum mechanics (theory) has been thoroughly tested

and confirmed with great, highly quantitative, mathematical precision by independent experiments performed by thousands of researchers all over the world during the past eight-plus decades (Stapp 2009, 2011). Hence, quantum theory trumps whatever empirical evidence neuroscientists or any other biologists adduce to deny the crucial role of consciousness and will in influencing human behavior. Deacon (2012, especially Chapter 17) does an excellent job of elucidating the emergent nature of consciousness, based on but *not* fully explained by the human brain and human biology.

In Smith's view, every biologist and socio-behavioral scientist should read Deacon's (2012) book, along with Stapp's two books cited above, to have a bigger and better picture of the role of the human mind, consciousness, and will/volition in our universe and in human behavior. Such additional information/learning/education will hopefully result in some modestly greater humility of each of us about the superbly comprehensive and grandiloquent nature of our own academic discipline and/or specialty within it. We clearly need a more integrative and interdisciplinary theory of human behavior, going beyond academic disciplinary boundaries and turf battles. S-Theory is one recent attempt, still in development, to work toward that goal, but now strongly supported empirically in one Russian study (see below).

7. S-Theory as a new, comprehensive, interdisciplinary, and integrative model for explaining individual behavior of all types, including volunteering and other pro-social behavior

S-Theory (Synanthrometrics), as developed by Smith (2014b, 2015, 2017a, 2017b), is one very recent, general theory of human individual behavior, especially pro-social behavior, that integrates insights from many socio-behavioral science academic disciplines, biological science, and some related interdisciplinary fields. All of the predictor types from the four quantitative socio-behavioral sciences as briefly reviewed above and in Handbook Chapter 23 (political volunteering and participation) are included. S-Theory also provides a detailed, quantitative, inter-disciplinary theory with the layered complexity suggested by Hustinx et al. (2010).

   The content of S-Theory is briefly summarized below in terms of its key IVs. S-Theory also proposes many special aspects of methodology and statistics, but there is no space to discuss these here (see Smith 2017a:chapters 7, 8). This comprehensive theory includes potentially all of the factors/variables emerging from the growing convergence of quantitative theories of behavior in the various academic socio-behavioral sciences (as partially reviewed above; see also the section in Handbook Chapter 23 on the determinants of political participation) and also in interdisciplinary socio-behavioral science fields. This testable/falsifiable and quantitative theory can easily be revised or expanded

to accommodate additional concepts and variables, based on future empirical research.

[The following paragraphs of this Sub-section #7 quote from Smith 2017a with permission of the author.]

At present (January 2016), S-Theory has been tested for the first time in survey research on a random, representative, national sample, in Russia, over-sampling volunteers and examining formal volunteering as the key behavior DV. The Volunteer Motivation Survey (VMS) is part of the ongoing research program of the Center for the Study of Civil Society and the Nonprofit Sector of the National Research University, Higher School of Economics, in Moscow. Preliminary results of OLS MRAs are given in the next section.

Unlike the narrow *Standard Social Science Model (SSSM)*, identified and discussed by Tooby and Cosmides (1992), S-Theory properly includes both biological variables (Body/B) and psychological variables (Psyche/Ψ-*psi*) for greater explanation of the variance in human behavior of all kinds. S-Theory also elaborates on environmental variables (Environment/E) beyond the usual aspects of socio-cultural systems/networks/ organizations and social roles/statuses/categories in the various institutional areas of human activity by including relevant variables from ecological psychology, geography, and linguistics and communication studies.

If or when S-Theory receives sufficient empirical confirmation and/or expert approval, this theory may be seen as a proposed *New Standard Human Science Model* or NSHSM (using the term *Standard Model* as in particle physics). This NSHSM seeks to make sense of the huge number and variety of variables that significantly affect human behavior. But unlike the SSSM, the *New* SHSM, based on S-Theory, gives biological and psychological variables their rightful place in this model or theory. Presented below are the three Mega-IVs and 19 Key Macro-IVs of the current version of S-Theory (V#95).

S-Theory can be summarized in a Brief Basic Behavior Equation (Brief BBE) in deterministic form, which asserts that human behavior (P = Position) results from the joint effects of three Mega-IVs: the individual's Body (B), Environment (E), and the Psyche, psychological system, or mind (Ψ, capital *Psi* in Greek).

$$P = (\text{Position, or Behavior}) = B + E + \Psi \tag{1}$$

The most comprehensive version of the BBE in S-Theory, termed the General BBE/Comprehensive Version (General BBE/CV), contains the following 19 Key Macro-IVs, which elaborate and specify the contents of the three Mega-IVs.

P (Position, or behavior)= [seven *Relevant-Body* IVs (BIF, CAP, ASC, BGR, CBC, BSR, SBF)] + [five *Relevant-Environment* IVs (PPM, EDF, SBS, CE, GBP] + [seven *Psyche* IVs (M, A, G, I, C,π, S)]   (2)

Although the parameters of Equation 2 can be estimated by MRAs with empirical data, a more complicated mathematics is actually necessary to do justice to testing S-Theory. Several of the key Macro-IVs and their lower level Meso-IVs and Micro-IVs, which elaborate on the higher level IVs, should only become relevant to explain behavior in S-Theory when they reach appropriately high or low threshold levels. For instance, among the Psyche IVs, unless the Pain Level Felt/π becomes very high and significantly enduring, this IV is largely irrelevant to behavior. But when pain/π is relevant, this IV tends to dominate all the other IVs. This is also true of Conscious Alertness Phase/CAP, when the individual falls asleep (low level of consciousness) or is in a highly Altered State of Consciousness/ASC (e.g., drunk, drugged, catatonic, in shock, or hypnotized).

(a) The Mega-IV of Body/B

The Body Mega-IV includes many biological processes, especially long-term processes like evolution, behavior genetics, development-maturation, and epigenetics, but also potentially current *processes* of physiology and neurology (especially neurochemistry and neurophysiology), as well as all of the potentially current biological-physiological *states*. In greater detail, the Mega-IV B, and its operational version of most relevant factors, the Relevant-Body/R-B of the individual, can be elaborated into seven Macro-IVs, as follows here:

(1)   BIF = Body Internal Functioning-health at present
(2)   CAP = Conscious Alertness Phase at present (Alert-Awake, Distracted-Awake, Transitional, Light Sleep, Deep Sleep, Stupor/Coma)
(3)   ASC = Altered State of Consciousness (e.g., drunk, drugged, hypnotized, in shock, sexually aroused, enraged, or psychotic), *if any* [a Threshold IV]
(4)   BGR = Behavior Genetics Relevant (various genetic behavior-dispositions relevant at present to a given behavior DV)
(5)   CBC = Current Body Chemistry-neurology
(6)   BSR = Body-linked Socio-cultural Roles indicated at present (e.g., age, gender, race-ethnicity, abnormal height or weight, facial disfigurement, body deformity, and varieties of able vs. disabled [blind, deaf, mute, paraplegic, quadriplegic, amputee, birth defect victim, brain-damaged, physiological psychotic]
(7)   SBF = Superficial Body Features (skin, hair, eye color, tattoos if any, etc.)

(b) The Mega-IV of Environment/E

The Environment Mega-IV includes potentially all of the states and processes of the biophysical universe external to the body of the individual. But S-Theory pays special attention to external-environmental states and processes that have been shown to affect human behavior in prior research. In particular, the Environment in S-Theory includes and measures both IVs relating to the biophysical environment and also to relevant socio-cultural systems in the environment, measuring each of these at different territorial levels of size, and using *multi-level models* of statistical analysis. In greater detail, the Mega-IV Environment/E, and its operational version nearest physically to the individual, the MIcro-Environment/MIE, can be elaborated into the following five Macro-IVs:

(1) PPM = Physical Permissiveness of the MIcro-Environment/MIE (extent to which the MIE limits normal, gross, motor activity of the body)
(2) EDF = Environment Driver Factors (objectively-present, noxious or dangerous stimuli or situations in the MIE that are likely to influence the individual to escape the MIE or to ameliorate/eliminate these stimuli if either is feasible; for instance, sufficient cold, heat, wind, moisture, noxious gas, sound, brightness of light, other extreme radiation, unpleasant smells, etc.; also, dangerous animals, people, situations, etc.)
(3) SBS = Socio-cultural Behavior Setting (a socio-culturally meaningful situation or behavior setting that is *physically-objectively present* [vs. perceived by the individual] in the MIE or larger sociocultural environment, with associated-linked normative expectations for behavior)
(4) CE = Control (that is objectively likely over the) Environment, especially the MIE, by the individual
(5) GBP = General Bio-Physical environment (including the Natural Non-human Biological environment/NNB, the Built-Artificial Environment/BAE, and the HumanPopulation Environment/HPE)

(c) The Mega-IV of Psyche/Ψ

The Psyche/Ψ (Psi) Mega-IV includes potentially all of the states and processes of the mind as an emergent phenomenon (Holland, 1999). S-Theory views the Psyche or psychological system of the individual as based on, but more complicated than, the brain and nervous system. The Psyche has seven distinct, empirically identifiable, psychological states and processes as Key Macro-IVs that are hypothesized to completely describe and measure how an individual's Psyche/mind influences behavior at this high level of IV generality. Personality and other psychologists have extensively used nearly all of these Psyche Macro-IVs. However, Pain level felt/π is an exception that

has rarely been included in psychological studies or theories of behavior, because it is unethical (in most instances) to manipulate pain/π in the laboratory. The seven Psyche (Ψ) Key Macro-IVs are elaborated and specified as follows (abbreviated as M, A, G, I, C, π, and S):

(1)   M = Motivations/dispositions
(2)   A = Affects/emotions
(3)   G = Goals/values
(4)   I = Intellectual capacities/skills
(5)   C = Cognitions/perceptions/beliefs
(6) π (pi) = Pain level felt, if any [a Threshold IV]
(7)   S = Self (both the conscious and unconscious, unique, organizing pattern of the other six Psyche IVs, which are termed the *Life Stance IVs/LS*).

8. First, partial, empirical test of S-Theory on 2014 Russian national sample survey data (N = 2,000)

[The following paragraphs of sub-section #8 (a) quote from Smith (2017a), with permission of the author. Because this is the first published description of the Russian survey, its methodology is presented in detail here, so the reader can assess the methodological validity of the survey and its results.]

(a) *Methodology*

Because of an opportunity presented during a July 2013 lecture visit to the Centre for Studies of Civil Society and the Nonprofit Sector (CSCSNS, at the National Research University, Higher School of Economics [HSE], Moscow, Russian Federation), Smith decided to test his S-Theory in the context of the 2014 annual, national sample interview survey of the CSCSNS, at the invitation of its Director, Irina Mersianova. Although this survey approach would (a) preclude measurement of implicit/unconscious versions of the Psyche variables (a key methodological aspect of S-Theory; Smith 2014b, 2015, 2017a, 2017b) and (b) also preclude measurement of relevant, behavior genetics factors (BGR), many other aspects of S-Theory could be tested, including 10 of the 19 macro-IV types. The large (N = 2,000) national sample and the focus on Russian adults were major positive factors, given that so much prior, relevant research had used smaller, non-random samples in Western Europe and North America. The annual surveys performed for and analyzed by CSCSNS are supported by the Russian government, as is the university, HSE, in general.

(i) *Interview Schedule and Pre-Testing*

Because Smith is a native English-speaker, he constructed both the longer Pre-Test Interview and the Final Interview Schedule, with 115

questions in English (plus interviewer instructions), with some inputs by Irina Mersianova (HSE, Russia), René Bekkers (VU University Amsterdam, Netherlands), and Rebecca Nesbit (University of Georgia, USA). The content was a concerted attempt to test S-Theory in regard to understanding and explaining mainly FV in Russia (a synonym for *the Russian Federation*). Smith consulted recent research literature on volunteering, as well as the broader research literature supporting S-Theory. For most types of variables relevant to S-Theory, an attempt was made to include several items that might form coherent indices in the data analysis phase.

A Pre-Test Interview was initially constructed with 151 numbered questions, nearly all with fixed answers reflecting a range of five response choices. However, two of these questions actually inquired separately about involvement in 39 types of associations – once with regard to active membership, and then again with regard to nominal (inactive) memberships. Hence, in a sense, the total number of questions was closer to 240 initially.

The Pre-Test Interview was applied by native Russian speakers to 60 adults in a random sample of Russian residents in November 2013. The interviews were coded numerically, entered as digital data, and analyzed by computer, using the SPSS statistical package, with help from Bekkers. On the basis of the statistical results and discussions with Bekkers, the first author dropped 37 numbered items from the Pre-Test interview in constructing the Final Interview, and added a single item. An attempt was made to preserve those IV types and items that seemed most promising theoretically, in terms of both S-Theory and the prior, empirical research literature. Contractual arrangements with the Russian polling agency limited the number of questions that could be asked to 115, for an estimated interview length of about 50 minutes.

(ii) Translation

Both the Pre-Test Interview and Final Interview were translated from English into Russian by Natalya Ivanova, a full-time staff member of HSE with extensive university training in English, many years of translation experience as an employee of the US Embassy in Moscow, and a native speaker of Russian. A subsequent, *independent* back-translation was performed on the Final Interview, showing the initial translation to be correct and accurate.

(iii) Sampling

The sampling and interviewing were performed by a Russian polling agency that had previously done similar, national sample surveys for CSCSNS at HSE. They had a vested interest in doing a good job, so as to obtain contracts for future annual surveys. Smith and Mersianova designed the intended

sample to make sure that enough volunteers would be included to make statistical analysis possible with a large number of statistical degrees of freedom. We knew from prior national surveys that volunteering occurred for only a rather small minority of adult Russians (in the 10%–20% range). Thus, from the usual (annual) intended sample size of 2,000, we decided to draw a random sample of 1200 adult Russians and also a random *over-sample* of 800 adult respondents who had done some volunteering in the prior 12 months. The screening item asked the potential over-sample respondents about active participation in any of 39 types of associations (or volunteer programs, in a couple of instances). If such a screened and random individual had done active volunteering for any type of association, he or she was interviewed as part of the volunteer over-sample.

This over-sampling approach was intended to give us 800 formal volunteers for certain and did so, plus another intended 100+ (and actual 152) from the random sample of 1200. If we had drawn a random sample of 2,000 individuals, we would have had only about 254 volunteers, instead of the actual 952 we ended up with. This much larger number of (still random) volunteers permits us to estimate with far greater precision and validity the various correlates of FV that were measured by the many items in our interview schedule.

Note that many researchers (e.g., Musick and Wilson, 2008) define formal volunteers and FV more narrowly, as *only* referring to formal volunteers who participate actively in Volunteer Service Programs (VSPs) as departments of other, parent organizations, such as paid-staff, nonprofit agencies, government agencies and some for-profit businesses (e.g., for-profit hospitals). If we had used this erroneously narrow definition of formal volunteers, we would have found less than 1% of formal volunteers among adults in Russia. Instead, with a correctly broader definition, we found about 12.7% of adults in the random sample of 1200 adults were active as volunteers in one or more types of voluntary associations.

The polling agency had a standard national sampling process that they used in various surveys, but did not allow their interviewers to interview individuals who responded to an earlier survey unless at least six months had passed. The standardized description of this sampling process in English, as provided in a prepared document, was as follows:

> In the mass poll of the population of the Russian Federation was used a three-stage stratified random selection of households. The number of the selection is 2000 respondents. Principles of the Russian three-stage stratified selection are the following: The first step is a selection of administrative regions of Russia, the second step is a selection of settlements,

and the third step is a selection of households by a route method. A selection of a respondent in a household was carried out according to the specified quotas. There was applied a coherent quota for sex and age and a separate quota for an education of the respondent.

In an accompanying chart, listing 50 *regions* and 102 named *settlements* from all over Russia, specified numbers of required respondents are indicated, with a minimum of 10 from each settlement. For instance, 148 respondents were to be drawn from Moscow, 64 from St. Petersburg, 39 to 45 from several other large cities, and smaller numbers from other settlements. Some 54 settlements were termed *villages*, including some *urban villages* – the equivalent of suburbs. This plan yielded a very diverse national sample with substantial randomness, but we cannot be sure that it produces a random representative sample of all adult Russians 18 and older. Quota aspects suggest otherwise. Also, we cannot check the validity of the set of settlements studied, nor check the numbers of selected respondents per settlement.

The 2,000 interviews were performed in-person in homes all over Russia in Spring 2014, with the average interview length being about 50 minutes. The interviewers each kept a careful record of contacts, screening attempts, and the refusals by potential respondents (including interviews broken off as incomplete, after being started). Our estimate of the total response rate was 64.7%, in terms of successfully interviewing randomly selected and intended respondents, including the screened volunteer oversample respondents.

When the frequencies for the total sample of 2,000 are examined, the age distribution from 18 to 84 looks reasonable and fairly smooth. The income and education distributions look similarly smooth and reasonable. About 50% of respondents were married and 26% single-never married, with smaller percentages living together as married (7%), divorced or separated (8%), or widowed (8%; 1% total discrepancy from 100% due to rounding errors). Females are over-represented relative to 50–50 split, with 64% being females, but this reflects the national distribution of females relative to males. In part this imbalance may also have resulted from greater accessibility of females in this dwelling-place interviewing process, with a maximum of seven contact attempts per intended respondent. After seven attempts, potential respondents were randomly replaced.

In the data analyses, no attempt was made to weight our respondents to simulate a national representative sample of adult Russians on which to test our theoretical hypotheses. Population parameter estimates for the adult population of Russia in 2014 were not being sought. Instead, the stated hypotheses were being tested on a large, national sample of adult Russians. Prior research has shown that the pattern of correlations found in biased samples of a population

closely resemble the patterns in unbiased samples (Brehm 1993; Dillman 2000; Krosnick 1999). In general, all survey samples analyzed by computer are biased both by substantial nonresponse rates and by missing data for responding individuals (e.g., when cases are dropped by Listwise Deletion in SPSS for lack of data on single items). Thus, the results are reported here for the total sample of 2,000, combining the random sample of 1200 and the random volunteer over-sample of 800. Our results on the correlates of formal volunteering should, however, be replicable in other, large, random, reasonably representative, national samples of adult Russians.

(iv) Measurement, Data Processing, and Indices

Interview data were coded, entered in digital data format, and an SPSS data file was built. On the basis of initial frequency distributions for all items, any erroneous outliers were identified and the data were corrected in the SPSS file, based on the interview schedules. A university-trained computer expert, Irina Korneeva, on the full-time staff of the sponsoring institution, was in charge of data processing, as supervised by Smith.

To facilitate the largest possible set of respondents in the statistical analysis, missing data for any interview item were replaced with the mean of that item for the remainder of the 2,000 cases with valid data. This provides a maximum likelihood estimate for each item. To facilitate ease of theoretical interpretation, each item of the interview was also recoded so that a high score on the item in the Master SPSS data file indicated the higher level of FV, the key dependent variable criterion, as hypothesized by S-Theory. For instance, self-identified social class (BD-6) was recoded so that a high score indicated high self-identified social class. This approach also justifies one-tailed statistical significance tests being used generally in the analysis, even though we did *not* do so, to be statistically conservative.

(v) Explanatory Variables/Predictors

Most of the important variables in the research were measured by multi-item indices, seeking higher reliability for our S-Theory conceptual constructs. This process also reduced the number of predictors that needed to be studied in each of six predictor sets that were to be entered into relevant regressions. The sets of 3 to 18 items initially intended to form each planned index were factor analyzed separately, using the SPSS Principal Components factor extraction procedure, with both Varimax and Oblimin rotations to simple structure if more than one principal component was extracted before the Eigenvalue dropped below 1.000. The results were used to refine many of the indices, mainly by dropping intended items that did not cohere well with the main set (i.e., that had lower factor loadings on the first

principal component). Items thus dropped were still retained initially in the multivariate data analyses with FV.

We constructed indices by computing standard scores (z-scores) for each component item, and then taking the mean of z-scores for each item for each individual. This procedure weighted each component item equally in every index. Using the SPSS computer statistical analysis program package, we computed the Cronbach Alpha reliability coefficient for all such predictor indices.

(vi) Multi-collinearity check and OLS regression approach

We performed a factor analysis of all of the final IVs, both indices and single-item variables together, to look for multi-collinearity. There was no evidence of substantial multi-collinearity among the final set of IVs used in subsequent MRAs. The first factor extracted by a Principal Components Analysis of the final set of IVs involved well below 50% of the variance. We chose to use Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) as our MRA statistic. OLS has shown itself to be robust in much prior research in many disciplines, and has the best measure and interpretation of proportional-reduction-of-error-variance, in the R^2 or explained variance statistic, corrected for sample size (degrees of statistical freedom).

(b) Confirmation of S-Theory IVs Tested

The criterion variable used here was an index of Formal Volunteering (FV), which was based on six, equally-weighted, interview items asking about different facets of FV (FORMALVOL4-IX; see Smith 2015). The Cronbach Alpha reliability score was .91 for the full sample of 2,000 respondents. When the full theoretical set of 58 S-Theory IVs, both indices and relevant single items, was entered into an OLS MRA, *the 19 statistically significant predictors of FV (at or below the .05 level, two-tailed) explained an adjusted R^2 of .674 (or 67.4%)*. With measures of Informal Volunteering and Charitable Giving added to the regression equation predicting FV, the R^2 rises still further to .708 or 70.8%. Both of theses R^2 levels are outstandingly high, going far beyond the R^2 levels found in prior studies of FV in any national samples of adults anywhere.

The most striking aspects of these results are (a) the high levels of FV variance explained, and (b) the fact that the usual demographic/social role IVs like sex, age, and Socio-Economic Status (SES) were not important enough independent influences to enter the set of top 19 MRA IVs, with other IVs statistically controlled. The MRA results strongly confirm that the General BBE of S-Theory is relevant to explaining FV as one form of pro-social behavior.

In sum, S-Theory has had a very promising initial test in large sample survey research in a nation that is rarely studied. These findings validate

S-Theory to the extent it has been partially tested, lacking especially measures of the implicit/unconscious versions of the seven Psyche Macro-IVs and also measures of Behavioral Genetics Relevant (BGR). Most prior explanatory and multivariate research on formal volunteering has been performed in *WEIRD* nations: *W*estern, *E*ducated, *I*ndustrialized, *R*ich, and *D*emocratic (Henrich, Heine, and Norenzayan 2010). These have also usually been OECD nations. Russia is less like such nations, so it is heartening that S-Theory also works well there.

As Smith (2017a) concludes (quoted here with permission of the author):

> S-Theory may well deserve the label, *A Theory of Everyone*. S-Theory specifies and expands Engel's (1977) vague Biopsychosocial/BPS *health* Model, focusing on *all* behavior, including pro-social behavior. S-Theory also responds to the call for consilience in human science theory issued by E. Wilson (1999). In addition, S-Theory responds to the challenges of appropriate interdisciplinary and integrative theory as framed by Hustinx et al. (2010). If or when S-Theory is widely accepted, it will constitute a paradigm shift and scientific revolution (Kuhn 1962) in the socio-behavioral sciences, with strong implications also for the life sciences insofar as they deal with humans as a species.

E. Usable knowledge

S-Theory can readily be used to enhance recruitment and retention of volunteers, by focusing on those influences on formal volunteering that are most easily changed. The most powerful example would be to have an association or VSP simply spend more time and resources directly asking potential participants to get involved. In the long term, attempting to change people's goals and attitudes toward volunteering could also help, but this is much more difficult. Thoughtful publicity campaigns that praise the benefits of formal volunteering for the volunteer (see Handbook Chapter 49) might also be successful. VSPs might use personality and attitude tests to screen for those volunteers more likely to continue volunteering, once accepted (e.g., individuals with more traits/aspects of the Active-Effective Character/Active-Prosocial Character; see Handbook Chapters 5, 15, and 30). Similar screening might be done in larger (especially supra-local) associations when selecting officer and board candidates or other leaders of various types.

F. Future trends and needed research

In future research on formal volunteering and other pro-social behavior, increasing use of more highly multivariate and interdisciplinary models,

including S-Theory, may be expected. S-Theory will likely be tested especially by researchers in the field of health and diseases/disorders, particularly by epidemiologists. Re-analyses of existing longitudinal (panel) data sets to test S-Theory will likely occur frequently.

Given the very positive results of testing S-Theory in Russia, much more future research should attempt to measure *all* of its suggested 19 Macro-IVs comprehensively, rather than simply replicating further that one or a few of such relevant IVs has/have a statistically significant effect on formal, informal, or total volunteering (e.g., most of the studies reported in Musick and Wilson 2008, and in J. Wilson 2012). S-Theory IVs also need to be tested on many specific types of volunteering (see Handbook Chapter 3), on various measures of volunteering (see Section D, #1, above), and on volunteering at different stages, from joining, to extensive involvement to exit.

Most importantly, S-Theory needs extensive, further, multinational testing with large samples (e.g., 2,000 or more interviews) in many nations (e.g., N = 30+) of different types (i.e., different levels of complexity and economic development, different types of political regimes from pluralist democracies to totalitarian dictatorships, different world regions and cultural areas, different levels of wealth and income, etc.; see Handbook Chapter 3). Further, the explanatory power of implicit (unconscious) measures of all the Psyche IVs needs to be studied, in the statistical context of measuring all the other key Macro-IVs of S-Theory. Similarly, future research needs to investigate the explanatory power of behavior genetics relevant (BGR) to volunteering and other DVs. Smith (2015:Conclusion, 2017a) suggests many other kinds of testing needed for S-Theory. Finally, using panel survey data, preferably with several waves over many years, will be necessary to study causality, not just correlations as here.

G. Cross-references

Chapters 25–30.

Note

1. Van Puyvelde wrote the first seven paragraphs in Section D, #5.

H. Bibliography

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List of relevant websites

Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action, Inc./ARNOVA. www.arnova.org

International Council of Voluntarism, Civil Society, and Social Economy Researcher Associations, Inc./ICSERA. www.icsera.org

International Society for Third Sector Research, Inc./ISTR. www.istr.org

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Part V
Internal Structures of Associations

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32

Local or Grassroots Associations: Micro-Associations

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A. Introduction

This chapter focuses on Local Grassroots Associations (LGAs; usually referred to simply as GAs; Smith 2000), beginning with issues of definition. LGAs are termed here *micro-associations* by Smith, the Handbook's first editor. LGAs have also been termed the *dark matter* of the nonprofit sector (Smith 1997c), and as *below the radar* organizations (Soteri-Proctor 2011), because they are often overlooked and are difficult to find, sample, and study. LGAs, the oldest type of NPOs and dating from 10,000 years ago (Smith 1997b; see also Handbook Chapter 1), have been found in every contemporary society and in all earlier societies, properly studied, seeking a very wide variety of goals. They are discussed here in terms of their life cycles, purposive and analytical types, external linkages, internal structures and processes, leadership and management, prestige and power, and impacts. There is strong evidence that LGAs are growing in global prevalence, based on broader, ongoing processes such as population growth, increasing formal education, economic development, civil liberties, and other long-term global trends (Schofer and Longhofer 2011; Smith and Shen 2002).

By the general definition, LGAs are *locally* based. That is, their geographic scope of membership ranges from a single multiple-family building (apartment building, condominium) to a metropolitan area or single county (Smith 2000). LGAs cover a range of organized activities and associational life, are significantly autonomous, and mainly or totally volunteer-run. They may have a formal or informal internal structure, but tend to be informal. However, terminology in various world regions and nations differs from the general terminology just noted.

Because there are no adequate/comprehensive lists or sampling frames for LGAs in any municipality, let alone for larger territories in any nation (see Handbook Chapter 50), LGAs have been poorly studied using large samples.

Indeed, Smith (1997c) refers to LGAs collectively as the *dark matter* of the non-profit sector, as noted above. This terminology is an analogy to the dark matter of the physical universe, which far outweighs all the visible bright matter in stars, planets, comets, and so on (Smith 2000:12).

Yet, despite LGAs' local specificity and the resourceful ways in which they draw on multiple resources to go about their daily business, research shows that they "do not operate as islands" (Soteri-Proctor and Alcock 2012). Instead, LGAs blend a mixture of resources including volunteer-time, others' knowledge, skills and expertise as well as others' physical capital such as shared space. These are used not only to benefit their members, but often result in the recirculation of resources generated from their work to their immediate and wider communities (Soteri-Proctor and Alcock 2012; Soteri-Proctor, McCabe, and Phillimore 2014). With their wider connections to social, economic, and political structures within their localities and their subsequent links to wider structures, LGAs may be considered an important nexus for understanding wider societies. This is a special angle, because they have been observed to have a universal existence; they are found in all regions of the world and may be traced as far back as ancient times and earlier preliterate horticultural society (see Smith 1997b).

Using literature on LGAs found in China, Eastern Europe, South Asia, Central Europe, the United States, and the United Kingdom, this chapter illustrates some of the universal yet diverse characteristics that reflect the wider socio-economic and political context in which LGAs are located.

B. Definitions

The generally accepted definition of a grassroots association (GA; an LGA is a synonymous term and abbreviation used here) is set out in the Handbook Appendix, as are many other relevant definitions accepted here. Membership Associations (MAs) can also be local or supra-local in territorial scope. More detailed definitions may be found elsewhere (Smith 2000:chapter 1). Building on the key characteristics of LGAs outlined in Smith's first chapter, the following characteristics have also been identified and elaborated by country and region as they bear on LGAs, and MAs.

In the literature that mentions *local* or *grassroots* associations in Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries, we find three features:

(1) Often *local* is defined in opposition to *inter-national* and *trans-national*. LGAs are seen as *domestic* organizations at the national to regional and local level. In this sense, any domestic non-governmental organizations, whether associations or not, that function as junior partners or clients of the inter-national aid organizations are called *local*, and sometimes interchangeably also *community* or *grassroots* (Chandler 1998; Despotovic et al. 2007; Fagan 2011 2005; Henderson 2003).

(2) *Grassroots* often means *non-governmental* or *non-state* (e.g., in China; Smith with Zhao 2016). The term describes organizations and groups that operate autonomously in the sphere between the family, market, and the state, often in opposition to the state. This is usually in conjunction with the idea of *civil society*.

(3) This literature uses the term *association* interchangeably with *organization* or *NGO*.

Different types of grassroots associations operate in South Asia. They are known as voluntary associations (VAs), grassroots organizations (GROs), user groups (UGs), community-based organizations (CBOs), and self-help groups (SHGs; Chand 2000; Powis 2003). Basically, an MA may be defined as a "locally established voluntary organization with objectives to address local issues through collective action" (Baroi and Rabbani 2011).

MAs in South Asia differ in their origin, role, scope, and objectives; however, they share several similar characteristics. They are community based and created as informal self-help groups. The MAs in the region are similar to the NGOs working in the community. Another aspect of these MAs is women's role in forming and sustaining them (Sommer 2001).

In China, GAs are understood more broadly as *bottom-up* associations of *any* geographic scope, as contrasted with government-initiated and often government-controlled, *top-down* associations (Smith with Zhao 2016). Most of China's civil society organizations are active at the grassroots level and may be conceived of as two types found in urban and rural communities. One type is internally oriented, established spontaneously by common people for self-entertainment, self-service, and self-management of civil organizations. The other type is externally oriented, its main goal being to advocate, raise social attention, and drive policy-making. Both are referred to as LGAs.

Another important issue in defining associations involves the degree to which an association at the local level is independent of some larger parent association, usually supra-local in scope, and often national. Research shows that most local associations tend to be rather autonomous of supra-local parent associations. A related issue of independence involves whether an association is independent of the government, especially the national government. If there is no independence, then the association is not a nonprofit, but just a government agency, possibly disguised as an independent association. This is often the situation in totalitarian regimes and even in less stringent authoritarian political regimes, such as one-party states.

C. Historical background

Research on LGAs goes back perhaps 5,000 years, to historical records or reports of religious LGAs in ancient Egypt (e.g., Shafer 1991; see Handbook Chapter 1).

Smith (1997b) presented the first global overview of the history of LGAs, beginning with preliterate societies about 10,000 years ago and continuing down to the present. Handbook Chapter 1 is an even more extensive global history of LGAs, but also covers supra-local associations, over the same 10,000-year range of time as in Smith's paper. Research on LGAs in many nations has been increasingly common since the 1970s (Smith 1974, 2000; see also Smith 1997a, 1997c, 2004, 2010a, 2010b, 2014; Smith and Van Til, with Bernfeld, Pestoff, and Zeldin 1983).

D. Key issues

1. Life cycles of LGAs

A variety of life-cycle issues exist regarding LGAs (see also Handbook Chapter 37, for more details). For example, there is the question of how LGAs begin. Many LGAs are started by autonomous and independent founders as social entrepreneurs, driven by a vision of a better world – the bottom-up or usual grassroots model. Others are formed by existing organizations, governmental and otherwise – the top-down model. The first is exemplified by establishing groups to meet social and health needs not being met elsewhere (Frumkin 2002:20–24). Some LGAs are spinoffs from existing groups. Whatever its provenance, this kind of LGA reflects certain local interests, needs, and public attitudes.

A second life-cycle issue revolves around the sources of and factors in organizational stability, as manifested in growth, decline, exit, and death of the entity. Some associations dissolve quickly, whereas others last 5 to 10 years or more. Polymorphic LGAs, as branches of larger, usually supra-local associations, tend to live longer (Wollebaek 2009). Some cease to function, but are replaced by other, possibly more effective groups. Another variation of this theme is seen in those LGAs, a small proportion, that grow in size, move to a more formal structure, hire paid staff, and so on. Only very few LGAs transform themselves into nonprofit service agencies, forsaking their membership-based approach. This issue lacks systematic research, a situation partially explained by the fact that it demands a commitment to longitudinal data collection (see Handbook Chapter 37 for further discussion).

A third life-cycle issue has to do with the rates of incidence, prevalence, and demise, as these vary from one geographic area to the next (see Handbook Chapter 50). Fourth, though seldom important for LGAs, Handbook Chapters 41 and 47 cover the legal and regulatory issues emerging over the life of an LGA, such as incorporation (as legal persons), registration, tax-exemption, and both external and self-regulation. A fifth issue centers on civil liberties and freedoms as conditions affecting the formation, existence, growth, and decline or exit. Handbook Chapter 45 considers this issue in detail.

2. Purposive and analytical types of LGAs

Salamon and Anheier (1992) proposed a 12-fold classification of nonprofit organizations as sorted into different *categories,* dubbed the "International Classification of Nonprofit Organizations (ICNPO)." The categories are culture (including recreation), education (including literacy), health, social services (including emergency aid), environment (including animal protection), development (including neighborhood organizations), civic and advocacy (including political), philanthropy (including fund-raising), international, religious, business and professional, unions, and *other*.

The ICNPO is a purposive, descriptive classification, as opposed to one that is analytic, or theoretic (see Handbook Chapter 3). Smith (1996) has suggested a revision of the ICNPO that provides a better approach to associations, especially LGAs, which are largely neglected in the original ICNPO.

3. External linkages and context of LGAs

Some LGAs are monomorphic (*one form*); they are unique entities, not branches of a larger/parent organization (Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:146). Others are polymorphic (*many forms*), being branches of a parent group (ibid., p.178). Such parent associations are usually supra-local, meso-associations at a regional or national level of geographic scope (see Handbook Chapter 33). In addition, some LGAs also have horizontal linkages to other LGAs in their community or metropolitan area or to local networks or umbrella associations. All such linkages tend to prolong LGA lifespans and make the LGA more effective (Wollebaek 2009).

The issue of external linkages affects the question of LGA autonomy. Some LGAs function under a top-down process of control by government (e.g., the GONGOs and QUANGOs, defined in the Appendix; see also Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:190) or by a (usually supra-local) parent association or organization. In totalitarian dictatorships and often in authoritarian regimes, government control of LGAs as well as of meso-associations is usually very strong (Allen 1984; Smith1974:chapters 1, 3, 45, 46; Smith with Zhao 2016).

However, the shift from a totalitarian to a less-restrictive authoritarian government regime can provide more freedom of association for LGAs, as has been the case in China since the Post-Mao Reform and Opening (Smith with Zhao 2016; Wang 2011). This is true even though the government control of meso-associations (national and many regional associations) remains very strong (Smith 2013).

For example, the communist regimes in Eastern Europe in the 20th century did not put an end to the associational life. Some associations were abolished and their property nationalized. But others were permitted to exist as semi-autonomous organizations with a degree of state surveillance, especially in the

area of sports, leisure, culture, and youth associations. Other, more explicitly ideological associations, were created anew, such as societies for friendship with the Soviet Union, women unions, or socialist youth associations. Citizens were required to participate in such mass organizations (national associations, with polymorphic LGAs) in order to express loyalty to the regime whose ideology emphasized social activism (Frič and Pospíšilová 2010; Frič et al. 1998; Smith 1974:chapters 1, 5).

China also offers a rich example here. Under Mao Zedong, from 1949 to 1976, the government controlled all associations, as in all totalitarian political regimes (Allen 1984; Smith 1974:chapter 1). But after 1978, under Deng Xiao Ping and his successors, nonprofits, including associations, were allowed to exist (Smith with Zhao 2016; Wang 2011). Most importantly, although technically illegal, there are millions of unregistered LGAs in China, sometimes termed *unregistered social organizations* or *USOs*, that are allowed to function quite freely, provided they avoid political activity in opposition to the party-state (Smith with Zhao 2016). A relatively abundant, diverse, and open association ecosystem for LGAs has come into being in China during the past two decades plus (Wang 2011). (See Handbook Chapter 46 for a broader discussion of pluralism, corporatism, authoritarianism, and totalitarianism as alternative societal systems.)

Large, especially national or regional, *social organizations* (the English translation of the Chinese term for associations generally) have been gradually standardized, usually under close central government control as GONGOs (Government Owned/Organized NGOs). They have been made more orderly than in the past, with their activity fields expanding more and more. Nowadays, China's economic progress, social harmony, and political civility cannot do without social organizations (Wang and Sun 2010). The term *social organization* has survived also in some former communist countries in Central Europe, such as Hungary and Poland. The term was introduced there during the communist rule to describe those associations that were allowed to exist, under government monitoring, and in which citizens were encouraged to participate (Frič et al. 1998; Kuti 2000; Leś, Nałęcz, Wygnański 2000).

Research suggests that in developed contemporary nations with strong civil liberties, local polymorphic LGAs have considerable autonomy in their operations when they follow the general guidelines from their parent associations (Smith 2000:79–81, 108–109). By definition, monomorphic LGAs typically enjoy nearly total freedom to make policy and run their own operations in all areas of activity, providing they obey relevant laws.

Turning to the issue of where associations are located in their local associational eco-system, McPherson and Rotolo (1996) studied all the associations present in various communities, assessing their average demographic composition of members. They were able to show that the associations in

a given community tended to fall into distinct socio-demographic niches, distributed across a multi-dimensional property space defined by various demographic variables such as sex, age, economic status, and so on. New associations attempting to form and establish themselves tend to have more success if they fit into an existing niche with few or no competing associations in the same niche. This is analogous to new species arising in a specific natural ecosystem.

The degree of external support versus opposition constitutes another avenue along which to explore environmental relations and exchanges. Thus, the 1989 overthrow of the Communist regime in the Czech Republic was accompanied by temporary mass citizen mobilization and the establishment of mass movements with loose and rather informal structures. These ranged from local groups to national leadership in some countries (e.g., Civic Forum and Public Against Violence in Czechoslovakia; Glenn 1999). Legislation allowing freedom of association was among the first laws to be adopted or changed (in Hungary and Poland already at the end of 1980s; in Czechoslovakia in 1990), providing for a boom in the formation of associations in all Visegrad countries (Schofer and Longhofer 2011; Vajdová 2005:36).

The present issue also leads to examination of the degree of collaboration of LGAs with external groups and organizations, including businesses and governments/ government agencies (see also Handbook Chapter 48). For instance, the political transformation in the 1950s in South Asia brought significant changes to its LGAs (e.g., Guru and Chakravarty 2005). The transformation of traditional associations accelerated as many were co-opted by political groups and modern NGOs. From 1960 to1980, many development agencies believed that top-down centralized planning was the answer to development in the region. The government cut support for these associations during that period. However, as this model failed, there was a push for a bottom-up development that renewed interest in local organizations, such as LGAs.

During the recent period in South Asia, political changes leading to discrimination based on caste and ethnicity led to civil movements by discriminated groups, with LGAs as part of these movements. Some notable ones included the Dalit Panther movement in India (Guru and Chakravarty 2005) and the political movements in Bangladesh (Devine 2006). This historical change also illustrates the issue of relations with government at different geographic levels.

The larger societal and community context affects LGAs and participation in them. Handbook Chapter 46 explores the effects of societal context in terms of authoritarian, corporatist, and pluralist systems. Handbook Chapter 26 examines conducive macro-contexts and environments for individual volunteering. Handbook Chapter 50 explores how various societal and lower-level territorial factors affect the prevalence of LGAs within territories. Several articles and books examine in detail smaller sets of cities and towns, attempting to explain

differences in LGA prevalence and participation using contextual variables (Kriesi and Baglioni 2003; Maloney and Rossteutscher 2007; van Deth 1997).

4. Internal structure and processes/operations of LGAs

There are variations in internal structure and processes in LGAs across and even within nations, as well as variations over historical time (Smith 2013). In preliterate and later ancient societies, LGAs were very informal, but have often tended to become rather more formal in recent centuries. For instance, a standard set of LGA formal roles is now widespread – President, Vice-President(s), Secretary, Treasurer (Smith 2000, 2013). Boards of Directors of LGAs have also become more common. Polymorphic LGAs, as branches of a supralocal parent association, have arisen as a new associational form, especially in the past century or two (ibid.).

Member power, or the extent of internal democracy, is an important variable in LGA structures and processes, as in all associations (Smith 2015a). Members may have relatively little say in selecting leaders or shaping major policy decisions, or they may have a constitutional right to vote to express themselves on these questions. In Western post-industrial nations, LGAs tend to have substantial internal democracy (Smith 2000:112–114). In less democratic and non-democratic Asian and other developing nations, internal democracy tends to be less frequent, if present at all. A single leader or small set of leaders (oligarchy) usually makes policy decisions and selects new officers/leaders.

What is the nature of LGA members? Most LGAs are composed of individual members (persons). However, a few LGAs in any community in contemporary Western/developed nations have only organizational members, with such LGAs often called federations or networks. Collective members of LGAs are rare in less-developed nations. Even more rare are LGAs in any nation that consist of both types of members, individual and collective.

Whichever type is present, LGA members usually join for the benefits they receive through membership. Still, some LGAs are formed to benefit an external target set of recipients, exemplified by environmental preservation or disaster relief LGAs. Individual LGA members can vary widely according to demographic criteria, but most small LGAs tend to be rather homogeneous in terms of demographic variables (McPherson and Rotolo 1996).

The eligibility requirements for membership in LGAs may vary from loose to strict. Loose eligibility criteria focus on, for example, whether one is male or female, falls into a certain age category, professes a particular religion, or lives in a particular place (Smith 2000:83–85). Stricter criteria may include high academic or scholarly attainment, high level of income or wealth, current occupation, school or university attended, elite family status, exceptional intelligence, and the like. Socialization of new members into the norms and rules of an LGA is usually quite informal (e.g., Kramer 2011).

LGAs also vary according to their level of formalization. This is mainly a matter of how bureaucratized the group is. In general, more formalized LGAs are likely to be more effective and to survive longer (Smith 1986). Many LGAs, especially in developing nations and for less educated people in any nation, operate with a single leader, often with an inner circle of informal *assistant leaders*. In more developed nations and for LGAs of more educated people, LGAs can ordinarily function quite well with only a simple executive committee (president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and possibly, president-elect and past-president) and maybe one or a few small committees (ad hoc or standing committees). On the other hand, a local university alumni association or larger LGA sports league, for instance, may have a complex table of formal organization, with the LGA run by a board of directors.

Another dimension of the internal structure issue is the proportion of volunteers in the group. Most LGAs, especially the small ones, are all-volunteer associations. McPherson (1983) found that LGAs in his sample from several US cities and towns had an average of about 23 members. McPherson and Smith-Lovin (1982) found men's LGAs tended to be larger than women's LGAs, when sex-segregated. Very few LGAs have paid staff (full-time or part-time). In this characteristic, micro-associations differ from most national associations, or meso-associations (see Handbook Chapter 33). In the vast majority of LGAs in nearly all of the contemporary nations, volunteers predominate, and paid staff tend to be very rare, even as part-time paid staff. This is even truer in nations where the average income per capita in a nation is low.

The continuum of economic resources of LGAs ranges from very low to moderate. Most grassroots associations have been found to operate with less than USD 5,000 per year in the United States (Smith 2000:57). In developing, low-GDP/capita nations, the figure may be closer to less than USD 50 or USD 100 per year. Most LGA revenues come from regular (annual or monthly) dues from members, donations by members and friends, and small fund-raising events open to the public. Really large economic resources are very rare among LGAs, though not for nonprofit agencies, such as universities, hospitals, or foundations. However, some popular and large LGAs in high-income nations may have moderate economic resources, even owning their own buildings (e.g., in the USA, civic service clubs like Rotary and Kiwanis, and veterans' groups like the American Legion, major women's clubs). For instance, many local Chambers of Commerce (found the world over), where most members are businesses, are nonprofit LGAs with collective members and have a substantial operating budget.

In Central and Eastern Europe, the matter of *professionalization*, or employing paid staff by local LGAs, has been an issue. On the one hand, paid staff are

often regarded as a necessary condition for sustainable and effective civil society (lobbying capacity, services provision). On the other hand, there is often some conflict between the professional ethos of employees and the civic ethos of volunteer leaders and members, as amateurs (Carmin and Jehlička 2010; Císař 2008; Marada 2005; Zimmer and Priller 2004).

Harris (1998a) suggested several useful propositions about how LGAs operate, based on her study of religious congregations:

(1) "Associations have to find a balance between meeting the individual needs of their members and maintaining a vision of their longer term goals" (p.147).
(2) "Associations have to find a balance between member-benefit and public-benefit goals and activities" (p. 148).
(3) "Setting priorities in associations is constrained by the presence of competing internal interests and factions" (p. 149).
(4) "The fact that members participate in associations as volunteers limits the extent to which these members can be directed or managed" (p. 151).
(5) "Where paid staff are employed by associations, their status and role may be unclear and contentious" (p. 152).

5. Leadership and management processes in LGAs

Handbook Chapter 36 is devoted to leadership and management in volunteering and associations in general. Here we will just note briefly those dimensions of leadership-management that are particularly germane to LGAs and where most LGAs fall on these dimensions.

Based on the extensive research literature review in Smith (2000), updated for this Handbook (especially in Handbook Chapter 36), LGAs can be characterized generally as having

• Loose (vs. formalized) priority-setting (informal officer and member policy-making vs. formal board governance process);
• Low (vs. high) degree of supervision and monitoring of members;
• Rare (vs. frequent) sanctioning of rule-breakers;
• High (vs. low) degree of closeness of leaders' relationships to members;
• Low (vs. high) degree of professionalism of leaders;
• High (vs. low) degree of charisma of leaders;
• Low (vs. high) degree of selectivity of new leaders
• Low (vs. high) degree of leader quality
• Zero (vs. total) Roles of paid leaders, if any
• Leader origins (insiders only vs. some or many outsiders)
• Low (vs. high) Formality of recruitment, marketing, fund-raising

- Low (vs. high) extent of ideology supporting the existence and activities of the group (except for deviant LGAs, which require a high degree of ideology to support membership)

6. The prestige and power-influence of LGAs

As an aspect of external context, the prestige of LGAs in local communities is highly variable, but generally tends to be low or moderate on average. Smith (2000:135–137) observed that some groups, often ones that are deviant or have members of low socio-economic status, have low prestige, while hobbyist groups are neutral in this regard. Based on research on LGAs in Massachusetts cities and towns in the 1960s, Smith (1986) suggested that typically held in high regard are such LGAs as the local elite country clubs, cricket and polo clubs, as well as elite social clubs (e.g., the Junior League, in the United States). Local branches of professional, scientific, honorary, business people, and university alumni associations also tend to be higher in prestige. In the United States, some relevant high prestige association types are LGAs for lawyers or physicians, for alumni who earned membership in the Phi Beta Kappa undergraduate honorary society at their college or university, for alumni of high prestige universities, and for business people (LGAs such as Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions Clubs, all originally for men but now open to women; the League of Women Voters and Business and Professional Women's Club for women).

Put in more general, analytical terms, LGAs seen by the public that had higher prestige and power were "distinguished by higher self-ratings of prestige, higher average member education and income, being part of a larger state or national organization [i.e., polymorphic], more active member participation, more meetings per year" and other factors. There is some evidence that higher prestige groups tend to be older, larger, and more formalized than the others in a town or city (Smith 1986), as well as more likely being polymorphic (linked to supra-local parent associations), rather than monomorphic in external relations (see also Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:146).

A related question regards the power and influence of LGAs in their local community. Compared to the power and influence of local business firms and local government agencies, LGAs tend to be rather weak. However, high prestige LGAs, described briefly above, tend also to have more local power/influence than low prestige LGAs (Smith 1986, 2000:134–135). All of the factors noted in the prior paragraph regarding high prestige LGAs also characterized LGAs with higher power-influence in the study by Smith (1986).

In a related study of a small Boston suburb, Smith and Shen (1996) found that LGAs with higher effectiveness reputations (as one measure of power or influence) "tended to have more formalization and be non-member benefit oriented (vs. member benefit oriented), as well as to have more revenues, more

officers, more developed boards of directors, better top staff leadership, and more developed committee structures" (quoted from Smith 2000:135).

Examples from South Asia are instructive. Except for Nepal, missionary organizations from abroad re-structured the traditional LGAs and provided models in South Asia for present-day NGOs in the region. Another significant development during the recent period was the emergence of LGA political groups fighting against colonial rulers and regimes. These groups were fundamental in the formation of contemporary political parties, which often have LGAs as polymorphic components.

LGAs and supra-local associations vary in their degree (from low to high) of conformity to societal values, customs, and laws, which also affects their public reputations for prestige and power. In the South Asia region, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Ellam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka, Maoists rebels in Nepal and India, and Islamist groups in Pakistan and Bangladesh are well known. Despite their differing political ideologies, these groups began as various, deviant LGAs and grew into a national movement threatening the state. The LTTE in Sri Lanka and Maoists in Nepal have ended their struggle, but there are hundreds of splinter groups based on geography, ethnicity, religion, and political ideology that are active in the region. The radicalism of some grassroots movements comprised of LGAs poses serious threats to moderate groups in the region, as the latter are under pressure to either join the radicals or withdraw from working in the area controlled by them (Mumtaz 2005).

7. Impacts of LGAs

Impacts of LGAs on volunteers and members are the central focus of Handbook Chapters 52 and 53. The impacts of associations in general, including LGAs, on human societies and history, are the focus of Smith (2017). By way of linking this chapter with these two reviews, we note that LGA impacts occur in several ways. For instance, LGA leaders may carry their group's mission to one or more of several geographical target levels (local, regional, national, and international). Part of the impact target is, for service LGAs, the target of benefits – people the LGA intends to help, whether members or non-members.

LGA leaders are not, however, the only spokespeople for their groups. Ordinary members and non-member participants may also communicate their views of the group and its impacts and may benefit favorably or suffer unfavorably from them. Thus, many self-help groups make their favorable impact by a combination of good service to members and complimentary word of mouth communication from the targets of that service, the members. For example, a self-help group that is becoming a frequent phenomenon in Nepal is the "mothers group" (*aama samahu*). This group has brought about significant changes in rural communities by controlling alcoholism; by constructing temples, roads, and schools; and by raising funds for poor households. In recent

years, because of their impact, several large NGOs have supported their work in Nepal.

E. Usable knowledge

Research reviewed here suggests many aspects of LGAs that should be considered by founders and leaders of such groups. For instance, although LGAs tend to be rather small in numbers of members and short-lived, such groups are usually larger and longer-lived if polymorphic, linked to a supra-local, parent association or to some local network. LGAs can successfully achieve a wide variety of goals, so leaders should not feel limited in what their groups seek to do, but any LGA needs to focus on a single key goal. New LGAs are more likely to survive and succeed if they enter a new demographic niche in their community, in terms of their member composition, rather than entering a niche already occupied by one of more other LGAs.

Not much money is needed to form and sustain an LGA, since there are usually no salaries to pay and meetings can be held in rented or donated space, even in members' homes or public spaces. Annual dues and donations from members are often sufficient, supplemented as needed by special fund-raising events open to the public. LGA leadership can be quite simple and informal, but greater formalization of such roles and the use of committees tend to lead to greater effectiveness and longevity/lifespan. Actual management of LGAs is rarely done in a serious manner, and usually only in groups with some paid staff. To have high local prestige and power/influence, an LGA should seek to recruit higher income, more educated, higher prestige members, but this can best be done when the LGA goals suit such people, not for any goal. Polymorphic LGAs are also more likely to have higher prestige and power. LGA effectiveness in goal attainment can also help local prestige and power reputations.

F. Future trends and needed research

Given the well-understood determinants of association prevalence, as revealed by the research of Smith and Shen (2002) and of Schofer and Longhofer (2011), the main future trend for LGAs is increasing prevalence in the world. Association prevalence for groups with all territorial levels of geographic scope (local, supra-local, national, and international) will likely increase in all world regions and for all nations that have increasing population size (which includes the vast majority of nations). Growing formal education levels and GDP per capita levels in many nations also portend greater association prevalence, as do strengthening national governments and increasing civil liberties in many nations. Other key factors also suggest greater future LGA prevalence, on the whole. Putnam's

(2000) double decline thesis (fewer association memberships; fewer active participants), based on US data for the last third of the 20th century, has not been confirmed elsewhere in the world, generally, and there are doubts about the validity of his conclusions and their causality even for the United States (Smith and Robinson 2017).

There remains a *systemic* lack of large-scale, robust empirical knowledge on social and community groups and activities beyond LGAs of high local prestige-power and those appearing in official government/regulatory listings. This may well reflect scholarly interests, but also practical concerns. Nevertheless, this situation is also likely a result of a deeper systematic bias created by survey sampling. Many surveys work from population lists generated from lists of organizations that register with government regulatory agencies/boards. For example, in the United Kingdom, the Charity Commission's coverage excludes a substantial proportion of the LGA population, though the size of this *hidden population* is hotly contested. Estimates of *missing* LGAs range from twice as many as the visible ones to nine times as many (Mohan 2012; Smith 2000; see also Handbook Chapter 50).

The literature rarely expands on the exact geographic scope of the activity of LGAs or on their associational form and membership. It is often impossible to find data and information provided in the literature that reliably apply to LGAs as defined in this Handbook. Most of the data and conclusions relate to the wider nonprofit sector or larger civil society. Associations having local geographic scope are not usually analyzed as a separate category. The closest we can get is to consider some other, more or less related, categories, such as (a) organizations in small municipalities; (b) leisure, sports, and cultural civil society organizations; and (c) mass membership *social* organizations (which usually have local branches, classified as polymorphic LGAs). Moreover, we may safely conclude that LGAs as an object of study are almost non-existent in the body of literature bearing on CEE countries (Pospíšilová 2011).

There is an emerging body of research tapping into the potential of technological innovation. For example, there is work in the civil society sector using online resources such as http://participedia.net, which however, tend to rely on self-identification. Nonetheless, such projects can offer extensive opportunities to the social sciences for exploring new areas of study at a time of increasing politicization of communities. Today, the wider socio-political/economic climate looks toward individuals and communities as important players in helping resolve social, health, and well-being issues in an era of diverse and dynamic population change.

G. Cross-references

Chapters 33, 34, 37, 46, and 50.

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33
National and Other Supra-Local Associations: Meso-Associations

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A. Introduction

This chapter situates national associations (NAs) in history, indicating that they mainly accompanied the rise of nation-states in the mid-19th century and thereafter. NAs arose as part of the organizational revolution occasioned by the Industrial Revolution and its sequelae. This was the third, global, associational and economic revolution in human history, according to Smith (2016). NAs could only afford to exist and function when governments and businesses had made huge investments in various necessary technology, communication, and transportation systems, as indicated in the association prevalence model of Smith (Smith and Shen 2002). After some relevant definitions, major topics reviewed include formation, life cycles, and the demise of NAs; goals, purposes, and incentives; national sample studies of NAs (especially in the United States); internal structures and processes; environmental relations and exchanges; deviance and misconduct; and individual involvement. Usable knowledge, future trends, and research needed are suggested.

Organizations of *any* kind have only existed for the past 10 millennia in human societies, with local, grassroots associations (GAs) being the first type of organization invented (Smith 1997). The earliest, simplest national organizations were chiefdoms as mini-governments in preliterate, horticultural societies (Service 1975). After the rise of agrarian societies about five millennia ago (Nolan and Lenski 2006), divine right monarchies were the key government organizations. Large, business bureaucracies (and hybrid government-business organizations, such as the English, later British, East India Company 1600–1874) arose as powerful organizations in late preindustrial societies in Europe, as essentially national and transnational organizations. Padgett and Powell

(2012) have recently developed a theory of the rise of for-profit and nonprofit organizations (NPOs), using a biological model and stressing the importance of novelty.

NAs are a very recent social invention and innovation in human history, as are nation-states. Countrywide NAs have only been feasible on a broad scale in the past 200 years or so, owing to advances in technology, communication, and transportation, as well as the development of democratic polities with national legal frameworks and civil liberties conducive to independent, non-governmental associations.

These advances were part of the many changes brought about by the *Industrial Revolution*, which occurred at different times in different nations and world regions, beginning in the late 1700s in England. Boulding (1953) wrote extensively about how an *organizational revolution* in the 1800s accompanied the Industrial Revolution in such Western nations as the United Kingdom, the United States, Germany, France, and other European nations. Some authors have viewed modern societies as *organizational societies* (Presthus 1965) or as *organizational states* (Laumann and Knoke 1987), because of the prevalence and importance of organizations in modern societies.

Smith (1973) wrote the first article elaborating how the Industrial Revolution and accompanying societal changes also led to the huge growth of associations at all territorial levels in industrializing nations, as an *associational revolution* that was part of the larger organizational revolution (but without using the term *associational revolution*). Smith used data on many nations to provide empirical confirmation of the positive relationship of measures of industrialization and modernization with association prevalence. NAs, in particular, began to develop mainly with some time lag, in the mid-to late 1800s. There are many specific, large 19th-century NAs listed in Skocpol (2003:26–28) for the United States, in her chart with founding dates.

In this chapter, we review the nature, operations, structures, and processes of NAs, as key supra-local associations (SLAs) or *meso-associations*. However, the majority of relevant research has focused on NAs, not on regional-, state-, or other lower territorial-level SLAs.

B. Definitions

The general definitions of the Handbook Appendix are accepted here. In addition, we list for convenience the following levels of associations relevant to this chapter, as defined in the Handbook Appendix: *Grassroots, Local Association (GA), Supra-Local Association (SLA), State/Provincial Association (SPA), National Association (NA), Government Organized Non-governmental Organization (GONGO), and Quasi-Non-governmental Organization (QUANGO).* Micro-associations and macro-associations are treated in Handbook Chapters 32 and 34.

C. Historical background

Although grassroots, local, or *micro-associations* (GAs) have existed for at least ten millennia all over the world (Smith 1997), SLAs, especially NAs, as *meso-associations*, are a much more recent social innovation in human societies, arising mainly in the 19th century in more modern, industrialized nations (see Handbook Chapter 1). Only then did modern means of transportation and communication permit national coordination of two or more state, county, or local branches of a specific association in sufficiently advanced countries. These same influences also led to the formation of many *macro-associations* (trans-national and international associations) in the 19th century and thereafter in more industrialized and postindustrial, service-information societies (see Handbook Chapter 34).

Fairly modern nation-states arose in the 19th century and thereafter, asserting government hegemony over much larger territories than previously in many parts of the world. In ancient agrarian civilizations, only governments had the resources to maintain communications and control over large geographic territories. In some preindustrial nations in Europe (e.g., England, Germany) in the 17th and 18th centuries, the equivalents of national businesses arose, especially national banks and trading companies (e.g., the East India Company in the United Kingdom, in 1600 and thereafter).

In the 19th century, various new communication and transportation systems were developed, *mainly for use by governments and businesses*. These systems were established first in the most modern and wealthier nations, which could afford the massive initial investment costs. Such systems included postal systems, telegraph systems, canal systems, widespread newspapers and magazines, increasingly widespread formal education and thus literacy, better roads/bridges/ports, transoceanic cables, and later telephones, railroads, and automobiles. In the 20th century, advancements continued in radio stations and broadcasting, television channels/stations and broadcasting, two-way radios, cable TV systems/channels/broadcasting, wireless mobile phones, the Internet/email, the worldwide web, satellite communications, electronic social media, and so on.

By the late 19th century, SLAs and even NAs became more feasible to form and maintain successfully *with very modest expenditures by those associations*. The various modern communication and transportation systems were in place at huge costs borne by businesses and governments. But then SLAs, especially NAs, could take advantage of such massive initial investments by simply sending stamped letters, putting a story or an advertisement in a newspaper, buying a train ticket, sending a telegram, or making a phone call for very little money. Only then could SLAs, especially NAs, be practical social innovations on an eventually global basis.

By the later 20th and early 21st century, there were even more inexpensive ways to develop and maintain SLAs – by sending an email, texting a cell phone, creating or accessing a website, setting up or contributing to a blog, putting text on Facebook, texting Twitter, and so on. Computer text creation programs, faxing (facsimile transmission), digital documents on computers, and high-speed/high-volume photocopying and printing also made document circulation much easier for SLA purposes.

Skocpol, Ganz, and Munson (2000) showed that, contrary to the mythology of tiny, local, isolated GAs in early America, NAs arose early in American history. Early NAs were usually federations of polymorphic state SLAs or of GAs, or both, soon after the founding of the Republic. These authors also show that most early NAs arose not by combinations of local GAs, but rather as a result of organizing projects of NAs and specific associational entrepreneurs as organizers (p. 529). Such organizing often involved forming state SLAs, rather than GAs, initially (p. 537) and linking these into NA federations. The authors presented in Table 1 a list of 48 NAs that at some time enrolled 1% or more of adult men and/or women in the United States, with data on their founding date, ending date, if any, geographical scope, and structure. Of the 48, 45 were founded in the period 1819–1919, consistent with the generalizations in the prior two paragraphs.

State-level SLAs were important early aspects of the structure of major NAs in the United States. Some histories have been written of state associations, as SLAs in the United States (e.g., Bickley 1979; Gray, Reed, and Walton 1987). There are also documents analyzing the nature and importance of state associations. Skocpol noted (in Skocpol and Fiorina 1999:62) that "Casting wide nets – stimulating organization and leadership across all the states and connecting community groups of all sizes within states – became the standard story of association-building in America between the Civil War [1865] and 1920." This conclusion was documented in Figure 2–4 (p. 61). Skocpol (2003:chapters 2, 3) elaborated on this process.

In their history of volunteering and associations in America, Ellis and Noyes (1990) mention in passing many national associations founded in the 19th century and later. In addition to the histories of specific NAs, as in the third prior paragraph, various researchers have written books discussing the formation, structure, processes, and/or activities of various general types of US NAs in different purposive areas, usually beginning in the late 19th century:

- Labor unions (Pelling 1960)
- Professional associations (Abbott 1983)
- Employers' and trade associations (Bonnett 1956)
- Farmers' associations (Morrison 1970; Taylor 1953)
- Women's associations (Scott 1991)

- Service clubs (Charles 1993)
- Cultural and arts associations (Blair 1994; Hall 1982)
- Fraternal associations (Beito 2000; Kaufman 2002; Schmidt 1980)
- Political parties (Aldrich 1995)
- Educational associations (Hawkins 1992)
- Social welfare associations (Skocpol 1992)
- Youth associations (Macleod 1983)

D. Key issues

1. Formation, life cycles, and demise

(a) Origins and formation of meso-associations/SLAs

There is little systematic, comparative research on the origins and formation of meso-associations, whether NAs or lower-level SLAs. Theories of the formation of NAs have been scarce or non-existent. A rare example is the theory of organizational novelty, based on biochemical models of the origins of life forms, as presented by Padgett and Powell (2012), along with many case study examples. Although more concerned with the origins of businesses, the book has relevance to understanding the origins of NAs and other SLAs, even to GAs. Hannan and Freeman (1989) presented the most important and sophisticated theory of organizational incidence-prevalence, with applications to NAs and lower territorial–level associations. That theory is discussed in Handbook Chapter 50.

Handbook Chapter 37 reviews some relevant research on the life cycles of SLAs, as well as much more research on GA formation, but mainly based on case studies. From historical and contemporary case study research on NAs, we know that in democratic nations, with significant freedom of association and multiparty political regimes, most NAs are formed independently, not by instigation of the national government. The article by Skocpol, Ganz, and Munson (2000) is exceptional in showing that NA (non-governmental) organizers often formed the largest US NAs. The NAs were nearly always federations of state and local or of just local GAs, resulting from the efforts of organizers working for various NAs. The book by Howard (2003) shows the lingering repressive effects of many decades of Soviet dictatorship on NPOs, including NAs, in Eastern Europe, after the fall of the USSR.

In single-party political regimes, with little or no freedom of association, NAs usually constitute smaller percentages among all associations than in more democratic nations (e.g., Swanson 1974). The national government in authoritarian nations often, or only, form NAs as GONGOs, as in contemporary China (Wang 2011:chapters 6, 9; Wu 2002). Contemporary China is an interesting example of a formerly totalitarian system under Mao (ending shortly after his death in 1976), and still authoritarian political system that has been gradually

exploring more freedom for its associations (Ma 2005; Smith with Zhao 2016; Wang 2011). Heurlin (2010:237) presented an initial theory of NGO-State relations in dictatorships that suggests single-party states *try to co-opt and control NGOs*. Nonetheless, Heurlin argues that such regimes offer a *more hospitable climate* for NGOs, including NAs and lower-level associations, than short-term or more *personalist regimes* of dictators.

(b) Incidence, prevalence, and demise rates in geographic territories

As noted earlier, Smith (1973) has argued, and substantiated with empirical data, the importance of various aspects of industrialization and modernization in the development of associations generally in nations. More recently, both Smith and Shen (2002), and later, Schofer and Longhofer (2011), have analyzed data on larger associations for most nations of the world. These authors have further demonstrated the independent statistical significance of modernization variables such as GDP per capita and extent of formal education in explaining the prevalence both of meso-associations (Schofer and Longhofer) and of macro-associations (Smith and Shen). Where Smith and Shen used macro-associations (international non-governmental organizations, or INGOs) as the dependent variable (DV), Schofer and Longhofer used a DV that mainly included NAs and probably some other SLAs, but likely very few GAs (see Handbook Chapter 50). Both of these studies explained *very high* levels of variance in their DVs, from about 70% to 89%.

For nearly all nations, there are no adequate data on the precise number of active meso-associations as SLAs Most contemporary nations now insist on government registration of nonprofit *agencies* and of larger nonprofit *associations*, but such data are not uniformly available to researchers. In China, since 1989, all associations of any size, as well as all nonprofit agencies, have been required to register with the government, but the law has not been enforced for small, local GAs (Smith with Zhao 2016). More modern nations, especially postindustrial service information societies, usually have fairly complete and publically available directories of NAs (e.g., Johnson 2014:168S). In the United States, listings in the *Encyclopedia of Associations* suggest that there were about 20,450 NAs in the year 2000 edition (Johnson 2014:171S) and several thousand more by 2013. Accurate directories of sub-national SLAs or GAs do not exist anywhere for entire nations. There are, however, some rather complete lists/databases of NPS subsector SLAs (e.g., Carmichael, Jenkins, and Brulle 2012).

Smith (2010) summarized some relevant NA research as follows (quoted here with the author's permission):

> Putnam (2000:54) has shown that membership in a variety of mainstream, American, NAs of many types grew markedly from 1900–1960 (with a major dip in the Great Depression of the 1930s [see also Gamm and Putnam

1999]). However, NAs declined substantially in membership from the 1960s to the 1990s, especially for the traditional "chapter-based" (polymorphic, federated) NAs in the United States.

Skocpol's historical quantitative studies of large, American, NA federations confirm these trends at the organizational level of analysis. Skocpol (1999:43) showed that the 1820s to the 1850s was an especially important period of formation for these NAs. More recently, Skocpol (2003:153) has shown these large, federated NAs have been in decline since the 1960s, especially from the mid-1970s on.

By contrast, the total number of US NAs of *all* types more than doubled in this time period (Putnam 2000:49). The number of NAs per million of population also grew by about 75% (computed from data in the graph of Putnam 2000:50). Comparable historical incidence and prevalence studies are needed for nearly all other nations, since few such studies now exist.

Although some studies exist of state-level associations in a particular US state (e.g., Miller-Stevens 2010), very few comparative studies have been done of SLAs across state- or province-level associations within nations. No state-level studies could be found of contemporary SLAs in general, although Skocpol has investigated the role of state SLAs as parts of the largest NAs from 1865 to 1920, as noted earlier (Skocpol 2003; Skocpol and Fiorina 1999). But there have been various studies of political interest groups at the level of states of the United States. Thomas and Hrebenar (1996), for instance, review state-level interest groups. In Table 4.1, the authors list 19 types of interest groups that are continuously active in 45 or more states. Of the 19 types listed, 14 are SLAs. There are many more SLAs in the table that are intermittently active in 45+ states. (See also the similar chapter in the 10th edition of this book, 2012, and the cited references in both.) Various other books give extended treatments of state-level interest groups and cite many relevant studies of such SLAs (e.g., Donovan, Smith, and Mooney 2012; Erikson, Wright, and McIver 1994; Moncrief and Squire 2013). Anderson, Newmark, Gray, and Lowery (2004) studied the persistence of state-level interest groups in the United States in the 1990s, finding that there was substantial year-to-year turnover in state lobbyist registrations, with associations being more stable than other institutions (e.g., for-profits). There are very few studies of regional SLAs (e.g., Skeldon 1977).

(c) Legal issues: Incorporation, registration, and tax-exemption

The legal concept of incorporation of an organization, making it a legal person, has evolved in Western nations for business corporations over the past several centuries, with NPO incorporation being a later (but still centuries old) addition to the earlier incorporation of businesses (Silber 2001). In nearly every

contemporary nation, NAs tend to be legally incorporated and/or formally registered with the national government. NAs usually make these legal arrangements to be able to survive and operate in the nation, including owning or renting headquarters space, hiring paid staff, buying equipment, and obtaining tax exemption, if feasible. Although many contemporary nations have laws granting tax exemption to certain NPOs, often including some associations (Weisbrod 1992), these laws are not always enforced (e.g., in China). Because NAs tend to be larger than other SLAs and than GAs, and because they tend to have an established national headquarters (rented or owned), NAs are much more likely to seek and obtain government tax exemptions, when available in their nation, than are GAs, or lower-level SLAs.

2. Goals, purposes, and incentives

(a) Prime beneficiaries of NAs and other SLAs

As for associations in general, the main beneficiaries of NAs and other SLAs are the members, as contrasted with non-members and the general public (based on Smith's [1992] content analysis of a systematic random sample of 200 NAs in the *Gale Encyclopedia of Associations)*. Where nonprofit *agencies* are mainly *non-member* benefit NPOs, NAs and other SLAs are usually *member* benefit NPOs (Smith 2015a, 2015b). However, SLAs often portray their missions, goals, and activities as beneficial to the public interest and general welfare of their own nation and society.

In the aggregate, across all NAs, the public interest and general welfare *are* served to a substantial extent in most nations, especially in democratic nations with pluralist systems of associations. However, as Schlozman, Verba, and Brady (2012) point out, there is a tendency for NAs and other SLAs to provide more benefits for higher status, more educated, and wealthier segments of the population in America, as in other nations. This results in large societal inequalities, because such adult population segments are much more involved in SLAs than other population segments. But the situation also results from unequal competition of SLAs in the total political system, favoring the better-resourced SLAs and those with closer network connections to other powerful SLAs, to powerful corporations and government agencies, and to powerful leaders of such organizations.

(b) Goal diversity

Most NAs and other SLAs have one or two main goals or purposes, with subsidiary aspects. Research on a representative sample of US social movement associations, usually NAs, by Gamson (1990:46) showed that having a single main goal greatly facilitated success in the form of achieving the *new advantages* (societal changes) sought. Having limited and non-displacing goals (i.e.,

not attempting to replace or eliminate antagonists) also had substantial positive effects in terms of achieving new advantages (p. 48).

At the level of subsectors of the nonprofit sector, one can examine goal diversity as a characteristic. Dunlap and Mertig (1992:5, 19) noted that the environmental movement in the United States became more diverse in its goals in the period 1970–1990, which is likely a significant factor in its recent growth and current strength.

(c) Goal succession

Goal succession and organizational transformation/change are common processes in organizations as they age (Aldrich 1979:24, 211:chapters 7, 8). When associations live for many years (e.g., a decade or more), goal succession becomes more likely as time passes. *Goal succession* means changing the main, official goal(s) of an association or other organization from the original one(s) or immediately prior one(s). Sills (1957:254–264) discussed goal succession in four NAs, where it occurred for different reasons. The main reasons generally are the following:

(i) The original goal is achieved.   While initial goals may be mainly or fully achieved, this is actually rare for most NAs (e.g., Sills 1957). Goal achievement occurs mainly, but still infrequently, for certain purposive types of NAs: health/disease-oriented NAs (when the disease has been cured/eliminated, as in the case of polio in the United States; e.g., Sills 1957); revolutionary NAs (when the revolution has been successful, and the leaders take over the government, as in Zimbabwe; Martin and Johnson 1981); socio-political change NAs (when the goal has been achieved, as in the case of women's suffrage/voting in the United States, in the early 20th century; Ford 1991, or the abolitionist/antislavery NAs in the 19th-century United States; Aptheker 1989:chapter 5).

(ii) Changing external, societal conditions.   As Sills (1957:254–244) illustrates, when the relevant circumstances/conditions in the larger society and culture change, leaders of the NA may redefine and then change the official NA goals to try to remain relevant, survive, and even grow. The new goals usually are related to the earlier ones, but involve an expansion or reinterpretation of the initial goals. Sills gave the example of the YMCA in the United States in his brief 1957 discussion. Later, Zald (1970) wrote a book about these changes, based on his extensive case study research. Minkoff (1999) discussed how women's and racial minority SLAs made strategic goal changes to *bend with the wind* in order to survive.

When an NA fails to adapt to changing external conditions, as with the Womens' Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), another example by Sills, the NA may decline and die, as did the WCTU in the United States (see Gusfield

1986). Sills gave other examples of *successful* goal succession in US NAs, such as the American Legion, the Townsend Organization, and the American National Red Cross.

(iii) Strong external opposition. When there is specific external opposition by the government, including social control agencies such as the FBI or state troopers/police in the United States, an NA may change its goals to try to survive. Some social movement NAs have done this successfully in various nations. For instance, Hitler's Nazi Party (NSDAP) was initially a revolutionary NA, but was forced to change its goals and means to seeking more gradual changes, using electoral politics, after an abortive coup in 1923 (Fischer 1995:70–72).

As a more recent example, the radical American social movement NA, Earth First!, had some members arrested by the FBI and imprisoned for criminal sabotage in the early 1990s. In an attempt to survive, some more moderate leaders changed somewhat the goals and means of the EF! NA. They changed their official *means* of achieving their initial goals by warning members/participants about using criminal sabotage, which had been one of EF!'s hallmarks (Zakin 1993). EF! had long emphasized decentralized and relatively independent local GAs as the essence of EF! as an NA. The goal–means succession strategy, maintaining direct action but toning it down, combined with decentralized GA branches, worked. EF! now has semi-autonomous *branches* in many modern nations, especially in Europe. More radical NAs, other SLAs, and GAs that are separate from EF!, continue the earlier illegal sabotage practices in attempts to do *deep ecology* and *save the planet*, in their view.

(iv) Totalitarian and authoritarian dictatorships. When a new totalitarian, dictatorship takes power, the government usually eliminates or takes over all existing NAs (and also lower-level associations), as in Nazi Germany in 1933 (Allen 1984) and in the Peoples Republic of China in 1949 (Wang 2011:210). Teets (2014) has developed a general theory of civil society under authoritarianism that explains this process. The surviving NAs all tend to do goal succession. Their new NA goals now include, especially, avoiding challenges to the party-state and its policies/ideology – *not* angering or offending the dominant political regime either by words or actions. All of the NAs that were forcibly dissolved become examples of *null goal* NAs. Surviving NAs are often linked into larger, party-state-controlled networks or umbrella NAs as *mass organizations* (e.g., Fisher 1974; Swanson 1974; Wang 2011:210).

Even in non-totalitarian but authoritarian nations, such as China at present, the national government can and does disband/dissolve NAs that are seen as threatening to the party-state (Bueno de Mesquita and Smith 2011:chapters 3, 8; Heurlin 2010; Kurlantzick 2013:143; Smith with Zhao 2016; Wang 2011:chapters 6, 9). In general, one-party nations as dictatorships do this

routinely. They also suppress the formation of NAs that might threaten the government's monopoly on collective power and thus seek to control all organizations (Kurlantzick 2013:chapters 7, 8; Wang 2011:chapters 6, 9). In particular, one-party authoritarian states such as China use their internal security (*public safety*) agencies to police all NPOs, including associations, to suppress political opposition activity: "[N]o organization may go 'too far'; no organization can openly challenge government authority" (Wang 2011:341). Transitions from authoritarian rule are possible, but difficult to manage and relatively infrequent (Bueno de Mesquita and Smith 2011:chapter 3), involving the *resurrection* of civil society (O'Donnell and Schmitter 1986:chapter 5).

(d) Goal displacement

Goal displacement occurs when the main, official, overt goal of an association (or other NPO, such as a nonprofit agency) is largely or totally ignored in favor of promoting sheer organizational survival/maintenance, growth, income, assets, power, and prestige/public image. NAs are particularly likely to engage in such goal displacement, relative to lower-level SLAs or to GAs especially. When goal displacement occurs in an NA, it often loses its special voluntary nonprofit sector, value-based quality and becomes more like businesses and government agencies (Bush 1992; Etzioni 1975).

Goal displacement usually occurs because the current leaders wish to follow their own present and future career, power, wealth, and prestige goals, regardless of the original and current stated goals and of the preferences of the membership. Ridder (1979:256) has argued that goal displacement tends to occur when "the interests of the inner circle [formal and informal leaders] become removed from the actual organizational goals." However, goal displacement can also occur inadvertently, when external cooperation pressures activate resource limitations and unexpectedly cause such displacement (e.g., Dubbs 2009).

(e) Ideology, incentives, and associational culture

Like all organizations, associations have some kind or degree of internal customs, termed *associational culture* (more broadly, *organizational culture*; Hatch 1997:chapter 7; Schneider and Barbera 2014), *organizational climate*, or *informal structure.* An important part of this associational culture is the set of associational incentives, although these are usually also built into the structure of the association in NAs (but rarely in GAs).

Knoke (1990:chapters 6, 7; see also, Knoke 1988) carefully studied such incentives in his national sample of US NAs. In chapter 6, he reports on factor analyses (with rotation to oblique simple structure) of 16 kinds of member incentive items for 459 NAs (p. 115). Five main factors were identified, with two to four items loading .37 or greater on each factor, and

together accounting for 57% of the variance: utilitarian (financial) incentives, information incentives, normative incentives, lobbying incentives, and occupational incentives, all of which became separate scales (indices) with the high loading items. A majority of NAs "combine two or more distinct sets of utilitarian, normative, or social incentives" (p. 121). Knoke showed (p. 117) that NA goals and purposive types were significantly related to the strength of the various incentive scales. The more diverse the NA's goals, the more varied was its incentive system (pp. 119–121). Larger and more bureaucratic NAs had significantly more diverse incentive systems. Environmental complexity and environmental uncertainty had no significant effects on diversity of incentives.

In chapter 7, Knoke analyzed his data on samples of members from 35 selected NAs, using items that asked about six motives for joining and the same ones for continuing activity (contributions of time, money, and effort). Most frequently chosen motives (p. 125) for joining were "joined for job-related reasons" (45% said *major reason*) and "direct services to members by the organization" (35%). Recalled reasons for joining and for continuing activity were substantially stable (correlations from .42 to .54; p. 126). Both occupational and altruistic motivations were important across the 35 NAs for members (p. 139). Members were more involved in their NA "when members' interests are congruent with organizational incentive offerings, and when members attach high levels of importance to specific types of incentives" (p. 139).

3. National sample studies of NAs in the United States and elsewhere

Several national sample studies of US NAs have been performed, most with only a few or a modest number of relevant items of data (Knoke 1990, is an exception).

(a) The Nall 1967 study of national associations in the United States

Nall (1967) reported the results of a 1962 mail questionnaire that yielded a purposive sample of 793 NAs as responding organizations. A plurality (41%) were economic or occupation-related NAs (e.g., unions, professional, and trade associations), with about 14% being welfare NAs and the same percentage being scientific/cultural NAs. Smith (1974:282–283) summarized the findings as follows:

> About 75 percent of national associations were founded after 1900, but this is spread fairly evenly by decades ([Nall 1967:] p. 287).
>
> Nearly all sociability-based national associations (fraternal orders, lodges, and so forth) were founded by 1920 (p. 287).

Most national associations are relatively small (two-thirds are less than 25,000 and one-half less than 10,000 [members]), with only a few really large associations (5.3 percent had 500,000 or more members) (p. 290).

An aggregate total membership of almost 160 million is reported . . . (p. 290).

The majority of members are reported in social welfare related (69.6 million) and economic/occupational associations (32.7 million) (p. 290).

The headquarters of national associations are principally concentrated in New York City, Washington, DC, and Chicago, accounting for about 65 percent of the organizational headquarters . . . (p. 291).

The total income for 1961 of the 626 national associations reporting such data was about $830 million (p. 294), suggesting by extrapolation that the income for all national associations may be the order of $10 billion or more. [The average income, calculated by Smith, was USD 1.33 million.]

Most national associations have only a small paid staff (the majority have 15 or fewer employees; only 28 of the sample employed more than 200 people) (p. 305).

Only half the associations have organized local units [hence being federative polymorphic NAs], and of these only half [one-fourth of the total] have any employees working for the lower level unit (p. 307).

(b) The Knoke 1990 study of NAs in the United States

Knoke (1990) used the 1983 Gale *Encyclopedia of Associations* to draw a stratified, systematic sample of NAs from the 13,013 true membership NAs in the directory, out of about 17,000 organizations listed, oversampling large NAs. Non-membership organizations, foreign organizations, government units, and local associations listed in the directory were omitted. In 1984, telephone interviews were done on the intended sample, yielding 459 completed interviews, with a response rate between 84.5% and 92.7%, depending on the method of computation (p. 70). In addition, a stratified random sample of members was drawn from 35 NAs, with 8,746 completed mail questionnaires returned from over 14,000 sent out (response rate of 61.5%; p. 72).

   Individual members and organizational members were treated alike. The mean number of members varied markedly by purposive types: 1,216 for trade associations, 5,575 for professional associations, 143,095 for recreational clubs, and 152,658 for labor unions (p. 74). "For all organizations combined, the median size is only 750 members, but the mean size is 27,575," indicating the skewing effect of a small percentage of very large NAs (p. 74).

   Using data on annual revenues from another directory, the results showed a "similar wide disparity both within and across types of associations" (p. 74),

with labor unions being the wealthiest (mean of USD 14.4 million), recreational and trade associations being similar to each other in revenues (mean near USD 1.3 million), and recreational NAs lowest (mean of USD 716,000). Again, distributions were highly skewed toward the high end.

Sampled NAs were quite variable in degree of bureaucratization and internal structural differentiation: "Three quarters of unions are highly bureaucratized, compared to less than one third of the recreational groups," with nearly two-thirds of the latter mainly run by volunteers, not paid staff (p. 78). More bureaucratized NAs were significantly older, larger in member size, had more local chapters, more standing committees, more full-time support staff, more written rules for staff, and more volunteers (p. 79).

Chapter 5 reported financial data, based on estimates by respondents, not actual NA reports. About 65% of annual revenues for all associations came from member dues and assessments (p. 92). Unions were the most dependent on dues (84% of revenues), while professional associations were least dependent (59%; p. 94). Sales accounted for 18% of revenues, but income from government agencies and foundations was less than 2% of revenues (p. 92). The main expenditures were on member services (70%; p. 92). Greater bureaucratization was very strongly related to more association revenues.

Chapter 10 examined mobilization of NAs and their members for influencing the polity. Knoke (1990:195–198) developed a measure of NA *political capacity,* based on simply counting "the number of distinct roles and programs relevant to political action" (p. 195). Considering the main purposive types of NAs (p. 196), labor unions have by far the greatest political capacity (mean of 5.7), followed at a much lower level by trade associations (mean of 3.37), then professional NAs (2.37), and then recreational NAs (1.69).

In a multiple regression analysis (p. 197), only political goals and higher income were significant predictors of political capacity. In another multiple regression analysis (p. 200), NA member mobilization efforts were predicted significantly by political goals, greater political capacity, and greater environmental complexity, but *lower* revenues.

Member ratings of their NA's effectiveness regarding eight basic goals had a mean of 4.18 on a 10-point scale – indicating only low-moderate perceived effectiveness.

(c) The Smith 1992 study of NAs in the United States

Smith (1992) used the 1988 Gale *Encyclopedia of Associations* directory, drawing a small (N = 200), systematic (every nth entry), random sample of NAs. Smith notes (p. 83) that "the directory contains about 90% of national NPOs . . . , the main omissions being nonoperating national foundations, national churches, and religious orders." Some 13% of sampled organizations from the directory were dropped from the sample and randomly replaced because they did

not meet the sampling criteria, being foreign or international in scope, profit seeking, governmental in nature, parts of some larger organization, currently inactive, or had less than national scope (p. 83). National NPOs in the directory *without* a membership were retained in the sample.

Major findings included the following:

- By extrapolating from the sample, there were about 18,160 NAs in the United States circa 1987 (one year prior to the date of the directory's publication; p. 83).
- Taking account of the US population in 1987, there was one NA for every 13,333 persons in the United States (p. 83).
- Comparing these results to the earlier results reported in Smith et al. (1978) using the same directory for 1976, NAs showed a growth rate of about 4.6% per year over the 12-year period (p. 84).
- Using the purposive typology presented by Smith, Baldwin, and White (1980:chapter 1), occupational [or business] NAs were most frequent (36.5%), expressive leisure NAs second most frequent (18.0%), followed by political action NAs (7.5%), along with other-helping health NAs, other-helping education NAs, and scientific, technical, engineering, and learned NAs next (tied at 6.5%; p. 85). These results were broadly similar to those found by Nall (1967) and by Smith et al. (1978) in earlier decades.
- The median age of NAs was 18 years, with only 5% founded before 1900 (p. 87), as compared with a median of 24.5 years for the 1975 data reported in Smith et al. (1978). Only about 30% were 50 years old or older (p. 86).
- Some 81.4% of NPOs in the sample had members, and thus were true NAs by the current definition, while 18.6% had a paid staff but no members, hence being nonprofit agencies, not NAs (p. 87).
- Among the true NAs, 36.4% had organizations as members and 63.6% had individuals as members (p. 87). Organizations as members was especially likely in occupational NAs, particularly in the directory category of "trade, business, and commercial" organizations, where 86.4% had organizational members (p. 88), and only 13.5% of the remaining NAs had such members.
- The median number of all NA members was 445, with the median size for individual members being 1,000 and the median for organizational members being 162 (p. 87).
- Comparing three similar directory studies (Nall 1967; Smith 1992; Smith et al. 1978), the number of memberships in NAs per capita for Americans was 2.04 (or 1.04, dropping the largest organization in the sample) in 1987, .98 in 1975, and .85 in 1962, suggesting a growth in per capita memberships over this period, contrary to Putnam's (2000) conclusions.

- When NAs reported their number of paid staff (p. 87), the median was 5 (vs. 8.5 for the 1975 data in Smith et al. 1978). Ignoring whether the NA reported staff size, the median staff size for all NAs was estimated as 0.

(d) The Johnson study of NAs in four nations

Johnson (2014) used national directories of NAs in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and Australia to study NAs for the year 2000 (with data likely compiled the year before, 1999). Contrary to the de Tocqueville hypothesis, he found no greater density of NAs in the United States as contrasted with the other three nations (p. 171S). In fact, the reverse was true:

The United States had the lowest density of NAs per million inhabitants of the four nations (79 vs. 118, 122, and 126, respectively).

Unlike Knoke (1990), but like Smith (1992), Johnson did not eliminate from his sample *non*-membership organizations in the directories. This left him describing such organizations as *non-membership organizations*, which he included in his Table 2 *on associations* (p. 171S). What he and others who thus refer to *non-membership associations* might do instead is simply to call such groups NPOs, or nonprofit agencies, not associations at all. By definition, *all associations must have a clear membership* (see Smith et al. 2006:23); otherwise they are indistinguishable from other NPOs. Johnson shows that such *policy active*, nonprofit agencies in the directories are especially frequent in the United States (p. 171S).

Lacking data for the United States, Johnson (2014:173S) shows that the average NA in Australia is much bigger (*median* of 910 members) than in the United Kingdom (550) or Canada (500). No explanation is given for these findings. In his section on Future Research, he suggests (p. 176S), "Comparative study of associational activity at subnational levels may be one fruitful avenue of future research." While that is true, Johnson seems unaware of the extensive prior research on GAs, omitting Smith (2000:chapter 2) and relevant publications by other researchers from his references.

(e) National studies of NAs in other nations

National studies of NAs in other nations have been done, but are few in number with adequate methodology. Hallenstvedt (1974) is one example, using a Norwegian encyclopedia of associations published in 1972 that listed 1,202 NAs, with data on most of them. Data were also collected by mail questionnaires, and this was done for Finland as well. The author estimated (p. 215) that in total there are about 50 associations per thousand population in Norway, counting GAs and SLAs. Most NAs in Norway were founded since 1930, with only 12% founded prior to 1900 (p. 223). Little additional data on NAs is reported in this chapter.

4. Internal structures and processes

National sample studies of NAs in the United States (Johnson 2014; Knoke 1990; Nall 1967; Smith 1992; Smith, Verhagen, Baldwin, and Chittick, 1978; Zander 1972), studies of NAs in special subtypes of NAs, plus many case studies of NAs,[1] suggest the following generalizations about NA group structures and processes:

(a) Resource attraction and financial support

NAs usually depend mainly on member dues for their finances/revenues, as noted above in discussing the findings of Knoke (1990). Fees for conference or convention attendance and for publications or logo objects that can be purchased on the NA's website are also often a source of funds. NAs at times hold special fund-raising events, that invite non-members as well as members to participate and that charge fees. Handbook Chapter 39 reviews research on resource attraction by associations generally.

   Foundation grants and government contracts to NAs are rare in the United States, but do exist. Knoke (1990:92) found that such income was less than 2% of NA annual revenues in the United States. General, unrestricted grants for operating funding are especially rare. Larger NAs may seek and receive large charitable donations from members or from foundations or other charities.

   Dalton's (1994:95) study of 60 large, environmental NAs in 10 European nations found some similar results: Membership dues were ranked first as a source of income by 49% of 67 NA representatives, with gifts or endowments from individuals being the most frequent second-rank choice and group fund-raising and sales of materials the most -frequent third rank choice. However, grants from the central government were a much more frequent source of income for environmental NAs in Europe than in the United States, and foundation grants were somewhat more frequent also.

(b) Organizational capacity: Membership size, annual budget, and paid staff versus volunteer staff and leadership

As the several national sample studies of US NAs above show, NAs vary widely in their sizes of membership and also in their levels of annual income (and from other data, their wealth). Dalton's (1994) data on environmental NAs in 10 European nations shows the same results (pp. 87, 93). The same US studies similarly show that most NAs have no paid staff or a small one. Studying the most prominent environmental NAs, Dalton (1994:97) found a mode of six paid staff, with about 10% of these major NAs having no paid staff. About two-thirds of the NAs had some volunteers (p. 98).

(c) Federated, polymorphic structure versus corporate, hierarchical structure

Skocpol, Ganz, and Munson (2000) have shown that from the founding of the Republic, the NAs of the United States have favored a federative polymorphic national structure. Major NAs have been comprised of state and local branches, local branches only, or some other multilevel pattern of polymorphic branches at lower territorial levels. This particular paper by Skocpol et al. emphasized the role of NA organizers in the growth of NAs and their polymorphic branches. In an earlier paper, Skocpol (1999) discussed at length why Americans became so involved in associations from about 1800 (see also Skocpol 2003: chapters 1, 2).

Skocpol stated (1999:33), "From the very beginning of the American nation, democratic governmental and political institutions encouraged the proliferation of voluntary groups linked to regional or national social movements [SLAs]. Increasingly, groups were tied into translocal networks that paralleled the local-state-national structure of the U.S. state." She also added, "For most of U.S. history, politics and government encouraged rather than stifled organized civil society" (p. 33).

Using carefully gathered historical data from directories and lists of associations, Skocpol (p. 36) found that in three selected cities from three different states across the United States and across all decades from 1880 to 1920, "fully 75–90% of the churches and other associations listed were unambiguously linked to translocal federations" [and hence were *polymophic GAs* in present terminology]. She added (pp. 36–37), "Few purely local associations [*monomorphic* GAs, in present terminology], specific only to one city or its immediate surroundings, appeared in the city directories from 1880 to 1920. And those tended to be countywide professional associations or elite clubs and cultural or recreational groups resembling counterparts in many other communities." In the rest of her chapter, she explains more about why and how this occurred. This special associational history of the United States accounts in part for why Americans have long tended to have multiple association memberships, to be active in association leadership, and to have relatively high levels of membership/participation by women in associations.

Various researchers in the past 40 years have used survey or directory data to estimate the proportion and numbers of polymorphic GAs, as branches of larger regional, state, or national associations, as contrasted with monomorphic GAs, unlinked to larger association federations/networks at higher territorial levels. Smith and Baldwin (1974:279) made an early estimate of these numbers for the United States, based on a (systematic) random sample of 50 NAs from the 1972 *Encyclopedia of Associations* (Fisk 1972). They found an extrapolated total of about 111 million memberships in NAs circa 1971.

Based on an eight-city study of association membership in Massachusetts by Smith, the authors estimated that polymorphic and monomorphic association memberships were about equal for Americans, although this was very speculative. However, the Nall (1967) study of NAs from an earlier edition of the same directory had reached the same conclusion – about half of NAs had local, polymorphic branches (Smith and Baldwin 1974:283; this was likely the first use of the terms *polymorphic* and *monomorphic* in print).

(d) Leadership, governance, and oligarchy

Handbook Chapter 36 reviews research on SLA leadership and management, including such processes in NAs. Similarly, Handbook Chapter 35 reviews research on boards and governance in associations, including NAs. Here we will just point out that associations, as a kind of organization, often have to struggle especially with the issue of oligarchy – leadership or control by a small set of experienced, long-time members who get into formal leadership positions and either do not exit from them, who circulate among such positions, or who become informal leaders exercising undue influence on policy decisions.

Long ago, Michels (1959 [1915]) coined the phrase, *iron law of oligarchy*, deriving this generalization from his extensive research on political parties as NAs. According to this *law*, associations tend toward oligarchical leadership as they age, with most or all policy decisions made by only a few leaders. Barber (1987) argued that oligarchy in associations was in large part the result of *mass apathy* by members. Because leadership roles in associations usually involve volunteer time and effort, most members are happy to let other members with the time and motivation to volunteer to be leaders and make policy decisions, even if they have been leaders for a long time already. Various others have observed the same tendencies (e.g., Schmidt 1973). However, Lipset, Trow, and Coleman (1977 [1956]) showed that, under the right conditions, there could be democracy in unions instead of oligarchy (see also, Voss and Sherman 2000). Galenson (1976) has looked at this issue more broadly in European labor unions, finding significant democracy. Clemens and Minkoff (2007) argue that social movement associations, including NAs, can often avoid oligarchy.

Oligarchy and lack of member participation in policy decisions has been observed in many kinds of NAs, not just in labor unions. Dunlap and Mertig (1992:23) remark on oligarchy in US environmental NAs. Schlozman and Tierney (1986) found such oligarchy in US advocacy NAs generally. Dalton (1994:103–104) found that 81% of his sample (of environmental NAs in ten European nations) were "built around a centralized structure, and only [6%] placed the locus of power with their membership."

As an extenuating circumstance for NAs, not present for GAs, Dalton notes (p. 103) that "most groups have a geographically dispersed membership, which limits the ability of individuals to attend group meetings and contact officials

on a personal, face-to-face basis." Even when elections of leaders are held by mail or email ballot, the centrally controlled *nomination committees* maintain de facto control of NA leadership positions (p. 105). Further, Dalton found (p. 105) that in "most instances (57%), the board of directors is primarily responsible for determining policy and administering the organization."

(e) Growth of advocacy interests and activities

Although many, perhaps most, NAs have *not* been founded as advocacy or political associations, a trend toward increasing advocacy interests and activities has been observed among US NAs. Andrews and Edwards (2005) reviewed research on public interest advocacy associations (mostly NAs) as interest groups. After discussing briefly some factors thought to have influenced the rapid recent growth of such associations, the authors review research on organizational structure, membership and participation, resources, and interorganizational networks and coalitions. The last major section of the paper reviews research on the role and influence of such associations on politics.

Examining the environmental subsector (movement) of the NPS, Dunlap and Mertig (1992) described and discussed aspects of advocacy in both major lobbying and non-lobbying NAs, using education, direct action, and policy reform efforts (pp. 11–21). They argued that political advocacy has been institutionalized in this subsector by the major environmental NAs hiring professionals and experts to support advocacy efforts, building such advocacy into the structure of many NAs (pp. 21–23).

Related to the *advocacy explosion* in the past several decades of the NPS in the United States is the observation by some experts that NAs have shifted from member control to managerial control, as many more non-member advocacy organizations, or NMAOs (which are *not* associations) have arisen. Skocpol (in Skocpol and Fiorina 1999:chapter 13) has been pointing out this trend in the United States for the past 15 years or so (see also Skocpol 2003:chapter 4). Putnam (2000:50–52) called attention to such NMAOs, but saw them still as associations, even when they have no members. He coined the term *tertiary associations* to refer to them. But Smith objects to such terminology, since associations must have members by definition (Smith et al. 2006:23). When such advocacy NAs have some members, even without state or local chapters/branches, this new term is applicable. But when a national advocacy NPO has no members at all, it is simply a nonprofit agency by definition (Smith et al. 2006:155, 2015b), and the term *tertiary association* is mistakenly applied.

NMAOs, as designated by Walker, McCarthy, and Baumgartner (2011), supposedly have expanded very quickly and have been crowding out or replacing true advocacy NAs that have substantial memberships (Skocpol 2003; Skocpol and Fiorina 1999). Walker et al. carefully tested this latter hypothesis with data on three types of social movement advocacy organizations in the United

States – peace, women's issues, and human rights. They found "no evidence for a proportional increase of NMAOs since the 1960s." In addition, they found no evidence that NMAOs have displaced true membership advocacy organizations (MAOs). The national and longitudinal nature of the study makes the results convincing.

(f) Board meeting timing

The boards of directors of NAs usually meet two or four times per year, at regularly spaced intervals (e.g., quarterly). In addition, a small executive committee of the board (usually only three to seven members) meets or is in contact (e.g., by telephone or computer conferencing) more frequently to act on policy matters between official board meetings.

(g) Office activity timing

Looking at day-to-day activities, many NAs have national headquarters offices (HQs), donated, rented, or owned, far more frequently than do lower-level SLAs, let alone than GAs, which rarely have any such semi-permanent offices. If an NA has such an established HQ, the office is usually open in the period from 9AM to 6 PM on weekdays, or for fewer hours and days. Such offices are rarely open on Saturdays and almost never on Sundays in Christian nations. In nations with other special weekly days of rest/worship (if any), offices tend to be closed on that day, especially on the day of the week that is most sacred to the dominant religion in the nation.

(h) Group activity timing

NAs have relatively few and infrequent general meetings of their individual members or of representatives of their organizational members. Such infrequent general meetings are termed "Annual General Meetings" (AGMs) in the United Kingdom and "Annual Conferences" or "Annual Conventions" in the United States. However, some NAs hold such meetings less or more frequently. NAs may hold special events or meetings more frequently during the year, especially fund-raising events or information/display events.

(i) Orientation and training of new leaders and members

Most NAs do little formal training of leaders, and far less, if any, for members, unless there are special circumstances (e.g., a national education or training association; a professional association). However, larger and better led/managed NAs in the United States more often have a *Board Member Manual* rather than other kinds of training. Similar manuals for new *members* of NAs are rare, but are more likely for NAs with organizational members. Some NAs with individual members have special sessions for new members before or during annual conferences/conventions (e.g., ARNOVA; www.arnova.org).

5. Environmental relations and exchanges

(a) Impact of the external environment on organizations

All organizations in contemporary societies have interactions and relationships with their environments. An important insight of modern organization theory is that such interactions/relationships can be as important as, or at times more important than, the internal structures and processes of an organization in affecting organizational actions and effectiveness (Hatch 1997:chapter 3; Scott and Davis 2003:chapters 9–11; Tolbert and Hall 2010:chapters 8, 9). Among the seminal early books about environmental effects on organizations were Aldrich (1979), Lawrence and Lorsch (1967), Meyer and Associates (1978), and Pfeffer and Salancik (1978). Seminal early articles were by Aldrich and Pfeffer (1976), Freeman and Hannan (1975), and Hannan and Freeman (1977). Many books and hundreds, perhaps thousands, of related articles have been published subsequently.

(b) National system structure and effects on associations

Handbook Chapter 46 discusses at length the nature and effects of national system structures/political regimes on associations of all levels of territorial scope, especially NAs. Pluralism as a national system structure allows optimal freedom of association and assembly for NAs (Bresler 2004; Inazu 2012). Such freedoms permit NAs of all types to form and operate, except for restrictions on terrorist, revolutionary, and related deviant NAs seeking to destroy the system or the people who reside in it (Smith 1974:chapters 2, 3, parts V, VI). Corporatism is somewhat more restrictive as a national system structure, seeking to weave NAs into government-linked (and somewhat controlled) umbrella or peak associations. Authoritarian, and especially totalitarian, national system/regime structures have less or no freedom of association, especially for NAs. Most or all NAs in such regimes are GONGOs (Allen 1984; Heurlin 2010; Smith 1974:chapters 1, 5, 6; Smith with Zhao 2016; Swanson 1974; Teets 2014; Wang 2011:chapters 6, 9; Wu 2002).

(c) Location of associations in national associational ranking systems

In any organizational field or domain, there is a prestige ranking (Perrow 1961). All national systems of associations have *ranking systems*, usually informal in nature, in terms of power/influence, prestige/recognition, member size, and income/wealth. However, very little explicit research has been done on such ranking systems for NAs. A rare example is the research by Knoke (1998) on the influence rankings of US and German SLAs in the labor policy domain.

In the United States, Mills (1956) and Domhoff (1983, 2005) have explored qualitatively the national power elite concept in American social structure and system dynamics, but the details of NA rankings have not yet been studied

quantitatively. However, Domhoff (1983:46–47) listed the highest status/upper-class local country and social clubs in the United States, circa 1982, as the top tier of GAs. In addition, he points out that the Junior League is most clearly an upper-class NA (p. 19). In another work, Domhoff (1974) describes and discusses at length American upper-class social clubs, some of which are NAs (e.g., the Bohemian Club in San Francisco; see also Domhoff 1975). In the same era, Moore (1979) showed that NA leaders in the United States were part of the national elite in the nation

Laumann and Knoke (1987) carefully studied the relative power of US NAs in two national policy domains, energy and health. Their research is an important example of what might be done in all policy domains of NA action and influence to determine the power ranking of NAs, in the United States or any other nations. Such rankings seem to differ by policy domain area, when studied in terms of actual influence. If studied by reputational methods, more unitary rankings of NAs might emerge, as they usually do in studies of local communities and the prestige rankings of GAs there (e.g., Hunter 1969).

(d) Physical locations of NA headquarters/national offices

Research in the United States has shown that NA headquarters (HQs)/national offices tend to be concentrated in very large cities, and especially in Washington, DC, the national capital of the nation (Lieberson and Allen 1963). The city size–HQ density effect is to be expected, but the concentration of HQs in Washington, DC, shows the importance of national government power and the tendency of NAs to want their HQs close to such power.

Subsequent national sample studies of NAs in the United States have shown similar results, as noted above (Nall 1967). Smith (1992:87) reported that in 1987, 25.0% of NAs had HQs in Washington, DC, up from 14.6% in 1962. HQ locations in New York City declined to 12.0% from 32.9% in 1962. HQ locations in Chicago declined to 4.0% from 11.4% in 1962. Hence, the capital city location effect on NA HQs has been intensifying, while the largest cities location effect has been declining, suggesting an increasing interest by NA leaders in having a political impact, or at least political communication and advocacy, at the national level of government.

Johnson (2014:172S–174S) studied NA HQ locations in the United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia, using national directories. He found substantial variations among nations in the tendency for NAs to locate in the national capital region: while about 32% of NAs in the United Kingdom had such locations, only 17.5% had these in Canada and 12.3% in Australia (p. 173S). He interpreted these variations in terms of the nature of the political systems in these nations. He argued that NA HQ concentration is likely lower in nations with more federated political systems, as in Canada and Australia, where the central government is smaller and weaker relative to the power of provinces/states,

than in more centralized political regimes such as the United Kingdom and the United States.

(e) NA autonomy and freedom of association

The degree of autonomy enjoyed by NAs is a direct function of the extent of freedom of association, freedom of assembly, and related civil liberties in a nation (see Bresler 2004; Inazu 2012; Smith et al. 2006:43; Handbook Chapter 45). Both Smith and Shen (2002) and Schofer and Longhofer (2011) have shown for 100+ nations that association prevalence is significantly and positively related to freedom of association and other civil liberties in the nations studied, with other relevant variables controlled statistically. Extent of civil liberties is usually a situation that is fairly uniform within a nation.

   Although QUANGOs (Quasi-Nongovernmental Organizations) are of interest in studying NAs, far more relevant are GONGOs (Government Organized NGOs). As suggested earlier, one-party states and other dictatorships/autocracies usually strongly restrict NA formation and NA autonomy if formed, seeking to stay in power (Bueno de Mesquita and Smith 2011:chapters 3, 8; Kurlantzick 2013:143; Smith with Zhao 2016; Wang 2011:chapters 6, 9; Wu 2002).

(f) Degree of collaboration versus hostility with external organizations

Handbook Chapter 48 reviews research on collaboration by associations, with some attention to membership in networks or federations of organizations. There is little or no research on how NAs are affected by hostile or unfriendly other NAs, aside from their own national governments, as in sub-section #e above.

(g) Extent of favorable versus hostile public opinion

There are wide cross-national variations in the views of the general public about volunteering, associations, nonprofit agencies, and the NPS in general (see Handbook Chapter 49). Research has suggested that the views of the general public toward NPS subsectors and their focal phenomena have also had significant effects on the NAs concerned. For instance, there is now little question that public attitudes toward the physical environment and its problems/deficits have significantly supported the growth of NAs in the environmental subsector (movement) in the United States (Dunlap and Mertig 1992:112–113). Dalton's (1994) study of 60 environmental NAs in ten European nations supports the same conclusion: Surveys of the general population in 1986 indicated that majorities of adults were either willing to join such NAs or strongly approved them (with the Netherlands being a minor exception at 47%; p. 62).

6. Impact of NAs

NA external impacts on the community and larger society are not considered in this Handbook. But NA and other association impacts will be treated in Smith (2017), as part of a more general review of association impacts on the external environment of people, organizations, the community, ecology, and society. In general, NAs have often had major impacts on human societies in the past two centuries, especially NAs that were parts of successful social movements (see also Smith 2010).

7. Deviance and misconduct

Academic scholars in voluntaristics have not given sufficient research attention to nonprofit sector deviance and misconduct of all kinds, which Smith (2008) has termed the *Dark Side* of the nonprofit sector. There is some recent research, but far from enough (e.g., Fremont-Smith 2004; Fremont-Smith and Kosaras 2003; Gibelman and Gelman 2001; Greenlee, Fischer, Gordon, and Keating, 2007). Such research neglect is true regarding associations, including NAs, as for other kinds of NPOs. Handbook Chapter 54 deals at length with this topic of deviance/misconduct in associations, including NAs. Smith (2017a) explores a variety of examples of deviant voluntary associations (DVAs), ranging from the truly noxious (e.g. the German Nazi Party 1921–1933) to the innocuous and merely eccentric (e.g., nudist clubs and colonies; witches' covens).

8. Individual involvement

Involvement or participation in associations is probably the most extensively studied topic regarding associations, with tens of thousands of published articles and books. Handbook Part IV has many chapters reviewing that research. However, most studies do not differentiate between GA and SLA participation, and the two types cannot be differentiated retroactively. Few studies focus *only on participation in NAs*. In addition, because many GAs are polymorphic branches of SLAs, especially NAs, it is unclear how to study *only NA participation*.

   For these reasons, Knoke's National Association Study is again distinctively important. As Smith (2010) states,

> Knoke (1990:179) was able to explain 61.6% of the adjusted variance in members' internal (intra-[NA]) participation in a multiple regression analysis of his large sample of 8,746 [NA] members. Statistically significant predictors included length of membership, democratic [NA] structure, less powerful [NA] authority system, lower environmental uncertainty, more internal issue interest, and more normative and social incentives.

E. Usable knowledge

Some generalizations in this chapter have clear applicability by the leaders of NAs. For instance, the general growth of NAs in the United States and elsewhere suggests that starting a new NA in a democracy is easier now than previously, given the density dependence relationship: more existing NAs usually means easier formation of new NAs, until a saturation level has been reached (see Handbook Chapter 50). In terms of NA goals, having only one or two main goals seems preferable to having more. As an NA ages, goal succession can be expected, but needs to be done carefully if NA survival is to be achieved. NA board members need to be alert for signs of goal displacement among NA staff and leaders, if original NA goals are to be achieved over time. Successful NAs emphasize normative (goal attainment, value seeking) and social (belonging, making new friends) incentives, with some utilitarian incentives (e.g., logo objects, t-shirts). NA members usually join and keep participating for occupational and altruistic reasons, so these should be emphasized and satisfied by the NA. Having state and/or local branches of the NA has been a successful NA strategy for nearly 200 years in the United States, but has had declining importance in recent decades.

Most successful NAs have significant centralization and bureaucratization, with declining grassroots participation in national decision-making. Member dues or assessments are the most frequent sources of funds for successful NAs. NAs with organizational members tend to be much smaller than NAs with individual members, but can charge higher dues per member. Sales of objects and publications are usually the next most important source of revenues. NAs in the United States usually receive few foundation grants or government contracts, but NAs in Europe and other nations often receive a higher percentage of revenues from such sources, especially from government. NAs can survive and be successful with *only* volunteer leaders/staff, or with *a small paid staff* (one to five people). NAs do not live very long on average – most are less than 35 years old, so leaders should develop programs that can be successful in fairly short time frames. If finances permit, the HQ of the NA should be located in the national capital region, to optimize national policy visibility and access to government leaders. NAs with any political goals need to develop their political capacity and external monitoring. NAs need to make a concerted effort to deal optimally with their environments, especially in complex and uncertain environments. Such efforts to manage the NA environment can be helped by participating in joint projects, coalitions, federations, and other NA networks and types of external cooperation/collaboration.

NAs should usually follow cultural norms about group activity timing, board meeting frequency, office hours, resource attraction, and training of members and leaders. Some oligarchy of the leaders can be expected in most NAs, unless

strong efforts are made to resist it and to have more democratic rotation of officers and leaders. Having rotation of members on the NA Nominating Committee is essential if the NA seeks to reduce or avoid oligarchy. NAs should seek generally to develop *goodwill*, or favorable public opinion regarding their goals and their specific organization. NAs have *brands*, just as businesses do (see Handbook Chapter 39). All NAs need internal monitoring practices and policies, as well as hazard insurance against embezzlement/liability, to minimize the risks of harm from crime and misconduct by paid staff and/or volunteers. Committed and active members are the most valuable assets of NAs, as with lower-level associations. Thus, ensuring that such long-term member commitment should be a primary goal of NA leaders.

F. Future trends and needed research

NAs are likely to continue to grow in numbers globally, as nations increase in population, educational levels, freedom of association, GDP/capita, diversity, and levels of modernity/industrialization (Smith and Shen 2002). Such NA growth will likely be parallel to similar growth in GAs, with intermediate-level SLAs growing more slowly. In developing and transitional nations, we may expect the increasing development of federative polymorphic NAs, linked to polymorphic GAs. Monomorphic GAs and NAs are characteristic of early stages of the development of civil society and the NPS in a nation. Insofar as one-party dictatorships decline, the above trends will become even stronger. However, NAs can and will also exist under corporatism and in authoritarian regimes, with varying degrees of national or lower-level government controls. If China can be taken as an example/model, more freedom of association can be expected at the local level with GAs than with the highest level of NAs in authoritarian regimes, with gradations of freedom versus state control for territorial levels in between these extremes.

Research on NAs and other SLAs is at present scarce relative to research on local associations (GAs) and relative to the potential importance of NAs in affecting their members, recipients, communities, and the larger societies in which they are embedded. In the future, research on association memberships and participation that uses general population samples should carefully distinguish among participation in local associations (GAs), in state or provincial associations, in NAs, and in INGOs, reporting results separately, as well as for all respondents who are members of any geographic level of association. One relevant hypothesis is that participation will, on average, be greater and endure longer in associations that have local branches or chapters with meetings at least once a month or more, other things equal.

Research on NAs needs to draw large random samples (e.g., 500–1,000 NAs) and to use telephone or in-person (or Internet-based) interviews with top

leaders regarding all of the issues that were the subject of sections and sub-sections of this chapter. Far too much of our current knowledge of NAs is either superficial in most national sample studies done so far (except for Knoke 1990) or based on case studies or small samples. In such future large sample studies of NAs, care should be taken to include questions about a wide range of structural and process features of these associations. This means including not only the topics/variables noted in this chapter based on available research but also the 55 key analytical typologies/variables of associations identified in Handbook Chapter 3. Finally, such research should be done simultaneously, at least in col-laboration, in a sample of at least at 20–30 nations, so as to understand the *global nature of NAs*, not just American NAs. No such multinational studies of NAs now exist, investigating many structural process features (types, variables) of such associations. Possibly, such a multinational study of NAs could be com-bined with a similar multinational study of local and state-level associations, but that is not necessary, as the sampling will be different for each.

G. Cross-references

Chapters 38–40, 42–50, 52–54, 56–58.

Note

1. Smith (2010) summarized as follows:

   There are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of research studies on the internal struc-ture and/or processes of specific NAs or of NA purposive types in the United States and in other contemporary nations [e.g., Baggett 2001; Bottoms 1991; Davidson 1950; Gilbo 1981; Jones 2007; Kaufman 1982; Macleod 1983; Malcolmson and Malcolmson 2013; Martin 1991; McConnell 1992; McFarland 1984; Morris 1996; Muraskin 1975; Nicholson et al.1978; Ridge 1986; Rumer 1990; Scott and Murphy 2010; Sills 1957; Smillie 2009; Wells 1953; West 1980; D. Young 1989; Zald 1970]. These are usually histories or case studies, but are occasionally sociological analy-ses or surveys. The problem in summarizing them is that no one has yet tried to derive from them any grounded theory about NA structure and process by com-parative analysis of their findings. Nor are there cross-national comparative studies of NA structure and process using adequate samples of NAs of all types, let alone multi-wave time series (panel) studies.

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34

Transnational Associations and INGOs: Macro-Associations

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A. Introduction

Taking international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) as the key focus, this chapter outlines the history and nature of transnational voluntary associations before proceeding to evaluate the recent transformation of their organizational forms and their shifting geographical distribution. We argue that the traditional, hierarchical model of a Western-headquartered INGO is being increasingly challenged by new, decentralized organizational forms based in multiple world regions. The chapter then considers transnational associations' practices, exploring their advocacy and service roles and mechanisms for evaluating their effectiveness. The proposition that transnational associations have contributed toward developing global civil society and enhancing global democracy is then considered, before proceeding to an evaluation of their legitimacy and accountability, which have become increasingly central to the research agenda. The chapter concludes with recommendations for future research.

It has been estimated that the number of transnational and multinational/international associations in the contemporary world polity may exceed 20,000 (Union of International Associations 2013a). The associations examined in this chapter extend beyond the boundaries of the national, regional and grassroots organizations covered in Handbook chapters 32 and 33 on micro- and meso-associations, but may bring together or facilitate the activities of these latter forms of association.

B. Definitions

The set of definitions in the Handbook Appendix is accepted in this chapter.

The key characteristic shared by the associations covered in this chapter is their transnational nature. According to Saunier (2009:1047), the term *transnational* entered discourse in Germany in the 1860s in order to describe language families that extended beyond national boundaries. Keohane and Nye (1972:xi) in their landmark work on the subject defined *transnational relations* as "contacts, coalitions, and interactions across state boundaries that are not controlled by the central foreign policy organs of governments." While a wide range of actors conduct transnational relations, including multinational enterprises and epistemic communities, the principal focus in this chapter is upon INGOs.

As Willetts (2011:7, 31) has argued, the term *non-governmental organization* (NGO) originated in Article 71 of the United Nations Charter and may be defined as "any organized groups of people that are not direct agents of individual governments, not pursuing criminal activities, not engaged in violent activities, and not primarily established for profit-making purposes." INGOs have been distinguished from other NGOs by the Union of International Associations (2013b) on the basis of being "bodies oriented to three or more countries," thereby excluding binational organizations.

The United Nations Economic and Social Council distinguishes INGOs from intergovernmental organizations or IGOs (which are fewer in number) on the basis of being "not established by intergovernmental agreement" (quoted in Lindblom 2005:38). Literature on international organizations has had a tendency to concentrate its attention on intergovernmental bodies (IGOs), but coverage of INGOs has become more substantial since the end of the Cold War. This chapter follows the preponderant trend in existing literature in referring to *international* NGOs rather than to *transnational* NGOs, although the latter phrase would be more accurate. It should also be noted that the defining characteristics of INGOs remain contested to the present day.

Several scholars have broadened our understanding of INGOs. Archer (2001:38–39) has distinguished *genuine* INGOs with an exclusively non-governmental membership (such as Amnesty International) from *hybrid* INGOs, which mix governmental and non-governmental participation (such as the International Council of Scientific Unions). In one of the earliest works on INGOs, Lyman C. White (1933) drew a distinction between *cosmopolitan* organizations, comprised of individuals in multiple countries, and *international associations,* consisting of national member groups. Ryfman (2004:22) has argued that the distinction between INGOs and other transnational actors, such as profit-making corporations (when these are multinational corporations, or MNCs) may not always be clear, given, for example, the commercial interests of international sports organizations despite their formal nonprofit status. In addition, the scope of INGO issue areas is vast and is not limited to only progressive causes/goals such as development, the environment, human rights,

and peace (Willetts 2011:30–31). Among the INGOs of the early 20th century, for instance, was the International Federation of Eugenics Organizations.

Recent literature has identified significant sub-categories of INGOs, such as *transnational social movement organizations*, defined by Smith, Chatfield, and Pagnucco (1997: xiii) as "those INGOs that promote institutional and policy changes in the international order." Collaborative arrangements among INGOs have also been identified, including *transnational coalitions* uniting multiple INGOs, such as the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (Tarrow 2005:161–179). Keck and Sikkink (1998:200) have developed the concept of the *transnational advocacy network,* referring to transnational "voluntary, reciprocal, and horizontal exchanges of information and services . . . organized around shared values and discourses," and illustrated with reference to examples including the network that developed in relation to Argentina's *dirty war*. A further form of transnational network, the *governance network*, has been identified by Willetts (2011:122): these networks "exist to promote the participation of a diverse range of NGOs in a particular policy-making forum." The activities of INGOs are commonly brought together under the umbrella term *global civil society*, which has been described as a "fuzzy and contested concept" (Anheier et al. 2001:11), but which has been considered to be "a dynamic zone of cross-border relations and activities that keep an arm's distance from states and markets" (Keane 2003:63–64).

It is important to note forms of cross-border activity carried out by associations that fall short of formation of a transnational organization, but which are nonetheless transnational in impact. These can be illustrated with examples from the Andean region. For example, La Confederación Colombiana de Organizaciones No Gubernamentales (Colombian Confederation of NGOs – CCONG) was consulted during the formation of the Ecuador's national nonprofit umbrella organization, Confederación Ecuatoriana de Organizaciones de la Sociedad Civil (Ecuadorian Confederation of Civil Society Organizations) by Ecuadorian national NGOs. Additionally, there are international networks between the Federación Antioquia de las ONG (Antioquia Federation of Nongovernmental Organizations – FAONG) and the Asociación Red de ONGs de Guayaquil (the Network Association of NGOs of Guayaquil – AROG), which, through an interinstitutional agreement, sets out to exchange information and experiences between the two sub-national nonprofit umbrella organizations and hopes to generate more links among similar networks in Latin America. The role these regional, but cross-border, networks have in formulating public policy that targets and influences nonprofit organizations may become increasingly important (Acosta 2011). In the African context, Mercer, Page, and Evans (2009:141) have noted that "African home associations draw attention to the historically embedded and mundane ways in which forms of associational life can be 'transnational' outside the formalized structures and

Eurocentric development hierarchies created by international NGOs and other development institutions."

C. Historical background

The oldest transnational associations predate the development of an international society of nation-states. Drawing on the data of the Union of International Associations, Boli and Brewington (2007:208) date the oldest religious INGO to 312 AD. Davies (2014) identifies a significant transition that took place in the early 19th century, when ancient forms of transnational association such as religious orders, missionary societies, and fraternal societies began to be superseded by modern INGOs. As Boli and Thomas (1999) have argued, modern INGOs proliferated from the late 19th century onwards. Key formations in the 1860s included the International Working Men's Association, the League of Peace and Freedom, the International Association of Women, and the Red Cross movement. Skjelsbaek (1971) reviewed INGO growth in the 20th century. Whereas some literature has presented the subsequent historical development of INGOs in terms of progress toward global community (Iriye 2002), other accounts have noted aspects of cyclicality, such as in respect of relationships with intergovernmental bodies (Charnovitz 1997).

While decolonization in the 20th century played an important part in facilitating greater geographical reach of INGOs (Davies 2014), it is commonly argued that post–Cold War globalization has played a significant role in facilitating considerable recent expansion in the number and influence of INGOs (Khagram and Alvord 2006). Beyond general accounts of the historical development of INGOs, there is a growing literature on the evolution of particular INGOs (for instance, Clark 2001 on Amnesty International), on historical examples of campaigns (such as Davies 2007 on the interwar disarmament movement) and on the evolution on categories of INGOs (e.g., Barnett 2012 on humanitarian associations).

D. Key issues

1. INGO geographic distribution

The most comprehensive data repository on INGOs, the Brussels-based Union of International Associations (2013a: 25), disaggregates four principal categories of *conventional* INGO structures: federations of international organizations, universal membership organizations, intercontinental membership organizations, and regionally oriented membership organizations, comprising, respectively, 0.44%, 5.92%, 15.68%, and 77.95% of the sector in 2012. Anheier and Katz

(2003:247) suggest that the density and prevalence of transnational associations is greatest in North America and Western Europe and lowest in Central Africa, Central Asia, and the Middle East. With respect to issue-area focus, Anheier and Themudo (2005:112–113) argue that INGOs concerned with research and with economic interest and development are more numerous than those focused on other issue areas, such as culture, education, health, social services, environment, advocacy, religion, defense, and politics. However, advocacy and social services organizations have been growing at a faster rate than other categories.

The shifting balance among INGOs across different regions of the world is particularly evident if we take into consideration the recent boom in the number of multinational non-governmental organizations operating or headquartered in the Asia-Pacific region (Glasius, Kaldor, and Anheier, 2002; Union of International Associations 2010). These organizations are often found to work in the social, educational, and health service sectors, as well as handling environmental, women's, and migrant workers' issues, which represent key concerns in this region (Weller 2006). The number of international NGOs operating in some Asian countries has risen remarkably, for instance in Vietnam, growing from fewer than 10 in the late 1980s to almost 500 registered bodies in 2000 (Luong 2006; van Phuc et al. 2002). Even in China, where the political system is restrictive, the number of INGOs is high: Tsinghua University estimated that by 2005 there were between 3,000 and 6,500 INGOs operating in the country. Since the 1990s, there has also been an increase in associational networking between countries in Asia – both within the region and with other regions (Gilson 2011).

The expansion of INGOs in Asia has taken place through three principal methods. The first is through financial assistance from INGOs to local groups, which has increased especially since the 1980s (Gilson 2011), but which also played a role earlier in some contexts such as in India (Franda 1983; Sen 1999). The second is through the establishment of local chapters of INGOs in a growing number of Asian countries in the environmental, social, educational, and health service sectors (Luong 2006; Pongsapich 1998). In China, for instance, transnational environmental NGOs such as Greenpeace have created local chapters (Lo Sze Ping 2007; Wu 2011; Xie 2011). The third method is through partnerships between INGOs and local groups on particular projects. The growth of transnational associations and activism in Asia has been linked to economic globalization (Jemadu 2004; Lee 2013). Regionalization has also been an important feature of INGO growth in Asia (Gilson 2011). Regional INGOs in Asia may aim to challenge preponderant strategies to international development (Sasano 1989; Win 1998). The creation of regional networks in Asia is thought to help facilitate advocacy (Gilson 2011).

2. INGO transformations

INGOs have changed considerably in the post–Cold War era. Anheier (2005) argues that factors including the *new policy agenda* of intergovernmental bodies, together with increased recognition of humanitarian needs around the world, the spread of democratic governments, and technological developments, have spurred the internationalization of associations. These factors may also explain the recent comparatively rapid growth of transnational advocacy and services associations. Stroup (2012:3), however, notes that although INGOs have become "increasingly active in *international* arenas, … actual organizational structures and strategies are deeply tied to *national* environments." This tension is symptomatic of the national roots of funding and national regulatory environments. A further growing trend in the post–Cold War era has been the creation of global coalitions of INGOs, such as the Global Call to Action against Poverty and the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (Tarrow 2005). Whereas INGO structures have traditionally been hierarchical, Foreman (1999) identifies the emergence of new, more decentralized structures. Davies (2012) argues that

> with development INGOs headquartered in donor countries, reforming their governance structures to provide a greater voice for affiliates in recipient countries, and development INGOs headquartered in developing countries setting up *resource mobilization* affiliates in developed countries, a convergence of organizational forms is emerging, which bridges the former divide between Northern [developed nation] and Southern [less developed or developing nation] INGOs.

An example of this transformation is Somos Mas (We're More!), which is a non-governmental organization that has been working in Bogotá, Colombia, since 2001 with a mission to generate social and economic value for networks of social initiatives (Somos Mas 2012). Since 2011, Somos Mas has become internationalized, working also in Spain to develop projects and collaborations in Europe (http://www.somosmas.org/nosotros/historia/).

3. Transnational advocacy and services

A key focus for post–Cold War literature on transnational associations has been upon these organizations' advocacy work, given its apparently greater significance in the last two decades. Risse–Kappen (1995) sought to take further the debate on transnational relations by highlighting the role of domestic structures and international institutionalization in influencing the outcomes of advocacy by transnational associations. Piper and Uhlin (2004) noted the limiting role of powerful state institutions on transnational activism in parts of Asia in particular, but the opening up of political opportunities in China

since the 1990s is apparent (Morton 2008; Xie and van der Heijden 2010; Zusman and Turner 2005). In their landmark work on transnational advocacy networks, Keck and Sikkink (1998) identified the *boomerang pattern* by which transnational associations may facilitate political change in countries unresponsive to internal pressure, but responsive to the external pressure that transnational associations may facilitate. Transnational networking has been shown to have helped address challenging national political opportunity structures in Asia (Pongsapich 1998; Riker 1995; Wu 2011; Xie 2011). Nelson and Dorsey (2008) argue that there has developed a growing convergence of agendas of advocacy INGOs in the post–Cold War era, with the interweaving of human rights and development objectives which they label *new rights advocacy*. Recent literature has drawn attention to the role of INGOs' structures in influencing the outcomes of their advocacy campaigns: Wong (2012:27) highlights the significance of how INGOs choose "to distribute proposal, enforcement, and implementation power," which has "consequences for the extent to which [they]…will be able to establish themselves as organizations internationally, and how salient their advocacy agenda will be politically."

4. INGO impact and effectiveness

Scholarship has made a wide range of claims with respect to the impacts of INGOs, ranging from hailing them as key agents of global social and political change (Florini 2000) to calling them largely irrelevant, to claiming that they often worsen the very conditions they seek to address (Rieff 2002). INGOs headquartered in wealthy countries operating in sub-Saharan Africa have frequently been criticized for their role in reinforcing rather than challenging global inequality. Manji and O'Coill (2002) highlighted INGOs' roles in continuing practices from the colonial era, with Amutabi (2006) claiming that some INGOs promote *philanthrocracy* and Shivji (2007:vi) describing INGOs as "inextricably imbricated in the neoliberal offensive." Pinkney (2009:16), on the other hand, argues that in Africa, "a sharpening of NGO skills in mutual cooperation in bargaining with others, has helped to secure the righting, or partial righting, of a range of perceived wrongs."

In relation to advocacy, effectiveness may be defined as the ability to mobilize resources and public opinion in efforts to shape policy at the national or international level. Important cases include the 1984 anti-torture convention, the 1997 anti-landmines treaty, the Kimberley agreement to end the trade in *blood diamonds*, or the 1997 Rome Statute creating the International Criminal Court (ICC). INGO networks are most effective in the early stages of agenda setting, while their influence tends to diminish in later stages of the policy formulation, adoption, and implementation process. Research has identified expertise, broad representation, and effective framing efforts as key ingredients for INGO networks to exert influence (Cox 2011; Glasius 2006; Joachim 2007; Price 1998).

Problems have arisen when transnational campaigns have lacked resonance at the national level (Gilson 2011; Liu 2006; Pahl-Wostl et al. 2007), or where there has been poor coordination (Carpenter 2007). A close working relationship with state institutions is noted to be important in successful advocacy in Asia (Gilson 2011; Grugel 2004; Piper and Uhlin 2004; Sansom 2011).

Many high-profile campaigns have generated some of the most vociferous criticisms of INGO advocacy. Exemplary is the ICC as a symbol for INGO efforts to fight impunity and deter mass atrocities by punishing individuals responsible for such crimes. Many critics have argued that these efforts actually contribute to more violence, fail to reflect local needs, and wrongly assume that court proceedings can substitute for difficult political negotiations needed to end mass violence (Vinjamuri 2010). A wide range of critics have blamed activism such as Invisible Children's Kony 2012 campaign for ill-fated military interventions, arguing that these groups substitute excessive idealism for a rational analysis of conflicts, leading to worse outcomes (De Waal 2012; Kuperman 2001).

A focus on advocacy effectiveness, or its unintended consequences, assumes that an issue is already salient and has received significant attention among important INGOs. These assumptions do not necessarily hold for a number of deserving causes. Questions of effective advocacy may often not arise because social conditions never become issues and campaign topics (Carpenter 2014). INGOs exert significant control over global agendas through their decisions to adopt certain causes, join alliances, and occupy positions that potentially crowd out other deserving voices. Southern INGOs' voices may be crowded out by the stronger voices of Northern groups. The extent to which local interests can be efficiently articulated has been questioned (Fisher 2010). International NGOs' regional strategies have been increasingly questioned, with rising conflicts within transnational advocacy networks (Park 2004).

While advocacy is of increasing importance, service delivery continues to be an important part of INGOs and their missions, in particular in the humanitarian realm. Research in the US domestic nonprofit field has established three distinct perspectives on their effectiveness: goal attainment (Etzioni 1964), resource control (Yuchtman and Seashore 1967), and social constructivism/reputational perspectives (Jobson and Schneck 1982). While the goal attainment approach focuses on how well organizations do in accomplishing their objectives, a resource perspective claims that fund-raising levels represent a good proxy for effectiveness. The reputational approach insists that effectiveness is in the eye of the beholder, specifically in how different stakeholders perceive an organization's performance. All three approaches face important limitations that have prevented their widespread adoption among researchers. Most organizations pursue multiple and diverse sets of goals, which undercuts efforts at aggregating measures of effectiveness. A focus on resources tells us much about fund-raising success, but little about what difference a group

actually makes with its programs that use those resources. Finally, a focus on reputation faces challenges of how to aggregate diverging views of a diverse set of stakeholders.

Over time, researchers have resorted to multidimensional systems of assessing effectiveness, in particular those that promise to remedy limitations of earlier efforts (Lecy, Schmitz, and Swedlund 2012). Scholars have shifted attention to internal management practices as a key factor and have insisted that an increasing focus on program evaluation may be counterproductive because organizations are more than a sum of their activities (Herman and Renz 1999:120). Researchers have also insisted that any assessment of effectiveness should be contingent upon the explicit theory of change an organization has developed. Effectiveness assessment should recognize that organizations engaged in long-term social change may only make a relatively limited contribution to change processes (Ebrahim and Rangan 2010).

Unlike the research community, watchdog groups have widely adopted the resource model of assessing organizational effectiveness. These groups have specialized over the past two decades in providing information about the nonprofit sector and individual organizations. Watchdog groups have used publicly available data to compare organizations based on financial metrics, in particular measures of overhead spending and fundraising success over time. The explicit goal of groups such as Charity Navigator, GiveWell, or GuideStar is to educate potential donors about where to direct their charitable giving. However, the focus on overhead spending provided no relevant information about the actual impact of an organization. In addition, these ranking systems incentivized organizations to neglect their organizational capacity (Wing and Hager 2004) or to engage in deceptive practices by hiding administrative and fund-raising costs.

More recently, some of these watchdogs, including Charity Navigator (charitynavigator.org), have aimed at moving beyond financial metrics to include meaningful information about actual program outcomes. They rely entirely on the efforts of organizations collecting meaningful data about themselves and assess how much information an organization is willing to share, not if programs are actually effective or not (Blair 2013). These efforts are important, but will only succeed if INGOs provide more detailed information about their work (Mitchell 2013) and (individual) donors spend more time asking what exactly their favorite organization is doing and if their programs can reasonably claim to be effective.

5. Global governance, civil society, and democracy

Whereas literature has traditionally focused on the relationship between INGOs and national governments, transnational associations have also played a significant role in *global governance* through their interactions with intergovernmental organizations. Willetts (1996) has evaluated the interactions between INGOs

and the UN system, revealing the influence of transnational associations not only through the formal mechanisms of consultative status provided for in the UN Charter but also through participating in UN global conferences and in the work of specialized agencies. As Willetts (2011:42) notes, consultative status was until 1996 preponderantly allocated to international rather than to national NGOs. A growing body of literature has also developed evaluating the interactions between transnational associations and the international financial institutions: Fox and Brown (1998), for example, explore the role of transnational advocacy coalitions in promoting greater accountability in the World Bank's activities and note how success in influencing World Bank policy may not translate into influence in respect of the projects in which the Bank has been involved. Fogarty (2013:6) argues that the expanding range of actors involved in global governance has "increased the diversity of polity preferences and thus the contentiousness of bargaining – though multilateral agreements can be achieved if the most capacious actors have convergent polity preferences." In addition to studies of interactions between INGOs and particular intergovernmental organizations (such as O'Brien et al. 2000) and general studies of global governance (for instance, Harman and Williams 2013), there is an expanding literature exploring the role of INGOs among other actors in global governance in particular issue areas, such as forest politics (Humphreys 1996).

The proliferation of transnational associations following the end of the Cold War has contributed toward claims that *global civil society* may have developed. Kaldor (2003:16) draws a contrast between older territorially bound understandings of civil society and global civil society, described by Keane (2003:8) as "a dynamic non-governmental system of interconnected socio-economic institutions that straddle the whole earth, and that have complex effects that are felt in its four corners." Wapner (1996) argues that the influence of transnational associations should not be restricted to an examination of impact upon governments and intergovernmental organizations: also significant is *world civic politics* by which transnational associations may help to bring about political change by directly influencing the behavior of private individuals and global corporations. Since the Nestlé boycott movement of the 1970s, multinational corporations (MNCs) have been a growing focus of attention for campaigns by transnational associations (Chetley 1986). Newell (2001) has disaggregated the mechanisms by which transnational associations may influence corporate behavior through both conflictual strategies, such as consumer boycotts and shareholder activism, and cooperative strategies, such as project collaboration and private certification schemes.

Considering the transformed nature and influence of transnational associations in the post–Cold War period, it has been claimed that these associations may play a significant role in mitigating the democratic deficit not only at the national level (Jemadu 2004) but also at the global level (Scholte 2002;

Smith 2007). Kaldor (2008:35) draws a distinction between *formal democratic institutions*, such as elected national parliaments, and *substantive democracy*, which is suggested to be "a process, which has to be continually reproduced, for maximizing the opportunities for all individuals to shape their own lives and to participate in and influence debates about public decisions that affect them." According to Scholte (2002:293–294), transnational associations may contribute toward democratic global governance in the latter sense "by giving voice to stakeholders ... through public education ... fuel[ing] debate ... increas-[ing] the public transparency of global governance ... increasing the public accountability of the regulatory agencies ... [and] a sixth and more general basis of democratic rule: legitimacy." Critical perspectives have highlighted problems with claims with respect to the role of INGOs in democratization, with Fowler (1993) and Pinkney (2008) noting the limitations of both INGOs themselves and their political opportunities in promoting democracy in the African context.

6. Legitimacy and accountability

Given the bold claims that have been made in respect to the contributions of transnational associations to global democracy, the legitimacy and accountability of transnational associations have been increasingly subjected to scrutiny. Whereas some, such as Scholte (2011), have focused upon the role of transnational associations in the accountability of a wide range of intergovernmental bodies, others have turned the spotlight on transnational associations themselves (Koppell 2010; Slim 2002). Steffek and Hahn (2010), for instance, have noted that in contrast with other institutions, the standards of legitimacy and accountability of INGOs are highly contested. Recent efforts by transnational associations to address these issues, such as the INGO Accountability Charter, are being evaluated in recent literature as whether or not they represent anything more than efforts by INGOs "to prop up their own legitimacy" (Reiser and Kelly 2011:1073).

INGO accountability poses difficult governance challenges, both inside the organizations and in relation to their external environment. Debates have coalesced around the questions of accountability for what, to whom, and how? Unlike public corporations, answering primarily to shareholders, and democratic governments responsible to their electorate, INGOs are asked to regularly answer to a wide range of stakeholders, including donors, their mission, host governments, staff, membership, beneficiaries, and the general public. These different constituents project a broad range of sometimes contradictory expectations onto organizations, including financial efficiency, local responsiveness, and compliance with laws and regulations.

INGOs are particularly challenged in developing accountability mechanisms because they regularly operate across borders and frequently bridge immense

wealth and cultural gaps (Balboa 2014). While their mission combined with the nonprofit status was in the past a largely sufficient stand-in for being seen as legitimate, questions about what INGOs do and increasing demands by their stakeholders have combined to establish a broad array of new accountability mechanisms. Today, INGOs face more pressures for accountability from above and from below. On the one hand, donors increasingly demand measure-able results, often in the short term, despite the fact that most problems addressed by INGOs require long-term engagement (Gready 2009). On the other hand, the spread of rights-based approaches pushes INGOs to give much greater voice to their beneficiaries. Recent empirical evidence suggests that leaders of INGOs are well aware of these demands and favor more down-ward accountability, but have yet to implement appropriate accountability strategies to match those ambitions (Schmitz, Raggo, and Bruno-van Vijfeijken 2012).

The humanitarian sector was the first to experience increased pressures, due to widespread debates about the role of humanitarian aid in disas-ter relief, but specifically the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide in 1994 (Terry 2002). Various mechanisms of self-regulation emerged, including codes of conduct such as the SPHERE project (1997) and the more compliance-focused certification program Humanitarian Accountability Partnership (HAP 2003). At the regional level, there have developed initiatives such as Rendir Cuentas (Regional Initiative for Accountability), which exists now in nine Latin American countries (www.rendircuentas.org). This initiative seeks to generate public trust and credibility for nonprofit organizations and created concrete accountability mechanisms in the region. Research indicates that these self-regulatory efforts have changed some INGO practices, but also have significant limitations with regard to their ability to affect greater downward accountability (Crack 2013). New accountability mechanisms can be costly, especially for smaller organizations, and the emergence of a wide range of them indicates the presence of a lucrative *accountability industry*, which may lead individual initiatives to lower their standards as they compete with others.

Finally, accountability should be understood as a means to the end of greater organizational effectiveness. There are inherent risks in the mushrooming of new initiatives, in particular when INGOs responding to these demands expe-rience "multiple accountabilities disorder" (Koppell 2005). Other scholars have pointed out that increased pressures for accountability are counterproductive when they are not part of a larger strategy focused on ongoing organizational learning (Ebrahim 2005). For most INGOs, aspirations to be more accountable are a given, but getting there remains challenging and requires extensive ongo-ing reflection not only about the purpose of the organization but also about the relative importance of different stakeholders.

E. Usable knowledge

The traditional INGO model of a hierarchically organized structure headquartered in Western Europe or North America has become increasingly obsolete. Practitioners are now confronted with a context in which much of the growth of transnational associations is to be accounted for beyond these regions, and in which there are considerable pressures to address deficits in INGO accountability, legitimacy, and transparency. New decentralized models of organization and accountability frameworks have gone at least some way toward addressing these challenges, but as discussed, these are still in need of further refinement. With respect to the effectiveness of advocacy by transnational associations, this chapter has noted the salience of both aspects of the organizations themselves, such as their representativeness and framing efforts, as well as the importance of external opportunities, especially the relationship with governmental institutions. For those working in the voluntary sector in contexts where governmental institutions are unresponsive, transnational mobilization has been an important means toward overcoming this challenge.

F. Future trends and needed research

In the first two decades of the twenty-first century, the growth of transnational associations has slowed (Davies 2014). Nevertheless, it is widely thought that transnational associations/INGOs are likely to continue their growth in numbers into the next decades, as part of a wider globalization trend in world society (Khagram and Alvord 2006). Growing international linkages between nations in terms of businesses, governments, and nonprofit associations are integral to globalization, as are the growth of multinational corporations (MNCs), international governmental organizations (IGOs), and international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs).

The literature on transnational associations, despite having grown remarkably over the past two decades, is still relatively underdeveloped in comparison with that on national associations. Much of the literature has emerged in the discipline of international relations, so aspects such as these associations' impacts and contributions to global governance have been given very considerable attention. Themes such as legitimacy and accountability have recently acquired significant attention and are likely to continue to do so. There is considerable scope for exploring in more depth aspects of these associations' internal organization and management, as has more commonly been the case with the literature on national associations. There is need for the development of further analytical and methodological tools and more nuanced data specifically oriented to the transnational level of analysis, and to this end the

development of consensus on the defining characteristics of INGOs would be helpful.

G. Cross-references

Chapters 32, 33, and 48.

H. Bibliography

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35
Governance, Boards, and Internal Structures of Associations

Stijn Van Puyvelde (Belgium), Christopher Cornforth (UK), Christophe Dansac (France), Chao GUO (China), Alan Hough (Australia), and David H. Smith (USA)

A. Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the existing research on board governance and internal structures in nonprofit membership associations (cf. Smith 2015a, 2015b). It reviews the various theories that have been proposed to model the governance of membership associations, including agency theory, stewardship theory, stakeholder theory, and resource dependence theory. We distinguish between larger associations with some paid staff and smaller, all-volunteer (grassroots) associations. Empirical research on membership incentives, member participation in governance, and democratic governance structures is discussed. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the most important theoretical and practical implications for governing nonprofit membership associations.

B. Definitions

This chapter accepts the general definitions in the Handbook Appendix. In addition, the following definitions are useful for the reader of this chapter.

Organizational governance: Although the term corporate governance comes from the world of business, it can easily be extended to include all types of organizational ownership forms. Consequently, organizational governance can be defined as "the systems by which organizations are directed, controlled, and held accountable" (Cornforth 2003:17).

Principal–agent relationships: A principal–agent relationship is present when one party (the principal) contracts another party (the agent) to perform some service on his/her behalf that gives some decision-making authority to the agent (Jensen and Meckling 1976).

Stakeholders are "people or organizations that have a real, assumed, or imagined stake in the organization, its performance, and its sustainability" (Anheier 2005:227).

Resources are any means or facilities that a nonprofit membership association finds useful in functioning, such as money, labor power, and expertise.

Governance structures are formal operating procedures for making and implementing decisions about allocating goals and resources.

Isomorphism is the process by which organizations facing the same institutional environment become gradually more homogeneous in terms of policies, practices, and governance structures (Anheier 2005:147). A distinction can be made between coercive, mimetic, and normative isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell 1983).

Organizational commitment is defined as "a psychological link between the employee and his or her organization that makes it less likely that the employee will voluntarily leave the organization" (Meyer and Allen 1991:67).

Legitimacy is the "generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions" (Suchman 1995:574).

Psychological contracts are "individual beliefs in reciprocal obligations between employees and employers" (Rousseau 1990:389).

C. Historical background

The study of nonprofit organizations is interdisciplinary, including contributions from economics, management, sociology, psychology, and political science. Membership associations are a special form of nonprofit organizations that have individual or collective (corporate) *persons* as members and use the associational form of organization (Smith 2010b). A distinction is typically made between two subtypes of associations: locally based, all-volunteer (grassroots) associations and larger, often supra-local, associations with some paid staff (Smith 2010a, 2010b).

An early review of associational governance by Knoke (1986) concluded that little is known about either collective decision-making or its individual and organizational consequences. Nonetheless, it was evident that "association size, goal diversity, member apathy, and an absence of effective mechanisms to reinforce participation may conspire to restrict the effective scope of decision participation" (Knoke 1986:12). In recent decades the situation has only improved slightly. For example, a literature review of membership associations by Tschirhart (2006) noted that empirical research on governance and structure of these associations is still thin relative to the research on member entry and retention. In addition, it may be difficult to apply the limited findings to associations with different purposes and membership types. One suggestion is that

some models of governance and structure applied to for-profit firms and non-profit organizations other than associations can also be applied to membership associations (Tschirhart 2006).

D. Key issues

1. Theories of association governance

A variety of theories have been proposed to explain the role of boards in the private sector (for an overview see Hung 1998). Many researchers have applied these for-profit theories to nonprofit boards (e.g., Cornforth 2003; Miller-Millesen 2003; Van Puyvelde et al. 2012). Seven main theoretical perspectives can be distinguished, each focusing on a particular role of the governing board:

(a) *Agency theory* assumes that managers and owners of an organization have different interests (Eisenhardt 1989). Consequently, the main function of the board is to ensure managerial compliance.

(b) *Stewardship theory* assumes that managers and owners of an organization share interests (Davis et al. 1997). Managers want to do a good job and will therefore act in the organization's best interests. Hence, the main function of the board is to improve organizational performance while acting as a partner to management.

(c) *Stakeholder theory* assumes that organizations should be responsible to many groups in society rather than just the organization's owners (Donaldson and Preston 1995; Mitchell et al. 1997). Since different stakeholder groups may have different interests, the chief role of the board is to negotiate and resolve such conflict to help set the organization's objectives and its policy (Cornforth 2004).

(d) *Resource dependence theory* assumes that organizations depend on their environment for resources for their survival (Pfeffer and Salancik 1978). Thus, the main role of the board is to secure resources by maintaining good relations with key external stakeholders.

(e) *Institutional theory* explains the similarity (isomorphism) and stability of organizational arrangements in a given field of organizations (Greenwood and Hinings 1996). It argues that governing boards adopt certain policies, practices, and structures to conform to dominant ideologies, beliefs, norms, and regulations in society. This enhances their organizational legitimacy (Abzug and Galaskiewicz 2001).

(f) *Managerial hegemony theory* argues that board power is limited and control is ceded to the managers of the organization (Mace 1971). Consequently, the role of the board is essentially symbolic: it only exists to ratify managers' decisions (Cornforth 2003).

(g) *Democratic and critical perspectives* focus on representation, participation, and power in governance practices, and help understand how these dynamics affect nonprofit organizations (Guo, Metelsky, and Bradshaw 2014).

Following Cornforth (2004) and Kreutzer (2009), we argue that these theories can also be used to model the governance of nonprofit membership associations. It should be noted, however, that the theories are rather one-dimensional, focusing on only a particular function of the nonprofit board. Additionally, there are in *pure* membership associations a number of distinctive characteristics of organizational governance. First, a two-tier governance structure exists, wherein a small group of people are responsible for overseeing how the organization is run (variously called the board of directors, board of trustees, governing body, or management committee) and accountable to a larger set of members, often to all dues-paying, official members. Board members are elected by this wider membership in one-person-one-vote elections. Second, board membership is voluntary and unpaid. Third, unlike boards in the private sector and in some public sector organizations, board membership does not usually include paid executives of the organization, though board members may work as lower-level volunteers in the organization.

Billis (2010) has argued that the ideal typical voluntary or nonprofit organization is the membership association. It is run by members and volunteers, relies primarily for resources on membership fees and voluntary donations of time and money, and democratically elects its governing body. It is important to note, however, that reality is much more complex than this and that considerable variation exists in the governance arrangements of nonprofit associations. Associations may have different categories of membership with different rights and responsibilities, and not all members may have voting rights (Tschirhart 2006). Indeed, some nonprofit organizations are *commoditizing* membership, seeing it primarily as a source of funding and support rather than a mechanism for control and accountability. In addition, some associations have complex, multilevel governance structures with local branches and affiliates or are federations of largely autonomous local associations with their own boards (Bradshaw and Toubiana 2013; Taylor and Lansley 2000; Young et al. 1996).

It is difficult to obtain accurate figures on the number of nonprofit organizations that are membership associations. See Handbook Chapter 16 on *scope and trends* for more details. However, in the United Kingdom, the Charity Commission (2004) estimated that about 50% of registered charities in England and Wales had voting members (and a further 20% of charities had non-voting members). Tschirhart (2006), drawing on statistics from the National Center for Charitable Statistics in the United States, stated that 33% of nonprofit organizations registered in the United States in 2004 were membership associations, and that this figure rose to 60% if registered religious congregations were included.

In neither case do these figures include the myriad of unregistered, small, usually all-volunteer, community groups and associations, termed *Grassroots Associations* (GAs; Smith 2000; Handbook Chapter 40). Smith (2014:136) has recently estimated that there were about 12 million nonprofit groups (including both nonprofit agencies and also associations) in the United States circa 1 September 2013, with the large majority being GAs.

In addition, empirical research on association governance consists mainly of North American and European literature. The subset of literature related to the governance of nonprofit membership associations in other geographic areas is very small. In Oceania, for example, to the extent there is literature on the subjects of boards, governance, and internal structure and processes, it tends to concentrate on nonprofit service providers. Moreover, some of the literature does not enable the reader to distinguish between membership-based nonprofits and other nonprofits (nonprofit agencies, lacking a membership). The only consistent program of research about membership-based organizations we could identify from Oceania was that of Hoye and colleagues on Australian sporting organizations (Hoye 2004, 2006; Hoye and Auld 2001; Hoye and Cuskelly 2004). The Asian literature is similarly thin: in China, for example, there exist some prescriptive or conceptual articles on the governance of nonprofit membership associations in general and trade unions in particular, but very few empirical studies (for an exception, see Guo, Zhang, and Cai 2009). In Africa the situation is even worse. We were unable to locate any articles directly related to association governance, except for some anthropological and sociological articles in the early volumes of the *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* (Gray 1976; Kerri 1974; Ross 1976).

2. Membership incentives

Potential members of nonprofit associations typically face two decisions (Knoke 1986). First, they must decide whether to join the nonprofit membership association, and second, once a member, they must decide on an appropriate level of participation. Individuals typically join associations to attain certain benefits that exceed the costs of membership. Clark and Wilson (1961) distinguished three types of membership incentives: material, solidary, and purposive. Material incentives refer to private, tangible rewards given only to members, whereas solidary incentives reflect emotional attachment to the organization and a desire for social interaction with other members. Purposive incentives, in contrast, are intangible, being anchored in the ideology, mission, and objectives of the organization.

In addition to these three traditional incentives, Knoke (1988) and Chen (2004) suggested that obtaining information is a possible motive for joining and maintaining membership in nonprofit associations. Informational incentives refer to the possibility that members may obtain beneficial information

that is tangible (e.g., news of job openings) or intangible (e.g., research data, new knowledge for professional growth). Smith (2000:95–102) also noted several other incentive types in associations – service incentives (satisfactions from helping others), developmental incentives (satisfactions from one's own personal growth and self-actualization), charismatic incentives (satisfactions from being led by a charismatic leader), lobbying incentives (satisfactions from influencing the polity), and prestige incentives (satisfactions from the prestige of the association, if any).

From a governance perspective, the association's provision of incentives is the major economic exchange mechanism through which an association secures the resources necessary for maintenance and growth (Knoke 1986). For example, a mismatch between the supply of incentives offered by a nonprofit association and the demand for incentives from potential members may lead to a failure to attract or retain committed individuals and may thereby trigger internal governance problems. In addition, for some kinds of potential new members, there may be barriers to entry, because established members fear that they might divert the mission of the nonprofit association (Tschirhart 2006; Van Puyvelde et al. 2015).

A variety of governance mechanisms are available to limit entry into associations and to limit new members' ability to influence associational decision-making (Tschirhart and Johnson 1998). For example, membership may rest on apprenticeship or probation, with restricted rights for members yet to be approved for full membership. Other examples include sponsored membership programs, in which potential members must be championed by an established member, competition for limited membership openings, and secrecy about the membership process (Tschirhart 2006). Further, as Smith (2000:83–85) pointed out, associations can affect what people become their members by how they set their membership requirements or eligibility criteria. Such decisions are usually made by the founder(s) of the association and seldom change much. Some associations are open to nearly anyone (though usually with a minimum age requirement), while others are highly restrictive (e.g., alumni associations or professional associations).

3. Member participation in association governance

Concerning public interest groups, Berry (1994) argues that "[g]overnance questions are questions about representation. More specifically, they are questions about how well people's views are represented within an organization, and how members' views correspond to what their lobbying organization communicates to government" (p. 23). In accordance with this view Guo and Musso (2007) highlight the importance of *participatory representation*. This entails direct participatory relationships between organizational leaders and their members and constituents accomplished through various channels of communication.

Prior research indicates that levels of member participation in association governance vary, often being low for many associations. For example, Knoke's (1990) national associations study revealed that, on a four-point scale ranging from *never* to *regularly*, average internal participation is closest to *rarely*. In a study of membership-based interest groups, Barakso and Schaffner (2008) found that the ease with which members may exit a group affects its pattern of governance: groups with higher barriers to exit (e.g., professional associations and unions) tend to have higher levels of internal democracy than those from which exit is less costly (e.g., citizen associations). They also found that older groups, more federated groups, and those with fewer members are structured more democratically than their counterparts. In addition, cooperatives and other membership associations commonly allow members to vote for leadership position candidates (Reynolds 2000), though very few of them allow members to nominate the candidates (Barakso and Schaffner 2008).

Maintaining active participation of members in running their association is another important challenge facing associations. In particular, research suggests that as associations grow in membership size, the proportion of members actively participating in the organization's governance tends to decline. Spear (2004) summarizes evidence from a variety of studies on consumer cooperatives, concluding that the percentage of members participating in elections for boards varied between one and five and that participation rates declined as size of the membership increased. Tschirhart (2006:531–533) reviews some of the predominantly US literature on participation in associations. It suggests that participation is related to commitment. She summarizes a range of factors that studies suggest can lead to increased commitment and hence participation: including "material and solidary incentives, the closing off of alternative options and demands for participation, opportunities to communicate with leaders and influence organizational decision-making, direct contact with other members and perceptions of effectiveness and legitimacy." (See Handbook Chapter 33 [Section D, #4, d] for a review of some research on the problem of oligarchy in national associations, which reflects low member participation in the governance of associations.)

In some interesting research in the United Kingdom, Birchall and Simmons (2004) develop a model to explain member participation. The model was first developed to explain participation in public services and then applied to participation in cooperative associations. It has two main features: *mutual incentives theory* and the *participation chain*. Mutual incentives theory combines both individual and collective incentives; the participation chain *joins* motivations to *resources, mobilization, and dynamics*. These also influence the propensity to participate. In their empirical research, they found that, whereas both types of incentives influenced participation, collective incentives were more important than individualistic incentives. Participation could also be increased by

developing member skills and confidence and by engaging members on their key issues and interests.

4. Matters of internal democracy

One key issue that has concerned both academics and practitioners is whether membership associations can both maintain democratic control by their members and operate efficiently. Historically, a good deal of pessimism has emerged on this point. Weber (1947) argued that the superior efficiency of bureaucratic forms of organization would lead to the widespread growth of bureaucracy. But even in collegial, non-bureaucratic organizations, direct democracy becomes technically inadequate in organizations beyond a certain size (Knoke 1990:12).

As bureaucracies grow in size, so does the power of bureaucratic officials. In associations, as membership size increases, the power of leaders also tends to increase accordingly. Also, when association members are more dispersed geographically, as in supra-local associations, especially national or international associations, the power of leaders is greater in the interests of efficiency and group survival. Dalton (1994:103) noted that, "most [national environmental] groups have a geographically dispersed membership, which limits the ability of individuals to attend group meetings and contact officials on a personal, face-to-face basis."

This process of centralization and oligarchy was incorporated in Michels' (1949) *iron law of oligarchy*. He argued that both psychological and organizational factors tend to foster the emergence of dominant elites in democratic associations. At a psychological level, he suggested that members of an association may experience a need for a leader, but once in power, elected leaders tend to see the post as their own, with their skills becoming a powerful centralizing force. The formation of elites is also necessitated by various organizational conditions that render direct democracy inefficient. These include: large size, which makes problematic meetings and other forms of communication; difficulty resolving disputes in collectives; degree of technical specialization which requires experts whose expertise gives them power; difficulty large collective bodies face in making quick decisions; need for stable leadership to preserve continuity of direction; and substantial geographic dispersion of members.

Nevertheless, Michels' analysis has been criticized as unduly pessimistic. For example, Abrahamsson (1977:78–79) offers three important criticisms. First, he argues that Michels' analysis assumes direct democracy is the standard against which associations should be judged. Consequently, any form of representative democracy or delegation is considered a sign of oligarchy. Second, he argues that it is possible for leaders in associations to maintain good contact with the wider membership and to try to act in their interests. This holds true particularly in organizations like nonprofit associations and cooperatives. They are often much smaller than the trade unions and political parties studied by

Michels. In addition, Michels' argument takes little account of the influence that public opinion and the ballot box can have on leaders. Third, Michels' work largely ignored the historical background of the organizations he studied. As a result he failed to question the extent to which the processes he observed might be influenced by wider and long-term economic, technological, social, and political forces.

Rather than view oligarchy as inevitable, it is better to view it as "problematic under varying social conditions" (Knoke 1990:14). Equally, this suggests there are certain conditions under which it is likely that democratic governance in associations is sustainable. Knoke (1990) says this is likely where structural safeguards exist, as in limited terms of office and contested elections; educated memberships (e.g., professional associations); and no fundamental disagreements between leaders and followers. Jonsson and Zakisson (2005) reach similar conclusions from their qualitative study of six small GAs: "It is concluded that the 'iron law of oligarchy' is avoidable, if the organization becomes aware of these dilemmas."

5. The corporate governance model applied to associations

Various models of governance have been developed by researchers and theorists in management and business administration, and researchers studying nonprofit organizations have adapted some of these and developed new models (e.g., Hoye and Inglis 2003). Agency theory assumes that owners (principals) and managers (agents) of an organization have conflicting goals and that it is difficult or expensive for the principals to verify what the agents are actually doing (Eisenhardt 1989). Given that managers are likely to act in their own interests instead of the owners' interests, the main function of the board in businesses is to ensure managerial compliance (Cornforth 2003; Hung 1998).

Following Knoke (1990), we make a distinction between the members (principals) and leaders (agents) of nonprofit membership associations. Members of associations are either natural persons, or else organizations, which provide resources such as money, labor power, expertise, or other means that help the association function. Leaders, however, are those members who have acknowledged rights to act as agents for the collectivity (Knoke 1990). Their main task is to allocate the acquired collective resources to the association's goals. Still, a concern when considering the governance of nonprofit membership associations is that leaders may not accurately represent member views (Tschirhart 2006).

Leaders may present themselves as acting in the interests of their members, while actually pursuing their own interests. Ridder (1979:256) argued that goal displacement and oligarchy tend to occur when "the interests of the inner circle [formal and informal leaders] become removed from the actual organizational goals."

Iecovich (2005:161) studied 161 Israeli association boards, finding that "boards tend to be closed, elitist circles. . . . The most important selection criteria were those related to interpersonal relationships, willingness to contribute time, and expressing an interest in working for the organization." Therefore, agency theory may be an appropriate, if partial, explanation of governance in nonprofit membership associations.

One stream of literature explored differences between members and leaders of voluntary associations. Long ago, Rose (1962:834) studied the presidents of "all of the statewide [associations] in Minnesota in 1959" that somehow related to the pubic, with a 90% response rate. He compared these respondents with a control set of random respondents from Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota. The association leaders were an elite, with higher education, higher occupational prestige levels, and higher self-reported social class. Leaders were also more socially integrated – more active than the random respondents in other association memberships, in association meeting attendance, in number of close friends, in time spent socializing with friends, and in lower social alienation and anomie. Such findings suggest that association leaders are high in the Leisure General Activity Pattern (LGAP) of social involvement, as discussed in Handbook Chapter 6.

Friedmann et al. (1988) compared leaders of Israeli and American neighborhood associations with other members of these groups. They found that leaders had greater political efficacy and a higher level of perceived leadership competence than the other members. Leaders also reported more participation in other voluntary associations and a greater sense of influence over neighborhood affairs. Markham et al. (2001) investigated the attitudes and actions of leaders and members in a large international association of women. They found that leaders had more knowledge about the daily activities of the association and participated more in decisions than other members did. They also found that leaders were more satisfied with their association, expressed a greater desire for opportunities to develop and exercise leadership, and held more memberships in other associations than non-leaders.

Prouteau and Tabaries (2010) compared the profiles of board members with those of other members of French voluntary associations. They found that voluntary board members are more rooted in their local environment and participated more in the organizational life of associations. These leaders also seemed to be more eager to gain new skills from their activity and to take training to enhance their performance. Given the more demanding character of leadership tasks compared with the activities executed by other volunteers, Prouteau and Tabaries (2010) concluded that expectations of self-efficacy probably played an important role in accepting leadership functions.

A second stream of literature has explored governance structures in associations. Members inform leaders about their preferences for various goals,

and leaders aggregate these preferences into binding decisions. Nonetheless, because members' interests may vary according to the different purposes of the association, making decisions about resource allocations among the association's goals may not always be easy for the leaders (Knoke 1990; von Schnurbein 2009). In addition, an important aspect of governance structures is the extent to which power to make decisions is concentrated in the hands of a few leaders or widely dispersed among all members of the association (Knoke 1990). While centralized governance structures restrict members' access to decision making, democratic structures enable members to legitimate and constrain leaders' actions as agents of the association.

Von Schnurbein (2009) examined the governance structures of trade associations and unions in Switzerland. He found different patterns of governance structures in these associations, and that structural dimensions can influence the way governance is executed. The dimensions of associational structure used in his study were centrality (the degree to which decision making is centrally managed), organizational size (total number of members), and member type (individual members or organizational representatives). An important finding was that associations with mostly individual members tend to have larger boards than those with mostly organizational representatives. Von Schnurbein (2009) suggested that this may result from higher heterogeneity in these associations or from different electoral modalities. In addition, he also found evidence of written and unwritten rules regarding board composition in these associations.

The findings of both streams of literature have implications for the applicability of agency theory to the governance of nonprofit membership associations. First, discussions of governance structures can be complicated by the fact that nonprofit membership associations may have multiple membership categories, each with its own rights, subpurposes, and member identities (Tschirhart 2006). For example, in contrast to grassroots associations, larger voluntary membership associations often hire paid staff to more effectively manage the association's daily operations (e.g., Carmin and Jehlicka 2005). Second, nonprofit membership associations often have multiple objectives. Together with the well-known problems of accurately measuring performance, this multiplicity of goals makes it difficult to set out appropriate incentives for the leaders of the association (Cornforth 2004; Spear 2004). Third, concerning the recruitment of leaders, associations are not without means to encourage their members to become leaders. They can promote female leadership among their members (Prouteau and Tabaries 2010) or strive to increase the confidence of members in their own competences by training them in specific leadership skills (Friedmann et al. 1988).

Finally, agency theory is rather one-dimensional, only focusing on goal conflict and the need for controlling the behavior of agents. Nevertheless, leaders

and members can share interests and leaders may be motivated to represent their members' interests. Therefore, we believe that to get a more complete overview of the internal governance of nonprofit membership associations, agency theory should be combined with other theoretical perspectives, such as stewardship theory.

Stewardship theory assumes that there is goal congruence between owners (principals) and managers (agents) of an organization (Davis et al. 1997). Given that managers want to do a good job, the main function of the board is to improve organizational performance while acting as a partner to the management (Cornforth 2003; Hung 1998). In sum, the ideas of intrinsic motivation, trust, collaboration, and empowerment have been captured in this governance theory. (For a comparison of the basic tenets of agency and stewardship theory in civil society organizations, see Kreutzer and Jacobs 2011.) Van Puyvelde et al. (2012) suggest that an extended principal–agent framework of nonprofit organizations needs not only to take into account *traditional agency situations* that assume goal conflict but also to focus on *stewardship situations*, where agents share the same interest as the principal or are motivated to act in the best interest of the principal. Consequently, a fundamental question when applying these theories to associational governance is whether leaders, who are responsible for allocating the acquired collective resources to the association's goals, accurately represent their members' interests.

Kreutzer and Jacobs (2011) use a paradox perspective to develop an internal governance framework of nonprofit associations that accounts for the simultaneous need for both controlling behavior (agency theory) and coaching behavior (stewardship theory) by governing boards. As such, they aim to acknowledge the delicate balance between these two roles. They identify four types of controlling/coaching constellations of board behavior, illustrating their typology with findings from a case study. They conclude that agency and stewardship theory are not mutually exclusive, but can be combined into a conceptual framework that accounts for both controlling and coaching behavior. We believe, however, that additional empirical research is needed to understand fully the complementarity of these theories when applied to nonprofit membership associations.

6. Governance and stakeholder accountability

Stakeholder theory states that organizations should be responsible to many groups in society rather than just the organization's owners. By incorporating different stakeholders on boards, it is expected that organizations will be more responsive to social interests broader than the narrow interests of one group (Cornforth 2003). Resource dependence theory, in contrast, states that the acquisition and maintenance of human, financial, and other resources is essential for organizational survival. Consequently, it argues that board members are

typically selected for the important external links (e.g., positions of power, control over resources, social capital, connections to influential funders) and the technical knowledge (financial and legal competencies) they can bring to the organization. In nonprofit membership associations, however, involvement of different stakeholders on boards is constrained, because their members are typically elected from among the associations' members (Cornforth 2004). Another constraint is concern about participation of certain groups of members in association governance (e.g., lack of woman, ethnic-racial minorities, and young people on governing boards).

Using institutional and resource dependence perspectives, Fernandez (2008) investigated the causes of dissolution among Spanish voluntary associations. According to institutional theory, nonprofit organizations may change their policies, practices, and structures to enhance their legitimacy. Some authors, using a neo-institutional perspective, stressed the connection between the legitimacy of nonprofit organizations and their survival (Abzug and Galaskiewicz 2001; Anheier 2005). A resource dependence perspective, in contrast, argues that organizations with more diversified revenue sources will be more likely to survive. Consequently, associations that depend financially on several actors can be expected to be better integrated into their environment and, hence, live longer. Overall, Fernandez found that the indicators of organizational sociopolitical legitimacy correlated better with associational longevity than did the indicators of resource dependence (funding diversity and state funding). Therefore, he concluded that institutional theories better explained the evolution of these Spanish voluntary associations than resource dependence theories did.

Gazley et al. (2010), using a multitheoretical view incorporating the agency, resource dependence, and stakeholder perspectives, tested the cumulative impact of board characteristics and interorganizational relationships on organizational outcomes. They sampled public and nonprofit US community mediation agencies, all members of the National Association for Community Mediation. They learned that organizational collaborative capacity depended on several kinds of boundary-spanning activities, including network ties, revenue sources, and the number of stakeholder groups represented on the board.

7. Models of board life cycles

Some research has looked at the life cycle of nonprofit organization boards and their relationship to the development of the organization. Wood (1992) proposed a nonprofit agency board life-cycle model in four phases, which can apply in large, more formalized associations as well – Founding, Supermanaging, Corporate, and Ratifying, where the phases 2 to 4 may reiterate. During the *Founding Phase*, the board members *are* the organization; their contribution is fundamental both to action and decisions. Changes occur

when the role of the board and its composition are questioned. Then begins a *Supermanaging Phase*, during which new board members are recruited, and the board activity is structured into committees, especially in larger associations. The *Corporate Phase* begins when a CEO (chief executive officer) is recruited in order to manage the agency or association. In small, grassroots, all-volunteer associations, the CEO is usually the president, whether emergent or elected. During this phase, the board activities are much alike these of a for-profit corporation, except that board members play an important role in fundraising. Finally, the board enters a *Ratifying Phase*, in which the board tends to rubber-stamp (approve automatically) the decisions prepared by the CEO. It is at this last phase, if present, that boards tend to ignore their fiduciary and monitoring roles in regard to the CEO and paid staff (Fishman 2007). An organizational crisis during the Ratifying Phase can trigger the reiteration to phase 2 in the model. In this case the board realizes that it cannot just leave things to the management but needs to get more involved again.

Mathiasen (1990) proposed a board life model comprising only three stages. The first stage is the *Organizing Board of Volunteers*, either leading the organization or following a leader. After a transition phase, wherein the association is in crisis, encountering either financial difficulties or conflicts between volunteers and paid staff, comes a middle stage called the *Volunteer Governing Board*: the respective powers of the board and the staff begin to be established, revealing two major characters, the board chair and the CEO or president in larger associations. The transition toward the mature stage of an *Institutional and Fundraising Board* is often triggered by the activity of CEOs: the board becomes more varied as regards members' origins, and their activity is mainly directed toward fund-raising.

Dart, Bradshaw, Murray, and Wolpin (1996) used these two complementary models to build hypotheses about boards' evolution according to the age of the association. They tested these hypotheses on a sample of about 400 Canadian associations by the means of questionnaires. The older the association, the larger the size of the board, the more structured it is, and the more formalized is its role definition. One of the authors' conclusions is that board cycle transitions are difficult to isolate while analyzing large amount of data. Thus, qualitative research is needed to uncover what happens in these board cycle transitions.

8. Psychological perspectives on association governance

Psychological perspectives have been increasingly used to understand the role of for-profit and nonprofit boards. One stream of literature applied small-group effectiveness theories to governing boards. Forbes and Milliken (1999), for example, developed a model of board processes by integrating the literature on boards of directors with the literature on group dynamics and workgroup

effectiveness. In addition, they also showed how their model can be adapted to analyze group dynamics in different types of boards, including those of nonprofit organizations. Brown (2005), in contrast, combined group/decision process theory with agency theory and resource dependence theory to explore the link between board and organizational performance in nonprofit organizations. Hough (2005) reviewed the literature on small-group effectiveness, concluding that this psychological perspective can provide rich insights into the functioning of nonprofit boards. He also noted that research into nonprofit boards as effective small groups has been limited so far.

A second stream of literature has used psychological contract theory to understand the attitudes and behavior of employees. The beliefs on which such contracts (defined earlier) are based become contractual when employees feel they owe their employer certain contributions (e.g., hard work, loyalty to the organization) in return for certain inducements (e.g., high pay, job security). Some authors have used the psychological contract perspective to understand volunteer behavior in nonprofit organizations (Farmer and Fedor 1999; Liao-Troth 2005; Nichols and Ojala 2009; Vantilborgh et al. 2011).

Although some authors have used the psychological perspectives to examine nonprofit boards, we were unable to find research using one of these perspectives to explain associational governance. Nonetheless, findings in both streams of literature suggest that perspectives such as small-group effectiveness theories and psychological contract theory can be used to model relationships between leaders and members in voluntary associations. There is thus a clear need for psychological research on associational governance.

E. Usable knowledge

A number of practical implications follow from the literature related to membership incentives, member participation in governance, and democratic governance structures in associations. First, individuals typically join associations to attain selective benefits that exceed the costs of their membership. We distinguished four main types of incentives: material, solidary, purposive, and informative incentives, plus some auxiliary types. Since new members may divert the mission of the nonprofit association, incumbent members can use a variety of governance mechanisms to limit entry into their association, including membership requirements, sponsored membership programs, membership on probationary basis, competition for limited membership openings, and secrecy about the membership process. Second, member participation is related to member commitment. We summarized an assortment of factors that can lead to increased commitment and hence increased participation, including opportunities to communicate with leaders and influence decision making, direct contact with other members, and perceptions of effectiveness and legitimacy.

Third, one of the key issues in associational governance is whether the membership association can both maintain democratic control by members and operate efficiently. We examined certain conditions leading to sustainable democratic governance in associations, for example when an association uses structural safeguards such as limited terms of office and contested elections. Ensuring turnover of members of the nominating committee (or accepting member nominations) is also important. Fourth, concerning the recruitment of leaders, associations are not without means to encourage their members to become leaders. They can, for instance, promote female leadership among their members or, by training them in particular leadership skills, strive to increase members' confidence in their abilities. However, leader recruitment is often personalistic and informal, based on friendship relationships and weak ties (friends of friends), which can promote oligarchy and elitism.

Finally, in the field of nonprofit organizations, the normative literature suggests that, although governance structures and processes may vary by organizational type, size, and stage of evolution, governance responsibilities are not dependent on specific organizational features. Austin et al. (2006), for example, identify a number of normative board responsibilities in nonprofit agencies that also apply to nonprofit membership associations.

F. Future trends and needed research

We expect the issue of association governance to continue to grow in importance in the future, as associations worldwide continue to grow at all territorial levels on average, as suggested by research and theory in Handbook Chapters 16, 38–41, and 50. In particular, the global growth of national and international associations raises governance issues more clearly than in grassroots associations, where governance tends to be simple.

This chapter examined how existing theories of corporate and nonprofit agency governance can be extended to model the governance of nonprofit membership associations. Each theoretical perspective is one-dimensional, highlighting only a particular aspect of the board's role in associations. Researchers have therefore suggested that there is no one-size-fits-all model of associational governance (Cornforth 2004; Kreutzer 2009). One way of addressing this problem is to take a multiparadigm perspective and focus explicitly on the paradoxes, ambiguities, and tensions involved in associational governance. For example, contrasting agency theory with stewardship theory suggests that boards may experience pressure to both control and coach their managers (Kreutzer and Jacobs 2011). Cornforth (2012:1116) recently challenged the overemphasis on boards in nonprofits when studying governance, and the limitations of prior research that was merely cross-sectional and positivist in

approach. He suggested that more attention should be paid to "board processes and change, and how they are influenced by contextual and historical factors."

In addition, a distinction is typically made between two subtypes of associations: locally based, all-volunteer (grassroots) associations and larger associations with some paid staff. An important difference, for example, is that many grassroots associations have neither formal boards nor managers. Consequently, given the complexity of the associational sector and the many different forms associations can take, we think it is impossible to construct a more integrated theory of associational governance. In particular, we suggest that a theory's relevance will depend on the issue under study. Therefore, following Cornforth (2004), we hold that a paradox approach combining multiple theoretical perspectives offers a promising explanation of some of the difficult tensions and ambiguities faced by boards of nonprofit membership associations.

G. Cross-references

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36
Leadership and Management of Associations

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A. Introduction

This chapter reviews research on leadership and management in three association types – grassroots-local, supralocal all volunteer, and paid-staff associations. Leaders within these associations may include board members and chairs, elected volunteer officers, committee Chairs, informal leaders, and other volunteer and paid-staff leaders. We review research pertaining to entry into leadership, leadership succession, leaders' characteristics, leadership styles, leaders' relationships to others (both within and outside the association), leader activities and management processes, and leader quality. Our key conclusion is that successful association leadership is usually *very* different from successful business, government, or nonprofit agency leadership and management. Associations must focus mainly on leading volunteers, not on managing paid staff, who have very different motivations and incentives. We close with usable knowledge, future trends, and research needed.

Leadership and management are essential to any organization (Tolbert and Hall 2008), but they are particularly important in associations because of associations' special reliance on voluntary contributions – through membership, financial donations, meeting attendance, and volunteer work on committees and as leaders/officers. Despite this, relatively little research addresses issues of leadership and management in paid-staff associations, with even less attention given to all-volunteer associations. The section "Key Issues" (D) will therefore have two sub-sections: The first one (Section I) will treat all-volunteer, usually grassroots (local) associations (*GAs*), but also supra-local all-volunteer associations (*SAVAs*). The second sub-section (Section II) will treat associations with

paid staff, ranging from a single person to hundreds of people. We will term these "paid-staff associations" (*PSAs*).

B. Definitions

Accepting the definitions in the Appendix of the Handbook, we define several terms relevant to this chapter:

Leadership: providing shared vision, direction and strategy; focus on motivating and developing people without the use of formal reward and punishment systems

Management: responsibility for an association's systems, structures, and work; organizing associational work for greatest efficiency (synonym: administration)

Board leader: a member of an association's Board of Directors; provides overall strategy and direction and sets policies (synonym policy leader, policy volunteer, director, trustee)

Volunteer leader: individual providing leadership to an association without substantial compensation or financial benefits

Officer: volunteer leader typically elected by the membership to fill predefined positions, such as President, Vice-President, Treasurer, or Secretary

Executive director: top-level paid leader, such as an executive director responsible for directing and managing the association (synonym: executive officer)

Informal leader: individual with personal influence in a group arising from prior formal leadership roles, from attractive personal characteristics (including high charisma, high intelligence/education, high effectiveness, high socio-economic status, attractive appearance and height, etc.), and/or from small- and large-group dynamics; leadership that is not associated with formal organizational power structures (synonym: emergent leadership)

Formal leader: individual who has influence in a group associated with a formal leadership position (status) and role in the established hierarchical-bureaucratic-legal power structures within an association (synonym: official leader).

C. Historical background

As with all other major patterns/topics of human activity and behavior, recent research has begun to examine the evolution and behavioral genetics of leadership (e.g., Ilies, Arvey, and Bouchard 2006; King, Johnson, and Van Vugt 2009). Leadership, management, and administration in general have been topics of inquiry and research for at least two millennia. The research literature on leadership, for instance, is huge (e.g., Bass and Bass 2008; Bryman et al. 2011; Nohria and Khurana 2010). In parallel, the research literature on organizations, as formal groups, is similarly vast (e.g., Clegg, Hardy, and Nord 1996; Scott and

Davis 2006; Tolbert and Hall 2008), but is much more recent in origin, going back only to the 19th century (Clegg, Hardy, and Nord 1996:31). Very little of such research literature deals with *nonprofit* organizations and their leadership, management, or administration.

General research on nonprofit organization management and leadership is of very recent origin, mainly developing in the last third of the 20th century and later. One of the earliest systematic theoretical treatments of nonprofit/voluntary organizations and how they differ from government and business organizations was the book by Etzioni (1960), *A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations*, a truly seminal work. Much later, Mason (1984) wrote probably the first theoretical study comparing the nature and management of nonprofits in relation to businesses, identifying the distinctive characteristics of nonprofits. Connors (1980) edited and wrote parts of an early practitioner handbook on nonprofits, with subsequent editions.

The edited book by Young, Hodgkinson, and Hollister (1993) was an early overview of nonprofit organization leadership, management, and governance. Perhaps the most successful handbook analyzing nonprofit leadership/ management has been *The Jossey-Bass Handbook of Nonprofit Leadership and Management* in various editions, including one in 2016 (Herman and Associates 1994, 2005; Renz and Associates 2010, 2016). By now, there are many books, including textbooks, practitioner manuals, as well as a great many articles on nonprofit leadership and management. Jossey-Bass and also Wiley publishers have long had book series on these topics, and Wiley eventually bought Jossey-Bass. A very comprehensive, two-volume handbook edited by Agard (2010) is perhaps the recent high-water mark of analyzing nonprofit management generally, but includes chapters also on association leadership (Chapters 7–9, 12, 16, 41, 65, 87, and 89).

However, very little of this nonprofit organization and leadership/ management research is relevant to associations; association leadership research tends to be still more recent and far less well developed. Smith (2000:149–162) reviewed earlier and more recent research on association leadership, beginning in the 1970s. The annotated bibliography compiled by Pugliese (1986:chapter 8) has many early references on association leadership, beginning in the 1960s. There is much more research on leadership in paid-staff associations than on leadership in all-volunteer associations (e.g., Smith 2000:150). There is a practitioner-oriented *Journal of Association Leadership* published by the American Society of Association Executives, and the ASAE has published various books on association management and related issues.

Leadership research has evolved through several stages by investigating leaders' personalities, their behaviors, and their contexts and situations. Studies of management and leadership generally focus on leadership in specific social, political, or economic contexts. For instance, much of the early research on

leadership in associations was conducted on leadership in social movements in the 1960s and 1970s (Landsberger 1972; Oliver 1983; Zald and Ash 1966). Moreover, research on leadership in associations in the global environment is limited. As noted above, the research literature on leadership and management in business organizations is much more developed and remains a relevant source of departure for discussing leadership in associations.

Association scholars correctly warn against simplistically applying either the lessons of business management, of public administration, or of nonprofit organization management generally to associations (see Smith 2000:150). For instance, Klausen (1995) studied many Danish sports associations, concluding that the *generic approach* of either business or nonprofit management has led to malfunctions and dysfunctions, especially in the most frequent, small associations (GAs). Walker (1983) came to the same conclusion much earlier, pointing out the limits and failings of such large organization management techniques, such as strategic management in associations, especially in small associations like GAs.

Leadership of volunteers is very different than leadership of paid workers (e.g., Connors 2012; Rochester et al. 2010:chapter 11). The motivations and perceived incentives of volunteers are markedly different from those of paid staff, so that association leadership also needs to be very different from the management of paid staff in businesses, government agencies, or nonprofit agencies (Etzioni 1960; Mason 1984). Leadership of volunteers is also different in *associations*, as reviewed in this chapter, as contrasted with leadership in *volunteer service programs* (Connors 2012; Smith 2015; Smith and Shen 1996; see also Handbook Chapter 15) and leadership in *nonprofit agencies* with paid staff (Renz and Associates 2010; Smith 2015b).

D. Key issues

I. Grassroots associations (GAs) and supra-local all-volunteer associations (SAVAs)

1. Usual leadership roles

There is an established, customary, and often multi-nationally observed pattern of leadership roles in nonprofits using the associational form of organization (see Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:24). Associations potentially have three levels of leadership administration:

(a) The Board of Directors as (usually unpaid) policy volunteers
(b) The top volunteer leaders/officers – usually a President, one or more Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer (in Supra-Local All-Volunteer Associations/SAVAs, there is often also a President-Elect and/or a Past-President)

(c) The top paid executive (with varying titles, such as Executive Officer or Executive Director), plus other top paid executives (usually, Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer) and lower paid staff, for larger, wealthier Paid-Staff Associations (PSAs). Sub-section I of Section D here focuses on the first two leadership levels and Sub-section II includes all three.

Empirical studies that assess the relative frequency of such leadership roles for large samples of associations are very rare. As an admirable exception, thus, Maloney and Rossteutscher (2007:101), studying all associations (mostly GAs) in select middle-sized city in six democratic European nations, present data on the percentage of associations in each city that have a Chair (an average of 88.7%), a Board of Directors (an average of 76.6%), and an Executive Committee (an average of 45.6%). Further, they found that an average of 86.0% of associations (in four of the cities with data) had a Secretary, 86.0% (all cities, here and after) had a Treasurer, 59.9% had committees for special tasks, and 78.7% had an Assembly (general meeting).

2. Board leaders

Formally incorporated associations have a board of directors who direct the organization and provide fiduciary stewardship for the association. Many small GAs do not have a board of directors because they exist informally, but most GAs and SAVAs do in modern, post-industrial societies (see data in prior paragraph). In some countries (such as Eastern Europe), there is often an additional internal body called a *revision commission*, whose purpose is to observe, advise, and endorse the actions of the board on a regular basis. Often, this role can be played by former leaders, or by long-time members (see Handbook Chapter 46 for a discussion of internal board dynamics).

Board leaders in GAs and SAVAs are generally elected (or otherwise selected) by the membership, similar to the election of volunteer leaders. The selection criteria are often ambiguous and quite open-ended, usually favoring individuals who are seemingly competent, willing to serve, and have time for the position. Most new board members are found through the social networks of current board leaders or other association leaders. Individuals who more generally find a position on the board attractive are people whose personal agenda fits the board's vision. Often association members view serving on the board as being a smaller time commitment than serving as a volunteer leader or officer, which makes the position more attractive. Another attraction is being able to serve as a representative of their fellow members and volunteers and to promote their interests (Bar-Mor and Iecovich 2007; Iecovich 2005; Iecovich et al. 2002). Board leaders are generally different from volunteer leaders because of the nature and scope of their responsibilities, their roles, and their relative power.

3. Entry into leadership and leadership succession

The most common pathway to leadership in GAs and SAVAs is through election by the membership. The associational form of organization usually (but not always) involves formal representative democracy, with most or all paid-up members electing top leaders. Maloney and Rossteutscher (2007:101), studying all associations (mostly GAs) in select middle-sized city in six democratic European nations found that an average of 66.0% had formal representative rule/leadership (with the average dragged down by the outlier of 17.4% in Aberdeen Scotland). In agrarian and developing transitional nations, oligarchy and even autocracy are more common (e.g., Anderson 1964; personal observation in China by Smith).

Elections generally take place once a year, either at a general meeting (assembly) or through postal service mail or email. Potential leaders are often nominated by another member or they can self-nominate. Potential leaders become known to other members through service in other volunteer positions, serving in a leadership position in the past, or through networking with other members. A president or board chair usually appoints members to committees or to serve as a committee chair – another pathway to leadership. When leadership selection processes are not pre-determined, the group's norms might determine leader selection (Alexander et al. 2001). One final avenue to leadership is to start or found a new association. This is particularly prevalent and important in countries with relatively young voluntary sectors (such as post-Communist countries). In these countries, many associations are new, have relatively short histories, and the founders comprise the leadership. In Africa, many leaders in voluntary associations come from the public sector (Gugerty 2010).

Very little research indicates why members choose to serve as leaders. Most studies of GA leaders only study the leaders themselves, so it is difficult to understand how leaders differ from the general membership. Some leaders have been a founder of an association or have a strong history of serving in leadership positions in GAs (Revenson and Cassel 1991). Leaders' attitudes toward the association and its goals might be an important differentiator (Friedmann et al. 1988; Marullo 1988). Available time might also motivate people to serve as leaders – at least in social movement associations (Oliver 1983). While we are unaware of any research on motivations to serve on a committee or in a lower leadership position, people might accept these positions because they are directly *asked* to do so (see Musick and Wilson, 2008, for a review of literature related to volunteer recruitment) and might feel some pressure to accept the invitation. They might also be interested in seeking a higher position in the future and might use committee service as means of networking and becoming familiar with the organization.

Another interesting motivation is leadership in associations as an alternative to leadership in business or politics. Domaradzka (2009a, 2009b, 2010) finds this to be true for leaders of women's associations. Female leaders saw leadership as a way to engage in social change without being involved in politics, which was perceived as *dirty* or a *man's world*, or as an alternative to a professional career in a competitive, male-dominated job environment. Leadership in voluntary organizations could also serve as an extension of career for retired persons. Certainly, a host of motivations might lead someone to serve as a volunteer leader, but many potential motivations (i.e., career aspirations) have not been investigated in the research. We do know that only a small percentage of association members tend to serve as leaders – either as volunteer leaders or board leaders. Some estimate that no more than 5% of members fill these roles (Austin and Woolever 1992; Scott 1957).

We know almost nothing about the criteria boards and members use as they select new board members or the top officers of the association. Willingness to serve might be the primary criterion (Taylor and McGraw 2006) and being known by more members or being more active in the association might also be important in an election. The ability to develop a vision for the association and to get others to share that vision might also be important (Alexander et al. 2001). Other criteria might include social background characteristics (higher socio-economic status, older age [within the age range of members], male gender [except in associations with a predominance of women], dominant race among members [vs. minority, especially if stigmatized]), personality (friendliness, altruism, interpersonal skills), and human capital (skills, leadership, credentials), although empirical research has yet to address most of these issues.

Length of service in a leadership position varies by association and by position. Sometimes leaders are restricted to a fixed number of terms of a specific duration or their service can be indefinite. We know very little about the factors that affect how long the leader chooses to serve. Volunteer leaders can burn out due to the heavy requirements of the position, especially when they are not receiving sufficient intangible benefits, such as social recognition or success. Volunteer leaders of all-volunteer groups put substantially more time into their leadership responsibilities than do their counterparts in PSAs (Prouteau and Tabaries 2010a). Because these positions can be such large time and energy investments, the situation can lead to either strong attachment to the leadership position and a resulting unwillingness to step aside in the future or the need to resign from a leadership position when a leader acquires new family or professional responsibilities, such as a new child, new job, or care-giving responsibilities. Other important factors might be family support, especially for women (Claeyé and Jackson 2012; Domaradzka 2009a, 2010), and the

knowledge and competence of the people a leader must work with and lead (Bang 2011).

GAs and SAVAs generally do not engage in serious succession planning, and this is done, if at all, informally. Current leaders often take a role in developing or finding their own replacements, generally selecting from their own group of social ties (Smith 2000). This holds true in other cultural contexts, including Africa (Mtalimanja 2014). Leaders almost always come from the general membership, rather than being non-members just prior to assuming leadership. Local religious congregations are a notable exception to this, especially those that seek for one paid pastor or clergy member to run the congregation (Cnaan and Curtis 2013). Past officers and board members often remain in the association as members and can still wield influence as informal leaders and create informal pressures affecting current leadership (Smith 2000). Prior leaders often step back and serve in more of a mentorship or advisory role and may help groom future leaders. Some individuals also seek to serve in leadership positions on a more regular basis than other members and might seek a different leadership position in the future. Very little research addresses the effects of changes in leadership on a paid-staff organization (Austin and Gilmore 1993), and we are not aware of any research addressing this issue in all-volunteer associations. Therefore, we do not know how a change in leadership affects the membership and the characteristics of the association.

4. Leader characteristics

We look at three main categories of leaders' characteristics – social background, human capital, and personality. Most of the research on GA and SAVA leaders pertains to social background. GA leaders tend to come from higher socio-economic groups in terms of both education and income (Smith 2000) and are generally older or retired (Prouteau and Tabaries 2010a). Males are more likely to serve as leaders than females (Thompson 1995), although this varies by association type. Further, male dominance in association leadership has been gradually weakening in modern/post-industrial societies, such as Norway (Wollebaek and Selle 2004).

Men are more commonly leaders of dominant and occupationally-oriented GAs and sport associations, while females tend to be leaders in more expressive GAs, such as churches (Smith 2000) and social services, health or humanitarian associations (Prouteau and Tabaries 2010b). Men are more likely to be in the top leadership positions and to found new associations than are women, according to a careful Norwegian study (Wollebaek and Selle 2004).

Women also assume leadership positions in feminist social movement GAs (Ferree and Martin 1995; Gittell and Shtob 1980; Scott 1991), other womens' associations (Domaradzka 2009a, 2009b, 2010), African welfare GAs (Patel, Schmid, and Hochfeld 2012), and rural Polish associations (Fuszara

2006; Matysiak 2009, 2011). Women are less likely than men to serve as chairpersons or presidents, but more likely to be secretaries and treasurers (Prouteau and Tabaries 2010a, 2010b).

One would expect leaders to have more human capital than other members, but this is not always the case. Sport organizations do not draw professional people as members (Taylor and McGraw 2006), so we would not expect many professional leaders in these types of associations. Leaders in GAs and SAVAs generally do not receive formal training in their leadership roles. Leadership training programs are relatively rare, especially in GAs, and it is unclear what their long-term impact on the association is (Bolton 1991; Cook, Howell, and Weir 1985; Howell, Weir and Cook 1987; Longdon, Gallacher and Dickson 1986; Miller 1986). Younger leaders report less leadership development, while leaders who have been active longer in the association, who have held other leadership positions in the past or in other organizations, report greater leadership development (Andrews et al. 2010). At best, volunteer leaders might be able to find practitioner-oriented manuals or workshops to provide them with direction in their positions.

Studies in Poland demonstrate that activism can be passed from generation to generation; most leaders report that at least one of the parents was an activist or public figure (Domaradzka 2009a, 2010; Matysiak 2009, 2011), which implies some kind of socialization or status transmission effect. Leadership skills and engagement correlated with being a member of the intelligentsia (persons engaged in disseminating culture) in the case of urban GAs in Eastern Europe (Iłowiecka-Tańska 2011). However, some research shows that GA leaders tend to be local newcomers (with fresh perspective and experience from elsewhere) rather than well-rooted residents (Matysiak 2011; Praszkier and Nowak 2012). In traditional societies in Africa, other association leader characteristics are sought after, including conflict management skills, diplomacy, the art of war, and kingdom secrets (Malunga 2006).

The third group of leader traits pertains to expressive and personality factors. This includes such traits as friendliness, warmth, altruism, verbal and emotional intelligence, interpersonal intelligence, and openness to the ideas of others. Some evidence indicates that GA leaders are higher in terms of the active-affective character, possessing such qualities as higher intelligence, extraversion, assertiveness, emotional closeness, and efficacy (Smith 1975, 1994, 2000; Praszkier and Nowak 2012). Leader charisma is also important (Burwell 1996; Finks 1984; Pakulski 1986; Pillai 1996). Birth order might also influence leadership; first-born children are more conscientious and extraverted (Sulloway 1996) and thus might be more suitable for leadership positions. Successful leaders in new initiatives exhibit non-linear thinking abilities, social empathy, and creativity (Praszkier and Nowak 2012; Praszkier, Nowak, and Zabłocka-Bursa 2009).

Association leaders differ from the general membership in some important ways (Friedmann et al. 1988). Prouteau and Tabaries (2010a) compared the characteristics of board members to the characteristics of all association members. They find that board members tend to participate in more associations. They are connected to their local community – often living in rural communities or small cities and owning their own home. Other common social background variables that are related to volunteering were not found to be related to board volunteering, such as being married, having children in the home, being employed, household income, and religious attendance. These leaders were more likely than other association members to list community-related motives as being important – working for a cause, fighting for rights, protecting people's interests, and so on.

5. *Leadership styles and leaders' relations with others*

GA and SAVA leadership is routinely amateur at both the board level and officer level, especially compared to PSAs (Smith 2000). Their organization and leadership style is also much less formal than that in PSAs (Chapin and Tsouderos 1956; Smith 1992a, 2000). Because association leaders (both board and officers) are volunteers and everyone they supervise and work with are also volunteers, people have a low tolerance for direction (Harris 1998b). Generally, leadership styles that are not too controlling or rigid work best for volunteers; too much control and rigidity can alienate volunteers and be in conflict with how they view their roles (Leonard, Onyx and Hayward-Brown 2004; Pearce 1993).

Bryman (1996) distinguishes consideration, or a focus on people and relationships, from initiating structure, meaning focusing on the nature of the tasks to be done and when and how they need to be done. Smith (2000) argues that GA leaders, by the nature of their roles and situations, focus more on consideration than initiating structure. Because officers and other volunteers must often work together closely to provide the association's services, the leader–member exchange is extremely important (Bang 2011; Hoye 2004). Leaders in these settings must share power (Alexander et al. 2001). Because volunteers often resist strong direction in their volunteer roles, leader supervision of others in GAs tends to be loose (Smith 2000). As such, volunteers are rarely corrected, sanctioned, or dismissed from their positions. Taken together, these ideas all give credence to the view of leadership as a collective, rather than a unitary, phenomenon (Crevani, Lindgren, and Packendorff 2007).

What kinds of leadership styles do GA leaders show? There is little research linking major leadership styles to leaders in GAs and SAVAs. Transformational, visionary, and charismatic leadership in artistic ensembles is associated with better outcomes (Boerner, Krause, and Gebert 2004; Boerner and von Streit 2005, 2007). Members of community orchestras experience more positive emotions when they are directed by someone with a transformational leadership

style compared to a transactional leadership style (Rowold and Rohmann 2009a, 2009b). Transformational leadership helps to capitalize on group diversity in order to produce a better, and more consistently-shared, goal for the group (Boerner and Gebert 2012). Praszkier and Nowak (2012) identify an empowering leadership style that is close to transformative leadership and find it is relevant for social change associations. While we do have some initial evidence about the relationship between some leadership styles and association outcomes, many other leadership styles (i.e., authoritarian) have not been adequately empirically investigated in these settings. Additionally, in a study of volunteer associations in Malawi, James (2010) described the basis for societal expectations for leaders; males were expected to be more authoritarian than women. These cultural expectations often inhibited the leadership development of young women.

6. Leader activities and management processes

Leaders spend a fair amount of time maintaining the association through fundraising, marketing, recruitment, collecting membership dues, and other resource acquisition activities, and on producing whatever good or service the association is intended to produce (Rich 1980). Maloney and Rossteutscher (2007:87), studying all associations in a select middle-sized city in six democratic European nations, present data on the percentage of associations on average that are active in five types of internal leadership/management activities; 30.4% for maintenance (recruitment, fundraising, promoting volunteering), 54.5% for activation (socializing, recreation/sports, self help), 47.6% for service (to members, to others; advisory activities; social/local integrations), 32.4% for representation (representation; lobbying), and 25.1% for mobilization (mobilizing members advocacy). GA and SAVA leaders also need to spend some time on the development of ethics and maintenance of morale, as well as on innovation, but there is little research on such activities.

GA leaders also spend some time on advocacy (Revenson and Cassel 1991). Leaders also maintain the association through fostering member commitment (Theilen and Poole 1986), partly through fostering a strong leadership team with shared norms and goals (Andrews et al. 2010). Other association volunteers continue participation when they respect their leaders' knowledge and competence (Bang 2011). Current leaders must also focus on developing and mentoring future leaders (Day 2000; Hackman 2002; Morris and Staggenborg 2004).

We know very little about how leaders in all-volunteer associations make decisions or set priorities or what management tools they use. Priority setting and decision-making in GAs tend to be loose and subject to the needs, goals, and interests of different groups of members (Harris 1998a; Smith 2000). As GAs generally do not favor formalization and bureaucratization, they are

less likely to engage in management practices typically prescribed for nonprofit organizations (Smith 2000). SAVAs, however, tend to be more professionalized and their leadership often includes such practices as strategic planning, marketing, information systems, and wider use of social media. Matysiak's (2011) research shows that a specific type of p*roject thinking* is also characteristic for successful GA leaders, especially those going after funding from outside sources. Many association leaders tend to use trial and error and experimentation rather than leadership and management publications to navigate their duties. Leaders in Africa are likely influenced by institutional isomorphic pressures; that is, they are becoming more business-like by imitating the managerialist approach from the global governance structure of international aid organizations (Claeyé and Jackson 2012).

7. Leader quality

Leader quality is often an important issue in GAs and SAVAs. Because the criteria for selecting leaders are loose and based largely on who is willing to serve, leadership quality varies greatly across time and associations. The lack of oversight and transparency can lead to such problems as mismanagement or embezzlement (Anderson 1964). Other potential problems include low-quality work, not accomplishing work on time, corruption, fraud, and misbehavior toward or mistreatment of members. Practical challenges in African associations include lack of vision, short-term thinking, unclear procedures, and power-related struggles (Malunga 2000). We have almost no empirical evidence detailing the characteristics of effective board chairs, board members, officers, committee chairs or volunteer leaders of any kind. Nor do we know what measures different stakeholders use to assess leader quality and how those measures vary across stakeholder groups.

II. Paid-staff associations (PSAs), usually supra-local in scope

According to Maloney and Rossteutscher (2007:123), which is the best source available, who studied all associations in six cities in six democratic European nations, *71.3% of associations have no paid staff*. And over half of the small minority of associations that have *any* paid staff (28.7%) have only 1–5 people (14.9%). Large paid-staff associations, with 30 or more paid staff, constituted only 3.3% of all associations. Hence, even with PSAs, the vast majority of PSAs have few paid staff. The very large PSAs, with 500+ paid workers, employ nearly 60% of all association paid staff, in a highly skewed distribution of both paid staff and association resources/budgets (p. 123).

We are interested here in the entire set of PSAs, not the mega-PSAs, and the nature of their leadership. One main difference between nonprofit agencies and PSAs is that associations usually have a membership that controls the organization – at least ostensibly (Knoke 1990; Smith 1992b, 2000, 2015).

However, as noted earlier, Maloney and Rossteutscher (2007:101), studying all associations (mostly GAs) in a select middle-sized city in six democratic European nations found that *only* an average of 66.0% had formal representative rule/leadership. In agrarian and developing nations, and in less democratic nations (a matter of degree, with many approaches to measurement), leaders are likely not elected by the membership generally.

The more important theoretical difference between nonprofit agencies and PSAs is that leadership in paid-staff agencies focuses mainly on management of paid staff, while leadership in PSAs focuses mainly on leadership of volunteers, who do much or most of the work in the vast majority of PSAs. Leading volunteers is very different from managing paid staff, in both motivations and perceived incentives. Crucially, as Etzioni (1960) pointed out, the *compliance structure* (reasons for following rules and the leaders/managers) are markedly different, based on values/voluntary action versus money/paid work.

In addition to the data on very few paid staff in GAs from Maloney and Rossteutscher (2007:123), cited above, the national sample research on religious congregations in the United States by Hodgkinson, Weitzman, and Kirsch (1988:chapter 4) shows a similar pattern of substantial dependence on volunteers, *not* paid staff, to accomplish most of the tasks of congregations as associations (Cnaan and Curtis 2013). Almost 61% of congregations reporting had volunteer clergy, constituting about 37% of total clergy (pp. 32–33). In addition, the average congregation reporting had 36.2 volunteers per month (p. 37), and these volunteers worked seven or more hours per month (p. 37).

In sum, even in PSAs, *the key leadership/management task is leading volunteers, not managing paid staff,* to accomplish the tasks of the association. Hence, like leadership in GAs and SAVAs, PSA leadership is also very different from management in businesses, government agencies, and nonprofit agencies. This is a central fact to keep in mind in the section below.

1. Board leaders

In PSAs, unlike GAs, a Board of Directors is nearly always present (see earlier and also Handbook Chapter 46). Technically, the balance of power between a board and the paid executive is that the board is the executive's boss, with power to hire, evaluate, and fire the executive. The board chair and other board members are responsible for filling vacant positions on the board. Most models of governance (and laws) place the ultimate fiduciary responsibility upon the board (Middleton 1987; Ostrower and Stone 2006). However, many board members do not know their duties well. When this happens, paid executives often become the central point of the organization and they must work to ensure that board members know, understand, and fulfill their duties (Herman and Heimovics 1990; Heimovics, Herman, and Jurkiewicz 1995). The exact nature of the relationship between the board and chief executive depends on a number

of personal characteristics, organizational factors, and environmental variables (Ostrower and Stone 2006). Many boards often fail in their fiduciary and policy leadership responsibilities, which can lead to disastrous consequences for the organization (Block 2004; Fishman 2007). We would expect the boards of PSAs to function better, on average, than those of GAs and SAVAs.

2. Entry into leadership and leadership succession

If present, the board selects the top paid executive. That executive usually hires, supervises, and fires other paid staff and provides for recruiting volunteers to help the organization. We know very little about the criteria that boards and their members use for selecting the top paid executive in PSAs. Boards of nonprofit organizations are not well-prepared to make decisions about new executives (Allison 2002). It is possible that certain types of associations prefer an executive with experience in that type of association. For instance, cooperatives showed a preference for leaders coming from a background in cooperatives (Froelich, McKee, and Rathge 2011). Individuals are attracted to board, executive, and volunteer positions for different reasons. Markham, Walters, and Bonjean (2001) indicate that leaders might serve because they want to further the organization's goals, because of their personal characteristics, willingness to serve, and for self-development.

Leaders of PSAs can serve for different lengths of time. Some positions, such as serving as a board chair, might be limited in an organization's by-laws to one or two terms of a fixed length. Other board members might be similarly limited in how long they serve. Paid executives can serve as long as they and their boards wish. Froelich, McKee, and Rathge (2011) found a long tenure for executives in cooperatives (over 7–10 years). For some positions, especially volunteer positions, the incumbent might serve for a lifetime. PSAs do not usually engage in succession planning any more often than GAs or SAVAs.

3. Leader characteristics

Research on paid-staff nonprofit organizations reveals that more men serve on boards than women, although women tend to serve on boards for women's organizations or smaller nonprofit organizations (Abzug and Galaskiewicz 2001; Iecovich 2005; Odendahl and Youmans 1994; Ostrower and Stone 2006; Shaiko 1997; Thompson 1995). Board composition (board size, gender, class, and race diversity) varies with different organizational characteristics, such as size, age, mission area, and the visibility of the organization (Ostrower and Stone 2006). Board members disproportionately represent higher socio-economic groups (Iecovich 2005; Ostrower and Stone 2006). We expect these dynamics to be similar for PSAs, especially the large ones.

In a study of certain professional associations, Nesbit and Gazley (2012) found a relationship between certain background characteristics and serving

on a volunteer basis on a board or committee in the association. They compare these characteristics with the characteristics of association members who volunteer in their communities. Some minority groups are more likely to volunteer for a professional association than to volunteer in the community (Nesbit and Gazley 2012), which implies that such associations might have greater racial diversity among their volunteer leaders than community organizations. Other demographic factors were not related to volunteering for a board or committee, such as tenure in the industry, retirement and student status, gender, age, and marital status. Nesbit and Gazley (2012) also found evidence that people who volunteer in their communities are more likely to volunteer for their professional association and they often perform similar tasks in their association and community volunteering. For instance, those who served on boards in their community also tended to sit on the board of their professional association.

Another important set of leader characteristics involves expressive and psychological traits. Gecan (2004) stresses the importance of interpersonal intelligence for leaders of voluntary associations, although he does not confine this trait solely to PSA leaders. He states that for voluntary association leaders, "their ability to act depends on the number and quality of relationships that they and their colleagues can muster and sustain" (p. 163). Some scholars suggest that because the paid status of staff in PSAs may increase their professionalization, other members may be less likely to pursue leadership positions (Sobieraj 2006). This can set up an interesting gulf between the professional (paid) leadership of the association and the amateur (unpaid) leaders and volunteers, which we will discuss in the next section.

Association leaders have access to many specialized trainings and manuals geared toward different areas of leadership. However, not much research addresses the extent to which these educational opportunities have been embraced and utilized by PSA leaders, nor their utility and impact. Moreover, Baggetta and colleagues (2011) argue that leaders' acquisition of civic skills is a function of the time that leaders spend on various job duties rather than the use of specific training events or materials. Past and present leadership service impacts leadership skills and development.

We mentioned previously the importance of charismatic leadership in GAs and SAVAs, and the same also seems to be true for PSAs. The role of exceptional or charismatic leaders in certain types of PSAs, such as civic associations, may increase the political influence of the organization (Han et al. 2011) and thus greatly affect the leverage that the organization is able to use in order to accomplish its policy goals. Charismatic leadership can help with the development of organizational social capital and acquisition of resources. The presence of charismatic leaders in paid-staff nonprofit organizations is associated with subordinates' positive work attitudes (De Hoogh et al. 2005). Leader commitment is another important consideration. Baggetta, Han and Andrews

(2013) find a relationship between volunteer leaders' organizational commitment and their skills, available time, and individual-organization motivational alignment. At the organizational level, they find that organizational complexity, interdependent teams, shared workloads, and fewer meetings are associated with more committed leaders.

4. Leadership styles and relationships to others

PSA leaders must also show high levels of consideration for other leaders, volunteers, and members, similar to leaders in GAs and SAVAs. Studies of leadership reveal that when leaders show consideration for those under them, satisfaction, motivation, and effectiveness increase (Judge, Piccolo, and Ilies 2004). Executives also perform interesting balancing acts when trying to manage volunteers within the association (Jäger, Kreutzer, and Beyes 2009). Sometimes paid PSA staff and leaders feel superior to volunteers and volunteer leaders because of the formality of their positions and their control of the organization's resources. They might view volunteers as *getting in the way* or being troublesome. Facilitating and managing the relationships between paid leaders, volunteer leaders, other paid staff and volunteers and the larger membership base often poses a substantial challenge for PSA leaders. Yet managing this situation is vital, because negative relationships create turnover among both the volunteer and paid-staff pools (Kulik 2007; Netting et al. 2004, 2005; Rogelberg et al. 2010).

Some researchers have discussed different approaches that leaders might take for motivating those under them, especially those individuals acting in volunteer positions. Sasson and Katz (2014) reveal three main approaches leaders practice in order to transform and influence their volunteers. In the missionary approach, leaders use their managerial skills to influence volunteers to adopt the organization's ideology (Sasson and Katz 2014), much like missionaries for a religious organization. Conceptual and empirical research asserts that as volunteers spend more time with the organization, they are more likely to adopt the organizational ideology, have their motivations for volunteering satisfied, and will stay with the organization longer (Gidron, Bar, and Katz 2003; Haski-Leventhal 2007; Sasson and Katz 2014). The aim of the elitist approach is to enhance the volunteers' self-perceptions and glorify their work, thus increasing their commitment to the association (Jaffe et al. 2012; Sasson and Katz 2014). This approach is typically used in associations that expose volunteers to some risks, like emergency response. The final approach is the nationalist approach, which is attentive to the national context that associations work within (Gidron 1995; Givoly 1998). In this approach, leaders educate and influence individuals to become better citizens, often through volunteering.

People-oriented leadership styles appear to work well in PSAs (as they do in GAs and SAVAs). Research on work teams in a paid-staff nonprofit

reveals that servant leadership practices – fostering collaboration, providing accountability, providing support and resources, honest self-evaluation, communication and appreciation – were related to greater team effectiveness (Irving and Longbotham 2001). The most appropriate style of leadership might also be influenced by the goal or mission of the PSA. For example, in a study of PSAs devoted to community service, scholars found that the presence of leaders whose style of leadership can be classified as servant leadership is a better predictor of members' commitment, satisfaction, and intention to continue their membership than the presence of leaders classified as transformational leaders (Schneider and George 2011).

5. Leader activities and management processes

Leaders of PSAs must engage in many of the same types of activities as leaders of GAs and SAVAs, including member recruitment and retention, member commitment, maintenance of the association, resource attraction and provision, supervision, committee leadership, goal development, and priority setting. We expect PSA leaders to be more formal and professional and that they will use more formal management tools and processes, such as strategic planning, marketing, more sophisticated information systems, social media, and other tools. There is very little empirical evidence to illuminate the strategic and decision-making processes of PSA paid-staff executives, but we expect the literature on paid-staff nonprofit executives to translate well to PSA executives.

PSA leaders must often also engage in important administrative tasks. The little existing empirical research on this topic points to decision-making, setting priorities for the association, and participation in strategic planning as key tasks for volunteer leaders. In a study of the Sierra Club, Baggetta et al. (2013) find that leaders spend the majority of their volunteer time performing administrative duties and attending meetings, which could indicate that they are involved in more higher-level strategic decision-making than just association maintenance. We do not yet know whether these findings resonate beyond the boundaries of the Sierra Club or the mechanisms by which volunteer leaders influence such strategic decision-making.

6. Leader quality

Effectiveness and leadership quality are difficult topics in the nonprofit research literature. This difficulty is compounded by the subjectivity and different criteria various stakeholders use to assess effectiveness (Herman and Renz 1997). PSAs are plagued by many of the same problems as GAs and SAVAs, including fraud, corruption, mismanagement, not getting work done or doing poor quality work, and mistreatment of members – though we do not know if these problems are more or less prevalent in PSAs. There is some evidence of

reciprocal relationships between board performance and the performance of other leaders and members of voluntary associations (Brown 2005).

In a study in Malawi, Kenya, and Uganda, James et al. (2005) observed that leaders in paid-staff associations generally do not have a coherent and consistent underlying understanding of leadership. Their perspectives of leadership are hybrid, influenced by traditional cultural expectations of male leadership, a political, neo-patrimonial role model, and Western management theory. Leadership behavior tended to oscillate between these models, depending on convenience and circumstance rather than conscious choice. In addition, the authors also observed that leaders tend to have very congested lives as they simultaneously inhabit three worlds – the international system with its accountability and information demands; the urban, paid-staff association world of volunteer/staff/board expectations; and the rural context of extended families. Handling such diverse demands can be quite tricky and problematic, often fatiguing.

7. Conditioning factors

Many different factors might mediate or moderate the leadership topics and generalizations that we have covered in this chapter. Not only do we need more research on leadership in associations, but we need more research to help uncover how and why leadership varies across the factors noted earlier and the effect this variation has on the association and its stakeholders. These factors include such things as the association's mission and activities, the scope of membership and operations, association size, a rapid growth or decline in membership, association values and norms, and the national context.

Another important area to consider is how leadership affects and is affected by changes in the association, especially as associations shift to a larger scale or new geographic area and as they transition from an all-volunteer association to one employing paid staff. As associations shift toward being a paid-staff association, they might lose their *nonprofit spirit* and might see a shift in organizational values (Bush 1992; Gliński 2006). For example, Kristmundsson's (2013a, 2013b) work discusses how small, grassroots membership associations develop into professional organizations where volunteers take a back seat. Instead of volunteers, professional managers and leaders become the backbone of the operation – and the association in general becomes more centralized, formal, and service oriented. Carmin and Jehlicka (2005) found similar changes in a national environmental association in the Czech Republic. As the association changed from a SAVA to a PSA, it favored "professionally managed activities designed to attract financial support" (p. 397), rather than volunteer leadership to recruit and mobilize its members as volunteers.

Selle and Strømsnes (1998) report similar findings, although it is possible to find associations that have not been affected by this international trend (Markström and Karlsson 2013; Seippel 2002). In addition, the introduction

of paid-staff roles can create conflict because of ambiguity about the roles of paid staff (Harris 1998a). The transition from a founder to a new paid executive can also be fraught with problems (Hernandez and Leslie 2001). These transition periods can be triggered by leadership, can cause changes in leader styles and activities, and can potentially have a major, sometimes lethal, impact on the association. We need more research to help sort this out and to identify the important *transition points* for associations as they grow and professionalize.

E. Usable Knowledge

One very key conclusion of this chapter is that successful association leadership and management are usually *very* different from successful business, government, or nonprofit agency leadership and management. Where all the former types of organizations involve mainly the *management of paid workers*, *associations, by contrast, mainly involve the leadership of volunteers* with varying levels of skill and experience, and with completely different motivations for participation than paid workers, as Etzioni (1960) pointed out in his seminal book over 50 years ago. Most of the high-powered management techniques for managing paid workers are not only irrelevant but are seriously dysfunctional when applied to volunteers as the main labor force in GAs and SAVAs.

However, some (but only a small proportion of) such management techniques, when properly adjusted for the leadership mainly of volunteers, can play some role in the leadership of large PSAs, for instance with 30 or more paid staff. But such large paid-staff associations constituted only 3.3% of all associations in the six cities in six democratic European nations studied by Maloney and Rossteutscher (2007:123). GA and even SAVA leaders are mainly volunteers themselves, donating their leisure time to a good cause, and do not usually want to be very businesslike. According to the six-nation, six-city data on associations by Maloney and Rossteutscher (2007:123), which is the best source available, 71.3% of associations have no paid staff. And over half of the small minority of associations that have *any* paid staff have only 1–5 people.

Where *businesslike* is a positive word in managing paid workers, *businesslike* is a negative word for leaders of volunteers. Associations are generally leisure time organizations for their volunteer members and participants, including the vast majority of their formal leaders, *not* businesses – not paid work. Far too many so-called experts in nonprofit management fail to understand this simple but profound fact. The latter *experts* on managing paid workers, not volunteers, mistakenly persuade/seduce too many association leaders that their paid worker management techniques are best for managing associations, when this is simply false, according to both empirical research and theory.

Hence the single most important piece of usable knowledge is for leaders of the vast majority (95%+) of associations (mostly GAs and SAVAs, and PSAs with small staffs) to focus on relating to and working with their volunteers at all

levels of leadership and activity. Leading an association is generally *not* rocket science, and tying to make it so with excessive management practices only messes things up, rather than helping. "Simple and small are beautiful" applied both for GAs and also many SAVAs.

Thus, this chapter highlights the importance of personal relationships in associations. Active association members and volunteers need to feel a sense of belonging, and to feel satisfying personal relationships with at least some other members. Association leaders need to make sure this happens continuously for as many members as possible (see Mason 1996). Although the expressive side of leadership has some significance in every organization, personal-expressive leadership is crucial in leading an association.

On the instrumental side of association leadership, it is also crucial for GA and SAVA leaders to foster association *effectiveness,* whatever the goals may be. Association members, especially active members and volunteers, usually support, join, and participate in an association because they believe in its goals and gain satisfactions (often altruistic satisfaction) from working toward those goals (which in many cases are mainly sociability-fun goals). We know a good deal about how associations (especially GAs) can be more effective (e.g., Andrews et al. 2010; Smith 1999a, 1999b; Smith and Shen 1996). Successful association leaders need to understand these tactics, which differ markedly from general nonprofit management tactics.

Both fostering member commitment and also doing continual recruitment need to be primary tasks for all association leaders. Because associations rely so much on volunteer labor, maintaining good relationships among volunteer leaders in different roles and between the leaders and other volunteers or members is crucial for maintaining the contributions of members and volunteers. Issues of leader quality and effectiveness will likely continue to plague associations of all sizes, but if association leaders exercise common sense and practice moderate selectivity, these can usually be overcome.

F. Future trends and needed research

Associations at all levels of territorial scope are growing worldwide, Putnam's (2000) dubious double-decline thesis in the last third of the 20th century in the United States notwithstanding (Smith 2014; Smith and Robinson 2017; see also Handbook Chapters 50 and 51). As a result, both the numbers of association leaders and their knowledge/experience in leadership are becoming ever more important worldwide. Future research can help especially by examining and further testing many aspects of association leadership, particularly leadership in GAs and SAVAs.

This chapter highlights several areas of association leadership and management that need more research. Indeed, one of the main points of this

chapter is to indicate the paucity of research on leadership topics in GAs, SAVAs, and PSAs. In particular, we lack research on leaders' characteristics, criteria for selecting leaders, and the factors affecting leadership quality and effectiveness. The relationships between leaders at different levels and between paid and volunteer leaders are also important issues needing further clarification from research. Research in these areas will help us to understand how different types of associations are similar to or different from other nonprofit organizations, especially nonprofit agencies. Associations of all kinds and territorial levels of scope are a rapidly growing global phenomenon, especially GAs and SAVAs. The mimetic and often isomorphic adoption of association leadership and management strategies and tactics will potentially have substantial impacts on associations as we move into the future. It is important that the most useful knowledge about association leadership of volunteers be diffused, rather than dysfunctional approaches borrowed from the management of paid workers.

G. Cross-references

Chapters 5, 24, 46, and 48.

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37
Life Cycles of Individual Associations

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A. Introduction

This chapter studies the *individual* life cycles of specific Membership Associations (MAs) as units of analysis, not the *collective* life cycles of MAs, as prevalence rates across territories as units of analysis (Handbook Chapter 50). Life cycles of MAs are seen as usual or average patterns of origins/formation, growth, stability, merger, decline, and demise/dissolution/exit of specific MAs as organizations. As the spectrum of MAs is very broad, so also their life cycles can vary markedly. Not all MAs follow the average life-cycle patterns mentioned in this chapter, and not all stages may exist for a given MA. Research suggests that many MAs typically develop in the manner described here, although a specific MA may be at any stage of the usual life cycle at present.

B. Definitions

The definitions of the Handbook Appendix are accepted in this chapter. However, there are many terms in the literature for the different life-cycle stages and therefore it is necessary to list synonyms and define the key terms here.

Origins: This is the first stage of existence for an association, as the founder(s) seek(s) to develop relevant resources of people, ideas-plans, funding, a name, a meeting place, and so on, and the association comes into being as a group, often an informal group, thus rarely formally incorporated or registered with the government initially. Similar terms for this life-cycle stage are birth, emergence, formation, and founding.

Growth: This second stage, after its origins, involves the association developing and expanding in various ways. This can involve variously membership growth, increase in activity, greater organizational complexity (e.g., development of various leadership roles, creation of committees, a formal constitution or charter, formal recruitment of members, registration with the government

at some territorial level, and formal incorporation as a legal person). Similar terms for this life-cycle stage are rise, change, development, establishment, and expansion.

Stability: This is a possible stage in which no larger changes take place, hence characterized by a kind of longer-term permanence over years or longer periods of time. Similar terms for this life-cycle stage are maturity, steadiness, and solidity.

Merger: This is a rare but possible stage in which a given association is absorbed by another association, or absorbs another association, and sometimes changes its name to reflect the coalescence of the two associations.

Decline: This possible, but not necessary, life-cycle stage involves continuing but usually gradual losses of various kinds. Decline is characterized by one or more of the following: decrease in members, leadership depth, meeting and event activity, assets, income, public recognition-reputation, links to other associations, meeting place availability, government registration, and so on. Similar terms for this life-cycle stage are weakening, contraction, shrinkage, deterioration, decay, decrease, waning, ebbing, destruction, or fall.

Survival: This possible, but not necessary, life-cycle stage refers to a time period when an association survives difficult circumstances that might otherwise have led to its (further) decline or death. This stage does not preclude subsequent decline or death in a subsequent time period.

Death/Exit: This final, but also not necessary, stage of an association refers to the end of the group and its functioning as a live collectivity in a particular place and society. Similar terms for this life-cycle stage are demise, dissolution, exit, disbanding, destruction, cessation, and failure.

C. Historical background and theories

The life cycles of *specific* associations, as single organizations, have been studied fairly frequently, usually as histories of larger, older, often state/province, national, or international associations (see Handbook Chapters 1, 33, and 34). The life cycles of local, Grassroots Associations (GAs) have very rarely been studied (see Handbook Chapter 32). Historians have written about the life cycles of single associations for hundreds of years, but any *comparative* study of the life cycles of samples of associations is much more recent.

Life cycles of *samples* of associations have also been studied only rarely, and in most cases very recently. Tsouderos (1955; see also Chapin and Tsouderos 1955, 1956) performed one early study of a sample of associations, based on case studies of ten, mainly state-level, associations in Minnesota. He found that the membership numbers of associations tended to peak first, then decline, while administrative expenses and numbers of paid office workers still kept on rising, until a subsequent decline.

Theories and models of individual association life cycles and life-cycle stages are generally weak and rarely tested empirically. One exception is the model of the origins phase of Deviant Voluntary Associations (DVAs), by Smith (2017). The author sought support/non-support for 16 hypotheses derived from earlier reading of case studies, with content analysis help from Robert Stebbins (University of Calgary). In the research described, the author did qualitative content analysis of about 70 books as case studies of DVAs, such as witches' covens, outlaw motorcycle gangs, religious communes, and revolutionary groups. The origins phase was divided into three separate sub-phases: incubation, founding, and elaboration.

Some support was found for most hypotheses, including the following:

- "OR 5: [DVAs] during their origins phases usually follow significant aspects of the organizational pattern of some prior, similar, group predecessor, which was linked to one or more of the founder-activists of the current [DVA] by that person's life experience, often as a member or participant."
- "OR 9: [DVAs], if successfully established, are nearly always fundamentally deviant in one or more of their basic goals or means of achieving goals from the time period of their origins."
- "OR 13: [DVAs], if successfully established, nearly always have some internal group differentiation of roles and at least nascent hierarchy during their origins phases. Nascent hierarchy means two or more statuses or roles that involve significant differences in power and influence within the DVA, and constitute at least a rudimentary leadership structure."

While the second hypothesis is distinctive of DVAs, the first and third above likely apply to most kinds of associations. Hence, many of the 16 may apply to associations in general. Some other models and theories of life cycles, or of specific stages, are discussed in sub-section #8 below.

D. Key issues

1. Societal context

Associations have existed for about the past 10,000 years (Smith 1997; see Handbook Chapter 1) in a vast variety of social settings. They provide the platform to meet the social demands that arise in specific contexts, be it professional, recreational, or religious. If we look back in time at the associations that have been formed in different eras, it is quite evident that societal context influences associational formation, life cycles, and prevalence. For example, associations in agrarian societies are predominately different from those in industrial societies, or post-industrial societies.

The societal context can also be the near surroundings of an association. Proposing a theory on juvenile gangs, Covey et al. (1997) touch on the role of the societal context as a prerequisite in the formation of juvenile gangs, as they identify neighborhoods or communities that are socially disorganized as birthplaces of juvenile gangs. Furthermore, Covey et al. (1997) see critical mass as imperative in the formation of gangs, that is, there must be closeness among the potential gang members so that they come to interact with each other and thus operate as a collective. According to them, the persistence of one or two juvenile gangs can, however, reduce the critical mass needed for formation since new gangs are likely to form as: "emulation of the existing gangs or in defense against them" (Covey et al. 1997: 214).

Making a case that the development of the associational field follows the development of the nation state, Skocpol, Ganz, and Munson (2000) present data about the institutional origins of voluntary membership associations in the United States. They show that associations indeed were vertically connected from the grassroots to the federal level, making them potent tools for civil power. Hence, the spread of associations is not due to isolated group formations but happens because of networks that connect citizens to the federal state. Neem (2008) agrees with the institutional origin theory and sees the formation of associations in the early 19th century as a backlash on elite politics and unwanted changes in society. Writing about the birth of civil society and democracy in the state of Massachusetts in the United States, the author illustrates how ministers used the associational form as a way of altering the nation. In practice, ministers educated citizens on how to organize themselves in associations, and once the associational movement got started, groups learned how to organize from each other.

Looking at the density of associations on a national level, Schofer and Longhofer (2011) found cross-country support for some hypothesizes regarding the structural sources for associations. First, high levels of education and wealth among the population foster association density. Secondly, nations that are governed by a democratic elected government have higher rates of associations than non-democratic nations. Thirdly, modern state expansion in fact has a positive effect on the formation of associations. Fourthly, nations that are strongly connected to world society have high levels of associations. Smith and Shen (2002) had previously done similar research on INGO (International Nongovernmental Organization) densities across larger nations of the world, with similar findings regarding determinants.

Not only does the societal context affect the kinds of activity and the density of associations, but also the internal structures of the associations and even the structure of the associational field as a whole. Tranvik and Selle (2007) argue that during the past 30–40 years, the impact of globalization has profoundly changed the context of associations in Scandinavia where the popular mass movements earlier were the dominant form of voluntary organizations. They

found that globalization – as a structural process replacing bureaucratic and hierarchical forms – since the 1980s has changed the way in which Norwegian associations operate in making them less connected to the national level of organization and having lesser internal democracy, but also being nimbler and more professionalized.

2. Origins/founding

Associations are formed for a variety of reasons. Sports clubs are founded to practice sports, welfare associations to provide people with care or some other kind of help, and political associations to further a group's interests and/or ideological convictions, and so on. In short: associations are developed to satisfy a need. This *need* can have its origin in the members themselves, in non-members or in environments or structures outside of the association, but it is the association's mission to satisfy it. The question of why, or what influences lead to the formation of associations, has been answered on both empirical and theoretical levels. The issue of formation relates closely to the question of why groups emerge in the first place, which has been theorized to some extent.

Olsson (1999) has identified some theoretical perspectives that enlighten why associations form, of which three are of interest here. First, the resource mobilizing theory according to which collective resources are of paramount importance in explaining organization formation. Resources are understood broadly and include, apart from material and monetary resources, members, supporters, media attention, and so on. Focusing mostly on social movement organizations, the perspective places the organization's ability to mobilize resources in its environment in the center of its claims (McCarthy and Zald 1977). Secondly, the rational choice approach argues that groups are established in order for the members to gain goals, resources, or services they would not obtain on their own and such that members are willing to compromise some of their individual preferences and individuality in favor of common rules to obtain these goals (Hechter 1987). Thirdly, a social psychological perspective advocates a more individual centered way of looking at organization forming. It argues that organizing always starts with one or several people who identify a condition of things they want to change. Not all engagement leads to formal organizations, but collective structures form when autonomy proves challenging. The act of forming an association starts when people come together and identify something they want to act upon (Weick 1993).

Discussing the results of the formation of five community groups in the United Kingdom, Sills, Butcher, Collins, and Glen (1983) recognize five crucial stages in the development: (1) Issue recognition: The recognition of an issue, often provocative, that effects the welfare of a community; (2) Development of belief that collective action is possible and productive in the tackling of the issue; (3) The development of the collective will to act; (4) Mobilization of potential members; and (5) Gathering of information about the issue,

how to tackle it, and available resources. Also highlighting the role of issue recognition, Johnson and Frickel (2011) find a significant correlation between ecological threat, such as air pollution and species decline, and the founding of environmental movement organizations in the United States. Their findings suggest that social movement mobilization occurs as a respondse to real or perceived threat. (See also Maton, Leventhal, Madara, and Julien 1989, regarding factors affecting the origins/birth of self-help groups.)

Another important feature in the birth stage of associations is founder choices. Association founders must make important decisions early on in the organization's life cycle. Smith (2000) has identified several formational characteristics that show what early decisions founders must make. According to Smith, the most central choice is that of member benefit versus non-member benefit, or a mix of both. Several aspects influence this choice, but the most important ones are whether the founders emphasize close interaction with the members, altruism with a low-economic starting point or whether other aspects, such as the possibility of high investment, expansion plans, and professional staff are prioritized. Other important decisions founders must take include informal or formal group style, the level of internal democracy, and goal setting. Smith shows how the outcomes of the choices taken by grassroots associations differ from paid-staff voluntary groups. The choices made at formation are sometimes reconsidered later on in the association's life cycle, as is shown in the research mentioned further on in this chapter.

3. Growth

Growth is often referred to as the increase in the number of members, but (organizational) growth can be defined more broadly as including, for example, number of activities in a given time span, number of volunteers and/or staff, and the size of budget and/or revenue. Growth is a sought after development in many associations' life span, since "there is always a 'need' for more, a pressure for the organization to expand some of its activities, and a consequent pressure to expand its resources to finance those desired activities" (Kitts 2009: 354). But far from all, associations strive for growth: associations, such as underground groups, fraternities or elite clubs that have limited membership; or expressive associations, for example, performing, game playing or sports clubs, groups that maintain activity with a low number of members and resources.

Trzcinski and Sobeck (2012) investigated growth predictors for 398 small to mid-sized grassroots organizations in a metropolitan area in the United States. They found that those associations that engaged in program development and had a readiness to change were more likely to experience organizational growth. The results highlight the importance of organization development as a central part of success in growth.

As associations grow in size and scope, or even as a prerequisite for growth, they come to develop their structures and practices. They tend to increase in complexity and, become more bureaucratized, centralized, specialized, formalized, or professional (Smith 2000:chapter 8). Change is often required, since it is what necessity demands in order to keep up the activity. This part of an association's life cycle is often challenging for the association, but highlights some of the organizational peculiarities that we find in associations in contrast to other forms of organizations. As to the negative aspects of growth in size, Warner and Hilander (1964) note that increase in membership is linked to decreased member participation.

Associations tend to increase in complexity in relationship to size and to a lesser extent age, with Smith (2000) noting increased complexity "reflects a growing seriousness about how a [grassroots organization] or other organization is organized and uses its resources and opportunities" (p. 167). There have been numerous explanations for increased organizational complexity including age, internal demands for efficiency and democracy, dwindling member interest, the desire for prestige, in particular "the search for credibility, acceptability, the appearance of being well run, fiscal responsibility, staying power and political clout," the limitations of charismatic leadership, the addition of and increased capacity of leadership bodies, and "even the tendency for most work organizations in the surrounding society to become more complex and bureaucratic" (Smith 2000: 169).

Complexity is more likely to be found in associations with external goals and an instrumental, as opposed to expressive, orientation, which leads to "concern with the control of the organizational resources and activities to accomplish external effects" (Smith 2000:175–176).

For example, von Velsen-Zerweck's life-cycle model for nonprofits (1998) maintains that many organizations are founded as member-oriented, and as they grow in size and significance, they expand their services to the public. This seems to be particularly common for associations in the field of health and social services, as in the following example. Kreutzer (2009) has studied this specific life-cycle transition from member benefit to public benefit in five Swiss patient associations from a governance perspective, using qualitative interviews. Her findings suggest that this transition means many changes such as more cooperation with other organizations, a movement from internal to external funding, and greater transparency. Moreover, governance challenges in this transitional stage include a shift from member-centered and compliance-based management toward the balancing of stakeholder needs and securing resources.

Another transitional phase that many growing associations come to in the span of their life cycle is professionalization. Other than providing the association with paid workforce to run the activities, professionalization might also prove to be problematic as tensions can rise between the paid staff and

the voluntary staff. Harris' (1998a) study on organizational challenges for voluntary associations exemplifies this as the status and the role of the paid staff in the association were often unclear. In one of the associations, the volunteers became neglect about the work once paid staff had been appointed. Volunteers, on the other hand, felt displaced and disempowered by the paid staff.

Markham (2008) identifies professionalization as particularly problematic for growing environmental organizations. As advantages of professionalization, he notes, among other things, the commitment and expertise of the paid-staff and the legitimacy from the general public and other organizations that work well done will obtain. On the downside, a paid staff is easier subject to outside criticism from the media and other environmental organizations, and internally from their own activists.

4. Stability

Stability as a life-cycle stage is well described by the proverb *business as usual*. When the association reaches this level, it is fairly routinized and people know their place within the organization. If the association was small and fast at the beginning of its life cycle, it has become more rigid by now. At the same time, new challenges wait in this stage, and especially continued formalization and professionalization pose challenges that associations face.

Formalization, a concept that has been essential in association research since the 1950s, results in increasing specialization of roles, and the executive authority becomes less dependent on personal factors, allowing the association greater flexibility due to the continuity of roles and personnel (Chapin and Tsouderos 1955). Three principles of structural differentiation can be found. First, membership becomes increasingly passive and removed from the central executive decision making components. Second, "the executive is also increasingly removed from those activities for which it designs the blueprints" (Chapin and Tsouderos 1955:309). Finally, the long lines of communication become a problem that is then addressed through the parliamentary machinery (Chapin and Tsouderos 1955).

For many service-providing associations, reaching and maintaining a level of stability are connected with formalization. In a follow-up study of British voluntary agencies serving handicapped people studied in 1977 and again in 1988, Kramer (1990) noted structural changes in terms of increased size of income, staff, and programs. Organizations also experienced increased formalization and bureaucratization, such as more elaborate organizational charts, divisional structures, adopting policy and personnel manuals, computerized systems, and the use of management consultants. Other formalization changes included reducing the executive's span of control, departmentalization and increased decentralization, strategic planning, and more professional management, also, improved and new services, "characterized by their greater diversity, complexity

and specialization" (Kramer 1990:42). Organizations in the study also engaged in goal succession and transferring programs to other voluntary organizations. Through expansion and bureaucracy "many voluntary agencies became more corporate in their structure and managerial style, some of the largest ones resembling highly decentralized holding companies" (Kramer 1990:48).

Far from all associations develop toward formalization; rather there are differences when comparing purposive types: In a national sample of American associations, Knoke (1990) notes that bureaucratization is most notable among unions, with three-fourths that are highly bureaucratized, compared with less than one-third of recreational associations. Almost two-thirds of recreational groups operate with low bureaucracy, meaning that administrative tasks are done by member volunteers as leaders.

In a qualitative study employing interviews and focus groups within six associations across Europe, Kreutzer and Jager (2011) noted the formalization process may involve a shift in the association's identity. The volunteer identity included believing the association belonged to the volunteers who carried the bulk of the workload, scarcity of resources, an emphasis on flexibility and personal networks, and the volunteers seeing themselves as the individuals affected. The managerial identity is characterized as putting an emphasis on professionalism and finances and relying on standardized procedures. The dual identities are important because, while both share the mission of the association, their perceptions on how goals should be reached can vary, and at times may conflict (Kreutzer and Jager 2011).

The ability to learn and adapt through the formalization process is essential for the voluntary association's chances of success, and this is partially determined by the association's structural configuration (Robinson 1994). The inherent character of voluntary associations, motivated members committed to the mission, is a strength that can become a weakness as members "expect a great deal of space, autonomy and personal say in how the organization is run and what should be its strategic goals" (Robinson 1994:11). The evolutionary growth of the organization creates a learning process in which at each stage of the development the organization must negotiate the new skills and structures that are needed, leaving the organization to "cope not only with an ever-changing external environment but also with change inherent within its own evolution" (Robinson 1994:13). During the formalization process, turnover in active membership may be due less to a loss of commitment, and more to "a realization that individual personal qualities and skills are no longer appropriate to the current stage of the development of the initial project" (Robinson 1994:14). Formalization measures, such as institutional rules and "administration-heavy hierarchical bureaucracy," are resistant to change, but the changing external environment requires organizations to learn. To combat the resistance, organizations set up review procedures to re-evaluate the

mission, transform structures to address challenges, and put in place leaders best equipped for the next stage of development (Robinson 1994).

If the association is almost totally out of control of the volunteers, the association enters in a stage qualified as "Death of the Project": the structures of the association are bureaucratized, some activities may be externalized, and since the activities are mainly out of the control of the members, and sometimes even of the hands of the board, the organization has difficulties to recruit volunteers (Kreutzer and Jager 2011). Similar developments of the negative aspects that increased complexity are also noted elsewhere in the research literature. Noteworthy therefore is one of Smith's (2000) key findings in his research on complexity and the life cycles of grassroots associations. He describes the relationship between complexity, on one hand, and more democratic, informal organizational structures on the other, as a zero sum game:

> Once a certain aspect of complexity is adopted, there often is internal [grassroots association] pressure to continue down the path of increasing [grassroots association] complexity, if only for the sake of consistency. Each change toward more complexity can be used by some leaders to justify a further move on the same or another dimension of complexity. It is hard to draw a line and say "enough" to increasing complexity in a [grassroots association] (or other organization). (p. 176)

This indicates, at least in grassroots associations, that resisting complexity "usually is the result of the combined conscious value affirmation of informality and simplicity of structure and processes by their leaderships and memberships. Such GAs seeking to avoid complexity stress autonomy and solidarity over external funding and efficiency" (Smith 2000:192). Self-help groups, churches associated with grassroots associations, and some social movement associations are more likely to forgo higher revenues, increased power, and prestige and external impact, although "their internal impact still might be very high, and their internal democracy and member satisfaction tend to be high as well" (Smith 2000:192).

5. Merger

Although the study of mergers is frequent among organization researchers focused on businesses, there is much less recent study of mergers between NPOs (e.g., Corwin and Moore 1996; Harris et al. 2002; McCormick 2001; Netting and Kettner 1987; Singer and Yankey 1991; Wernet and Jones 1992). Mergers are very rare among GAs, and among all-volunteer associations, generally. Mergers are most likely, when they occur, between paid-staff-based associations, as the references cited above indicate. Mergers can of course be done out of strength – a strong organization on its way up or even when being stable, but also occur in other organizations that are not doing well and are becoming

weaker. A stronger association may take over a weaker one to increase its own strength.

Alternatively, an older association may be doing worse and finding out that they need/are forced to put their resources together to survive in an *organizational field*. This has occurred in Norway, for instance, between religious missionary societies, temperance (anti-alcohol) associations, and the like. Here, one of the older associations may be stronger than the other(s), but not necessarily that much stronger compared to the other organizations in a field. Whether new or older associations, organizations develop interorganizational relationships/cooperation, and over time, they figure out that they would do even better if merged. So merger is not necessarily out of weakness. In general, merger may be seen in the context of interorganizational relationships and cooperation.

Thus, mergers of associations can be varied kinds of solutions to enduring problems and opportunities – out of strength, out of weaknesses, or even out of cooperation itself, whatever the strength. That ideology here plays a role will not be surprising, both in its strength and importance, and how different organizations are in their ideologies. What is happening in other sectors may also be important: depending on governmental money, for instance. In some cases, the government sector may force some associations to merge/become stronger to get a services contract. And of course, individual initiatives/ideas by themselves sometimes are enough to get the merger process started.

6. Decline

Decline is the life-cycle stage that has gotten the least attention. This might be because success stories, as in life in general, are far more studied than stories of failure, or because decline is somehow seen as unproblematic or even uninteresting. Whatever the reason, potential decline is an important part in any organization's life cycle and deserves more attention.

Atlas (2010) offers a detailed account on the life span of the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN), also with the decline of the movement. ACORN was a community-based advocacy organization in the United States (and to some extent internationally) formed in 1970. During its last years, the organization suffered from low legitimacy because of a high-profile investigation, causing political pursuits and major financiers in the business community to withdraw their support. The allegations were proven to be false, but ACORN never recovered, and died.

Studying the development of the interest group sector, Meyer and Imig (1993) propose a six-stage framework to describe its development. The stages before "Resource Contraction" include "Recognition of a Social Problem," "Resource Mobilization," and "Niche Building." As the issue is being tackled by policy reform, groups find it harder to continue in the same way as before. In the last stage of development, resources become scarce, as policy success is reached and funders retreat.

Decline can also be the result of a harsh social environment. This is illustrated by Sharpe's (2003) study of a local softball league in which parents volunteer as much for own personal enjoyment as a leisure hobby. Her findings indicate that the pressure on informal grassroots associations from the environment to become more formal decreased the volunteers' willingness to volunteer. She concludes that formalization of informal organizing can come at the price of motivation loss – a development that can put an end to many leisure activity associations.

7. Survival or death/exit

Much of the literature uses the term *survival* to explain how some associations outlive others. The emphasis is often on the strategies that associations employ, organizational characteristics, population characteristics, and/or ecological characteristics that allow them to endure in difficult conditions. Another way survival is used is in explaining what the differences are between the surviving and dead associations.

The question that is naturally prevalent in the literature is: What characteristics do increase the chance of survival? In an effort to combine theoretical lines of thought on association survival, Bevan (2013) brings together explanatory models on association survival on group, population, and ecological levels and shows that all offer positive and significant explanation on survival rates. On the individual level, involvement in a social cause and wealth correlate the most with survival. On the population level, population density of related associations is linked with survival until a saturation point is reached and survival rates drop. On the ecological level, government attention to the association's issue had the most positive effect on survival.

In his work on the survival of voluntary associations, Wollebaek (2009) found that voluntary factors, such as the quality of management and organizational design, and determining factors, such as age, size, and organizational density, both have an impact on an association's likelihood of survival. While both factors matter, Wollebaek (2009) notes that associations may "increase their chances of survival substantially by optimizing their structure, board composition, and activities" (p. 279) and "optimal design can prolong survival, even if ecological factors are not on the organization's side" (p. 280).

Not surprisingly, formalization is a useful variable in explaining survival rates. In a national sample of American associations, highly bureaucratic associations had a significantly higher survival rate than non-bureaucratic ones, as average ages were 37.5 years compared to 29.6 years (Knoke 1990). Formalization is often required to secure funding for an association's activity. Walker (1983) shows how patronage comes to play a crucial role in maintaining interest groups in the United States. His findings show that securing funds outside the members is key in the sustainability of interest/advocacy groups.

Social movement organizations often face conditions that are difficult to thrive in. In a study on four large environmental organizations in Germany,

Markham (2008) found that the critical objective was to obtain resources, legitimacy, prestige, and influence from the environment, for example, politicians, government agencies, companies, the media, the general public, and their supporters, in order to continue working for their goals. Lai (2014) explores survival among mixed-mode groups, which are groups initiated online and then moved to the offline world for continued interaction, on the group and population level. Her findings show that interorganizational ties with other mixed mode groups and ordinary local associations explain much of the variation in survival. These ties were often started and maintained online, and the study shows how technology effects organizing.

The final life-cycle stage is, of course, death, while the term *dissolution* (and sometimes, *exit*) is often used in the literature. In a study on demise of service providing nonprofit organizations in Minnesota, Hager et al. (1996) analyzed interviews with former executives and board members in 35 dead organizations. Surprised that no two causes of closure were the same, Hager et al. (1996) nonetheless note that the existing theory on organizational demise offers adequate categories for understanding the phenomena. Internal reasons for demise mostly reported by the interviewed are personnel loss and turnover, and financial difficulties. Almost a fifth of the respondents named mission completion as the number one reason for organizational death. The external reasons most cited were fewer major funders available, loss of revenue from services, and fewer consumers of services. The theoretical assumptions on the liability of newness and smallness, that is, that youth and small size are associated with higher exit-rates, were also proven to be applicable.

In his work on dissolution, Fernandez (2008) found voluntary associations in Spain dissolved due to mission completion and insufficient resources. Mission completion was more common among smaller associations and dissolved associations tended to be younger, while there was a correlation between state funding and longer life spans (Fernandez 2008). Using new institutionalism, population ecology, and resources dependence as explanatory models for organizational decline and death, Fernandez (2008) noted "neoinstitutional theories proved less able to explain the dissolutions of these associations" (p. 133) and that "resource dependency theories have been underutilized in the analysis of organizational closure" (p. 134). (See also Maton, Leventhal, Madara, and Julien, 1989, regarding factors affecting the dissolution of self-help groups.)

8. Life-cycle models

There have been some attempts to create models of associations' life cycles, which intend to highlight some of the typical stages in associational development. Meister (1974), for example, analyzed several types of nonprofits, including housing cooperatives and voluntary associations, examining both the internal evolution of the group and the adaptation to the changes in their environment, particularly as regards the general economy. He distinguishes

four phases: the "Conquest" phase (creation in reaction to a social need usu-ally associated with the contestation of some dominant values), the "Economic Consolidation" phase (structuration of activities so that they become viable), the "Coexistence" phase (when the organization no longer contests the estab-lished social order), and the phase of the "Directors' power" (administrative bureaucracy and experts acquired such an importance in the decision process that they monopolize it). This model focuses on how power evolves within the association from a democratic participation involving equality as regards the voices of individuals to a hierarchical model involving experts that monopolize the decision process.

Despite the fact that Meister posits the importance of longitudinally study-ing the organizations, the status of his developmental model is unclear: The evolution of associations is hypothesized as resulting from internal constraints or external ones, but at the same time, it is related to historical changes. For instance, the Conquest phase is clearly associated with a fraternity ideal in the post-war period following the liberation and is dated in this historical period that promoted nonprofit initiatives. Economic Consolidation is constrained by economic changes, for instance the rural depopulation and the development of communication that occurred during the 1950s. However, this model has been used to analyze the development of a consumer association in order to study how boards of directors evolve correspondingly (Rego 2010).

More recently, based on her consulting experience, Stevens (2001) proposed a normative model of the development of associations, adapting Greiner's (1998) model of organizations' change. Also inspired from Erickson's psychosocial the-ory of the individual development, Stevens' model comprises seven stages, from the "Idea" stage when the association formally does not exist yet but as an idea shared by a small number of founders to the "Termination" stage: the association is no longer viable, and the board exists *in name only*. In between, the "Start-up" stage corresponds to a passionate period when a small group, usually loosely structured, invests itself within the development of actions. The "Growth" stage results from opportunities and demands exceeding the association capacity and requires clear operational definitions and choices. At the "Maturity" stage, the association acquired a strong reputation and oper-ates with a solid organizational founding and multiples sources of funding. During the "Decline" stage, the nonprofit operates according to internal factors in spite of adjusting to external needs, thus loosing income sources. At the "Turnaround" stage, the organization's awareness and determination allows it to reconsider actions and organizational characteristics so that they adjust again to external needs. At each stage, the author identifies the challenges the association is confronted with and some characteristics of the governance.

McCarthy and Zald (2002) review about 30 years of research on *resource mobilization theory,* which is a theory about the origins and decline of social

movements and social movement organizations, usually MAs. During this period, the theory received both testing and further specification, sparking a substantial amount of research. Much of the theory, as revised, has received confirmation. Given that its key resource variables also apply to other types of associations, the theory might be adapted and tested on associations more broadly.

E. Usable knowledge

Important implications for practice and application that the literature on societal context offers is that there is a possibility of policy to adjust the societal context in order to encourage desired associations to form and discourage unwanted associations from forming. For example, community development in socially disorganized neighborhoods prevents juvenile gangs from forming and getting a foothold. As for the birth stage, the literature emphasizes the founders' need of proper support in form of both resources and knowledge to build a functioning entity. Most prominently, the growth stage involves balancing the need for growth with organization building, which means, making sure that the structures of the association support the activity. In the stability stage, bureaucratization, centralization, formalization, and/or professionalization can be harmful for the voluntaristic core of the association.

F. Future trends and needed research

Research on the life cycle of individual associations has deepened our understanding of the stages that voluntary associations go through in their development. Increasing research on association life cycles can be expected in the future. Associations usually start out as grassroots associations, but many come to increase in complexity as they grow in terms of activity and membership. These changes can, in fact, push the association away from its organizational roots based in voluntarism toward what Smith (2000) calls a paid staff nonprofit-group.

   Association life cycles have received very little research of a quantitative and comparative sort. Most of our knowledge comes from case studies, which do not allow generalization. Much future research is thus needed on this topic, especially research on the factors affecting transition from one association life-cycle stage to another and the stages formation and dissolution. Future research will hopefully be done mainly on random samples of associations in some territory, rather than studying only single cases or a few associations. It will be important in the future also to study how generalizations about association life cycles vary and are affected by the territorial level (local, state/provincial, regional, national, multi-national, global) and the size of associations in both members and other resources.

G. Cross-references

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Part VI
Internal Processes of Associations

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38

Member Acquisition and Retention in Associations

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A. Introduction

This chapter reviews research on the acquisition-recruitment of members and the retention versus turnover of members of different kinds of membership associations (MAs) around the world. The leadership-management perspective of this chapter differs from the basic research perspective of Part IV, on why people participate. For civic and community-based MAs, institutional context and internal organizational characteristics are key influences. For religious congregations, we describe research in religiously free societies versus more restrictive ones. For professional associations, we examine whether national and international forces versus the strength and viability of local framework influence primarily member attraction and maintenance. The chapter also points briefly to research on acquisition and retention of members in political parties, alumni associations, credit unions, worker cooperatives, solidarity associations, and emergency response teams.

On the individual side, potential members usually decide whether an MA can promote their personal or communal goals (Olson 1965). For example, Asante, Afari-Sefa, and Sarpong (2011:2273) describe farmer associations that "increasingly voice the needs of their members in various fora on policy-making and…service provision" in Ghana. However, farmers generally join these MAs when they calculate net benefits from membership and participation. Asante et al. demonstrate that membership is most attractive to larger-acreage farmers who use the MA for access to credit and machinery services. When benefits are less tangible, farmers do not join the association. This is the kind of calculus that association managers take into account when working to recruit and retain members.

The needs and sensibilities of potential members are only part of the equation, however; acquisition is also a function of the ability of MAs to reach

out strategically to potential members. Vala and O'Brien (2007:79) note that "recruitment, even of the so-inclined, is far from automatic." Activation of individual networks is a primary means by which MAs increase their membership base. Vala and O'Brien, however, study the recruitment of strangers to Protestant churches in China, where social relationships are not the general pathway to increasing membership. Rather, churches in their study succeeded through timely interactions and events that fulfilled emotional needs.

Acquisition has also been fruitfully conceptualized in terms of competition for members. McPherson (1983) quantified overlaps in membership across MA types (e.g. church-related, civic, fraternal, youth-serving) in some US communities. He documented greater competition when membership bases shared individual demographic characteristics. Hobby and youth-serving associations exhibit a high degree of overlap (and therefore competition for members), whereas veterans and professional associations exhibit almost none. In a later formulation, McPherson and Smith-Lovin (2002) linked shared demographic characteristics to group cohesion and member retention: people stay in groups where they share interests, motivations, and other features with other members.

As with acquisition, the decision to remain in some MAs is at least partially based on a calculation of goal attainment. However, once inside the association, members can directly judge the quality of the experience and increasingly make decisions to leave or remain with the association based on commitment (Roy and Berger 2007). Drawing on Meyer and Allen (1991), Gruen, Summers, and Acito (2000) differentiate *continuance commitment* (the perception of loss that would come from leaving the association), *normative commitment* (moral obligation to the association), and *affective commitment* (the degree of favorability that one feels about the association).

The remainder of this chapter outlines research on the acquisition and retention of members in MAs of different types all over the world. Following some definitions and prominent cases of historical interest, we review research on acquisition and retention in civic associations, political organizations, religious congregations, professional associations, and worker unions.

B. Definitions

This chapter accepts the general definitions in the Handbook Appendix. We also define some special terms relevant to this chapter, as follows:

Recruitment of members refers to conscious efforts to bring members into the MA. The term implies action on behalf of the MA to attract or entice individuals to join the membership. For example, Turner, O'Sullivan, and D'Art (2011) probe the recruitment practices of Irish trade unions, where organizing techniques actively increased the number of new members. Action on behalf of

the organization, as in recruitment, is not always required for attracting new members, however.

Acquisition of members may be automatic or organic (as in student clubs), or bureaucratic (as in some worker cooperatives), reducing or even eliminating the need for active recruitment. Consequently, some researchers prefer the broader term of *member acquisition,* as we do here. Zuckerman and Kretovics (2003) use this term in describing how college students proceed through stages of awareness, attraction, and affiliation in club memberships. We use that broader term in our chapter title and often below, when relevant.

Mobilization of members is a related term. In social movements, association membership may be informal, with individuals joining, adding to, and leaving the MA's meetings, protests, or other activities without registration. In this case, acquisition is frequently described more broadly as *mobilization*.

Retention refers to efforts to keep members in the MA. Turnover refers to the loss of members in a given time period. In situations where active efforts to retain members are not needed or employed, retention (rate) can also refer passively to the proportion of members who maintain their membership over a given timeframe. The value of membership retention depends on the level of attendance and volunteer activity that members contribute to the MA, since active members contribute more value to the association than passive ones. Putnam (2000) documents widespread *tertiary* association membership in the United States, where individuals pay dues and receive some MA benefits, but do not interact with other members in person. Failure to retain these kinds of members represents incremental financial losses for the MA. In contrast, the primary work of many MAs is often conducted through the collective *co-production* of members interacting in person (Gruen, Summers, and Acito 2000). Member co-production is synonymous with volunteering or active membership in the association. Failure to retain these kinds of members represents mission, programmatic, or advocacy losses for the MA.

C. Historical background

Research on member acquisition and retention in MAs is quite recent, occurring mainly in the past few decades. Large, supra-local MAs have led the way in such research, often doing applied rather than basic research (cf. Feirman 2001; Levin 1999). But many scholars have been doing basic research on membership participation for at least seven decades, as Handbook Part IV demonstrates. The content of this chapter is different, looking at membership as a leadership/management issue from the standpoint of the MA. Such research goes back a few decades at most (e.g., Smith 1985).

Membership trends in MAs of all types face ebbs and flows stemming from social changes that can systematically shift individual needs for collective

action. In this section, we briefly note two such shifts that have gained the attention of researchers and other observers: union membership in Europe and overall associational activity in the United States over much of the past century.

1. Labor union membership in Europe, 1960 to 2010

Unions in many European countries are shaken by ongoing membership decline that is deep enough to interfere with their ability to influence standards for wages, hours, and working conditions. Lind (2009) notes long-term declining membership in trade unions in Denmark, Finland, and Sweden. Upchurch, Taylor, and Mathers (2009) analyze the cases of United Kingdom, France, and Germany and argue that a crisis of social trade unionism can be explained by three factors: politicization of unions, opening of bureaucratic procedures, and willingness to mobilize *beyond the workplace*.

Upchurch and colleagues point to deep social changes influencing both the propensity to join labor unions and the role of labor unions themselves. From the later 1970s, new social demands transformed the role of social movements, unions included. Conventionally, unions had been oriented to national agendas, and they have largely been unable to transfer their attention to international ones. The replacement of business unionism with social unionism is central to the labor movement´s survival (Ross 2007). Robinson (1993) characterized social unionism as an organizational-maintenance strategy based on a particular moral economy of union action. Social unionism works to attract, retain, and mobilize members, leaders, and supporters. This debate is open, and research on decentralized collective bargaining indicates that locality may become the most important pole of future unions. Meanwhile, support activities may be centralized on the national and, if possible, on the international level.

2. Decline of social capital in the United States, 1930 to 2000

While many scholars have commented on changes in community life and social norms in the United States over much of the past century, Robert Putnam (2000) captured and fostered an international dialogue with his *Bowling Alone* work. His provocative thesis is that concurrent with documented decreases in membership in associational activity across a broad variety of domains, more Americans were bowling in homogeneous subgroups rather than in leagues that prompt discourse and learning across political and social differences.

Decline of associational activity in the United States over the past century is stark, according to Putnam. He first documents declines in voting and other forms of political participation before moving to discussions of downturns in community, religious, and work–life joining. He observes more named associations at the close of the millennium, but many fewer members per association. Following sharp growth in associational membership in the 1940s, Americans

slowly tapered their membership activity through 2000 to a point similar to those at post-World War I (1920) and the Great Depression (1935). Even among association members, involvement level and attendance is less than in the associational heyday of the 1930s and 1940s. However, research in many other nations finds no such decline in either association membership per se or in active membership (Smith and Robinson 2017).

Underlying these shifts in associational life are changing attitudes toward institutions and neighbors in America. Putnam points to Americans' enchantment with television and the Internet in a process of disengagement, distrust of government and strangers, and declines in social trust that reflect in the loss of formal association and neighborliness. Putnam believes that association can restore social and institutional trust. Others, however, such as Uslaner (2002), theorize declines in social and institutional trust as the cause of disconnectedness in modern America. Sønderskov (2011) documents the trust to association relationship in a study of 23 countries, the World Values Survey. Rennó (2003) raises questions about the explanatory value of social capital in a study of 17 countries in Latin America. Cause and effect aside, anomie in the United States at turn of the century has proven to be fertile ground for new forms of social connection introduced by the Internet.

D. Key issues

Research on association membership acquisition and retention spans the broad variety of associational forms. In this section, we summarize relevant exemplary research on civic, political, religious, professional, and work–life associations.

1. Acquisition and retention in civic and community-based associations

Civic participation can be expressed informally through social interaction, or formally through organized membership in civic associations. Putnam's (2000) bowling leagues provide one example, where members learn about and develop trust for people outside their social circles through the interaction fostered by civic associations. Recruitment into and active participation in these associations provide avenues for civic engagement and the development of social capital. Scholarship diverges on whether membership in civic associations is best explained by (1) institutional context or (2) internal organizational characteristics.

On the context side, we know that creation and development of voluntary associations varies across countries and other socio-political boundaries. Schofer and Fourcade-Gourinchas (2001) explain and document how the nature of government and the relationship between the public and polity influence the establishment and growth of associations. They focus on two ways that national governments vary. One is on a continuum that establishes

power in the state versus civil society. France and Germany are characterized as *statist*, where national government is recognized as the superior order of governance and features a well-developed bureaucratic elite. Low statism, on the other hand, is contrasted by countries that emphasize self-government. In Anglo-Saxon countries like Great Britain and Canada, the state is legitimized by representing the general public.

A second defining characteristic is high versus low *corporateness*, which defines and divides countries according to whether individuals or corporate groups primarily have *actorhood* in public matters. The United States is given as an example of a country with low corporateness. In contrast, Sweden is coded as corporate, described as empowering individuals mainly as members of collectives. Schofer and Fourcade-Gourinchas argue that civic associations will flourish where statism is low and corporateness is high, and their analysis of 1981 and 1991 World Values Surveys supports these contentions. Their analysis further reveals that statism is particularly stagnating for membership in environmental organizations and human rights associations. Corporateness particularly fosters labor unions and political associations.

Other research projects in this tradition use the World Values Surveys to extend these ideas and develop new ones. Nissan, Castaño, and Carrasco (2012) use the data to conceptualize social capital and entrepreneurship across countries. Schofer (in Schofer and Longhofer 2011) expands his thinking to include the modern state and world society as drivers of associational activity (see Handbook Chapter 50).

Whereas context may be important in explaining the development of civic associations, Andrews and colleagues (2010) argue that civic and political contexts do not explain why people choose to join and engage in civic association activities. Their study focuses on the branches of a single US civic association with 750,000 members across the country, the Sierra Club. Instead of civic or political contexts, Andrews and colleagues document four organizational level forces that drive member engagement: the amount of activity the branch generates; the number of core, committed activists; how well leaders work together; and the strength of programming and fundraising. Research studies by Feinberg, Bontempo, and Greenberg (2008) and Baggetta (2009) also concentrate on management and governance in explaining why people join and remain committed to civic associations.

2. Acquisition and retention in political associations and parties

Political associations and parties provide a means for individuals to collectively communicate with and influence government institutions (Berger and Neuhaus 1977). Research on political associations revolve principally around (1) their growth, decline, and role in different societies and (2) the ways in which people join and participate in these associations.

Political participation (Verba, Nie, and Kim 1978) and involvement in political parties (Dalton 2008) are common topics in political science and international comparative politics. Siavelis and Morgenstern (2008) document the importance of political recruitment and candidate selection practices among political parties throughout Latin America to democratic processes and governability in the region. Whiteley (2011) observes that political party membership has been declining in many democratic countries and attributes this change to their appropriation by the state and technological influence on political and civic participation. Social media and easy access to political news may replace the role of political parties for many potential members.

Whiteley (2011) outlines three traditional arguments regarding why people join political parties. The first is labeled the *civic voluntarism* model, which he principally attributes to Verba, Nie, and Kim (1978; also Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995). This perspective emphasizes differential access to resources, with wealthy people relying on money and personal connections to influence political agendas and less-wealthy people relying on collective action through political associations. Membership, then, is a tool for the powerless in effecting political change. In contrast, the *cognitive engagement* model emphasizes education, which gives people the ability and willingness to process complex political and social issues. Membership, then, is a tool for the educated for political access and influence. Lastly, the *social capital* model emphasizes the value of interacting with others in civic organizations, where norms of reciprocity are built. Membership, then, is a tool for engaging other interested actors. Each model receives qualified support in Whiteley's study of 36 countries participating in the 2004 International Social Survey Programme Citizenship Study.

The question of how people choose to join political associations has chiefly fallen to sociologists and has provided fertile ground for the development of social network theory and methods (Diani 2002). In short, network connections are a primary means for recruitment and mobilization in political associations (see Handbook Chapters 7 and 27). Lim (2008) provides both good explanation of network arguments regarding membership recruitment and retention as well as reanalysis of Citizen Participation Study data collected by Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995). Lim visits common explanations for what types and strength of ties lead to successful recruitment into political associations. He finds that ties through associational membership (Whiteley's *social capital* ties) help to recruit for protests, but not for community politics and for drives to contact government officials. In contrast, knowing somebody outside associational memberships increases the likelihood of successful recruitment for community politics and contact with officials. When people know each other well (direct, strong tie), recruitment is successful on all three types of political action.

3. Acquisition and retention in religious congregations

Religious congregations fulfill many functions from which their members benefit, easing the burden of recruitment and retention. Cnaan and Curtis (2013) summarize research on these benefits: shared expression and validation of beliefs, facilitation and organization of interaction and social activities, education, promotion of volunteering and civic activity, growing of cultural capital, and improvement of overall community well-being. Participation in religious activities positively influences overall health – physical and mental. However, recruitment and retention differ according to whether religious association is being developed in (1) religiously free societies versus (2) more restrictive ones. Access to benefits is influenced by the levels of religious freedom in a particular country. To illustrate, we consider research on religious congregation membership from the United States and China. According to the Pew Research Center (2014), the United States ranks as a country with low government restriction on religion index, while China has a very high index score.

In the United States, research has focused on various aspects of congregational membership. Recruitment of new members often takes the form of personal invitation (Putnam and Campbell 2012). Larger evangelical churches, however, have been using sophisticated business-oriented tactics to recruit members such a direct mail, leaflets, media, billboards, and the internet. Among American megachurches, advertising and strategic planning are leading recruiting strategies (Newman and Brechender 2008).

Scheitle and Dougherty (2010) analyzed the effects of race on the length of congregational membership in the United States and found that minority members tend to have a shorter congregational tenure. Olson (2008) showed that small religious groups have more committed members due to high turnover rates. Other studies showed positive influence of variables such as the member's more traditional beliefs on their identification with a congregation (Stroope 2001), the effects of social class on the introduction of new members (Schwadel 2012), or the general fluidity of membership in American religious organizations (Putnam and Campbell 2012).

In contrast, restrictions of religious congregations in China introduce complexity in recruitment and retention that makes it fundamentally different from proselytizing in more open societies (Vala and O'Brien 2007). Though current law allows freedom of belief, it does not explicitly guarantee the freedom to practice religion. Yang (2006) distinguishes three types of religious markets in China: *red* (Buddist, Daoist, Muslim, Protestant, and Catholic organizations endorsed by the Communist Party); *black* (banned religious groups); and *gray* market (organizations whose legal status is not clear). Government provides guidelines on aspects such as proselytizing, which is officially allowed only on the premises of red market congregations. According to Yang, the size of

the gray market fluctuates with the introduction of stronger regulations, as it serves as a space for individuals who do not want to be part of the underground (black) religion market.

This split is visible in recruitment and retention in Chinese Christian churches: Protestant house churches that are organized without government approval or registration exhibit higher exclusivity in congregational membership. On the contrary, Three-Self churches have a very fluid membership base and, despite their official status, do not keep track of their members by the means of registration (Xie 2010).

4. Acquisition and retention in professional associations

Most research on professional associations focuses on the United States, where professional work and industry associations are common. Bauman (2008) studied which school counselors joined their professional organizations. She learned that their graduate programs' emphasis on professional membership, whether their colleagues were members, and their perceptions of whether the association advanced the field and whether membership conveyed professional identity were central to the decision. White and Olson (2004) surveyed nurses, who reported increase in field knowledge and professional development as key reasons to join their professional associations. These studies point to two different kinds of motivations to join professional associations: (1) personal development and (2) value of broader public goals from collective action.

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, individuals make membership decision based on both personal and communal goals. Olson (1965) emphasized this distinction in his landmark study on collective action, arguing that individuals are overwhelmingly motivated by private gains. Moe (1980) first tested the relative membership valuations of public and private goods among professional associations, but Knoke (1988) assembled new arguments and measures in his study of membership associations, including professional associations.

Knoke (1988) acknowledges that a variety of private or personal incentives motivate membership. One incentive is *social*: members join professional associations for the opportunity to form friendships or for social activities with people who share career aims. Another is *informational*, where the association provides newsletters, data services, and conferences for its members. A third is *occupational*: professional associations provide members help with job searches and professional contacts. A fourth is *material*: professional associations provide group benefits, or field licensing or certification. Knoke's analysis of National Organization Survey data indicates that social and informational incentives motivate internal participation and commitment to the association, but informational incentives are also associated with members who donate less and spend less time volunteering with the association. Occupational incentives

work against commitment. Material incentives motivate external participation, but work against time spent on co-production of outputs and commitment to the association.

However, as a challenge to Olson (1965), Knoke (1988; compare Hager, 2014) was more interested in the value of public goods motivations for joining and participating in professional associations. One such incentive is *normative*, where members value the role of the association in establishing the legitimacy of the field and representing it to the general public. A second is *lobbying* on behalf of the field and those it might represent. Knoke concludes that these public incentives also motivate member action: normative incentives are associated with more internal participation, time spent in co-production, and commitment to the association. Members who value the lobbying function are more involved in external participation and are more committed, although they tend to spend less time in active involvement overall.

More recent research has shed little light on the public–private distinction. Descriptive research on members motivations in professional associations has tended to focus on personal incentives (e.g., DeLeskey 2003), although both the normative (Nerland 2010) and lobbying (Barbieri and Mattozzi 2009) function receive some attention when membership motivations are considered among professional associations.

5. Acquisition and retention in labor/trade unions

Unionization and the capacity of trade unions to attract and maintain their members are studied and discussed from several points of view, including (1) the influence of national and international environmental forces, and (2) the strength and viability of local frameworks. For example, in studying trade unions in Namibia, Jauch (2010) emphasizes both the historical influence of the country's contract labor system in apartheid as well as the need for unions to defend working-class interests at the local level.

As the brief case study above on the decline of union membership across Europe illustrates, unions are strongly subject to the ebbs and flows of social forces. However, density of union membership varies substantially with what Ebbinghaus, Göbel, and Koos (2011) call "institutional and social contextual factors." As entities linked to the performance of a national economy and its politics, the recruitment and retention of membership in unions are subject to business cycles and underlying structural characteristics such as the size of the labor force. Union membership is directly related to the way trade unions and socialist or liberal parties have been able to build strong national institutions. Also, labor market regulation and characteristics of the bargaining system affect member calculations of value in union membership (Visser 2006). Multi-employer bargaining and an inclusive bargaining system may encourage trade

union membership, but may result in free riding if potential members do not perceive individual benefits from membership.

Consequently, other research on union membership emphasizes local frameworks and personal outcomes. Hancké (1993) argues that the main reason a worker joins a union is the workplace; workers evaluate membership primarily in terms of local union action and its ability to deal with questions, grievances, and membership services. Waddington and Whitston (1997) contend that the main reason for workers to join trade unions is to be protected against competition in the labor market. De Witte and colleagues (2008) find similar results in Belgium, Italy, and the Netherlands, but not Sweden. The promise of job protection may be enough to motivate membership in many cases, but in some cases unions must persuade workers to ignore their own financial interest to contribute to a collective project where success or failure depends on the action of others. Rational-choice explanations of union membership assume that individuals decide to become members if the expected benefits of membership exceed opportunity costs. Most recent formulations reject the notion that becoming a trade union member is exclusively the result of environmental and macroeconomic considerations, and embrace the idea that other factors such as attitudes toward unions or ideologies must be considered.

Modern research on worker unions seeks to shed light on the reasons why national union movements have fared so differently, but the role of central and local union structures and their mutual relationship need a new conceptualization. The newly emerging structure of industrial relations not only highlights the importance of transferring more decisions-making power to the locals but also forces unions to rethink their role in the wider political economy.

6. Acquisition and retention in other types of associations

While research on civic, political, religious, professional, and worker union associations cover the majority of scholarship related to membership recruitment and retention, other kinds of associations are represented amid the literature. Research on membership in school alumni associations can be found from around the world, including the United Kingdom (Hall 2011) and South Africa (Rust 2012). McKillop and Wilson (2011) describe the evolution of credit unions around the world, and Gugerty (2007) documents individual motivations of Kenyans for participating in them.

Majee and Hoyt (2010) illustrate how the development of cooperatively structured businesses can increase both the financial and social capital of low-income communities; Hernandez-Espallardo et al. (2013) explore agricultural worker cooperatives in Spain, while Ngugi and Kariuki (2009) do the same for Kenya. In Brazil and most of Latin America, research on associations is commonly linked to broad concepts such as solidarity economy (e.g. França Filho 2004). In this vein, membership-based solidarity associations and cooperatives

recruit members on both a normative base (as an ideological tool to reform or resist capitalism) and an economic one (as generally these associations gather small farmers, waste scavengers, artisans, and other small producers). Lastly, recent research documents efforts to develop local grassroots emergency response teams by organizing into trained local membership teams in Australia (Baxter-Tomkins and Wallace 2009). These topics illustrate the diversity of membership associations where recruitment and retention of members are of primary concern.

E. Usable knowledge

Agatha Christie is credited with saying that "the simplest explanation is always the most likely." In the case of membership recruitment and retention, the simplest answer comes down to asking people to join, asking them to stay, and rewarding them for staying (see also Handbook Chapter 27). In the section on political associations, we note research where various network ties lead to participation, partly because people are able to positively leverage their personal relationships, and partly because people fear social repercussions from letting people down. Andreoni and Rao (2011) studied the value of 'the ask' under experimental conditions and concluded that personal communication is key to influencing the feelings of empathy and pro-social behavior that lead to giving and joining. Often, the best way to get people to join and stay is simply to ask them.

F. Future trends and needed research

Nearly three decades ago, Knoke (1986) observed that despite a lack of consensus on the central issues regarding associations and the ways that scholars should study them, research on joining and participation had attracted the interest of many researchers. That continues to be true, with robust research on membership recruitment and retention dominating both practical and conceptual research across a rich array of association types (see Handbook Chapters in Part IV).

   Despite this vibrancy, Knoke's concerns about theoretical disarray still ring true today. Researchers from around the world draw on a variety of disciplinary bases to study membership associations from a variety of points of view. Psychologists point to motivations, economists point to institutional forces, and sociologists point to network connections, all of which shed light on different pieces of the membership and retention puzzle. What our scholarship needs on this topic is a more holistic theoretical approach that draws on various disciplinary bases and explains an even greater, more general assortment of recruitment and retention questions than is possible through the current

cacophony of scholarly work. Smith's (2017) S-Theory reflects this goal, and has been successfully tested (with a regression equation explaining over 67% of the variance in formal volunteering) on national sample survey data for Russians (Smith 2015; see also Handbook Chapter 31). However, much future testing is needed for S-Theory in a variety of other nations.

Our review also uncovered research that mostly draws inferences from relationships between variables measured for large numbers of cases. We uncovered fewer studies that thickly describe and explain recruitment and retention efforts for specific organizations or movements. Such studies would give us more insights into the specific mechanisms that drive associational behavior.

Finally, a stronger attention to context-based concepts and data outside of the OECD countries is needed. Henrich, Heine, and Norenzayan (2010) have used many multi-national data sets to show that people in WEIRD (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, Democratic) nations are unrepresentative of the global human population. Houtzager and Acharya (2011) argue that the notion of members and membership-based association must be adapted when studying Third Wave democracies such as Brazil, Mexico, and India. Many of these countries' so-called community associations have mostly informal membership bases and define their role as acting with or for a particular community or target population as opposed to acting as a gathering of equal members.

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39
Resource Attraction and Marketing by Associations

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A. Introduction

Resources for a nonprofit are understood to mean money, people, plant, technology, and brand/reputation. Unless otherwise stated, nonprofits are here taken to include the full range from volunteer-run/volunteer-led, small grassroots associations through to very large, paid-staff–dominated nonprofit agencies (cf. Smith 2015a, 2015b). Handbook Chapters 38, 40–44, and 46–50 consider major input and process issues of membership associations operating in the nonprofit sector, with some attention also to volunteer service programs as departments of larger, parent organizations (cf. Handbook Chapters 15 and 16). All are challenging, but resource attraction and maintenance are particularly crucial issues, given the intense competition for resources among associations, as for all nonprofits. This chapter looks at resource attraction through a marketing theory lens. The resources of nonprofits are finance, people (paid, partially paid, and voluntary/unpaid), physicals (buildings, plant, etc.), and reputation/brand. For most nonprofits, the first three resources are in short supply, and the last one is ambiguous in its meaning to different stakeholders and is costly and time consuming to manage.

B. Definitions

This chapter accepts the general definitions of terms in the Handbook Appendix. Key special terms for this chapter include the following:

beneficiary: Person, group, or organization that receives the benefit of some product (good or service) of an MA (membership association) or other NPO (nonprofit organization).

brand: "Name, term, design, symbol, or any other feature that identifies one seller's good or service as distinct from those of other sellers." (American Marketing Association, 2015).

customer: "Depending on the firm's business, a *customer* might be defined as an individual, household, screen-name, division, or business who bought, ordered, or registered" (American Marketing Association, 2015). For MAs and other nonprofit organizations (NPOs), customers are usually termed to be *recipients*, not *customers*.

dues (membership dues): Obligatory annual payments by formal or official members of an association.

gifts-in-kind: An object of value that is given to an individual, group, or organization, sometimes as part of a marketing effort or campaign.

good(s): In economics and marketing, an object of value (as contrasted with a service of value) produced, provided, or sold by an individual, group, or organization.

marketization: (1) Long-term process of the nonprofit sector, including non-profit agencies, of becoming more commercialized and thus focused mainly on income and the marketing of products; (2) Development and implementation of a strategy for marketing some product (good and/or service).

product(s): Goods and/or services produced, provided, or sold by an individual, group, or organization.

relationship marketing: "Marketing with the conscious aim to develop and manage long-term and/or trusting relationships with customers, distributors, suppliers, or other parties in the marketing environment" (American Marketing Association, 2015).

reputation: Positive, neutral, or negative image and feelings of people toward an individual, group, or organization and its products (goods and/or services). Preferred term in this chapter as an approximate synonym for *brand*.

resource(s): Finance (assets, income), people (paid, partially paid, and volunteer/unpaid), physicals (buildings, plant, equipment, etc.) and reputation/brand.

service(s): "Services, as a term, is used to describe activities [of value] performed by sellers and others that accompany the sale of a product and aid in its exchange or its utilization" (American Marketing Association, 2015).

stakeholder: "One of a group of publics with which a company [or non-profit organization] must be concerned. Key stakeholders include consumers, employees, stockholders, suppliers, and others who have some relationship with the organization" (American Marketing Association, 2015).

C. Historical background and theory

Resource attraction became an issue in history the moment people started cooperating in groups outside the nuclear family – in other words, long before commercial models of activity were even envisioned. For example, recruiting another family group which had a good hunter, or that had children

coming into adulthood, would be considered an advantageous addition to the group. In this way, the flows of material, and also of immaterial, resources in preliterate, hunting-gathering and later horticultural societies instituted and sustained social relations (e.g., Nolan and Lenski 2006; Sahlins 1972). Later ancient agrarian, authoritarian, and stable societies provided powerful authority structures and behavioral norms that made resource attraction easier to effect than in contemporary societies with more liberated nuclear families, with self-reliance considered an attribute over dependency on others.

In late modern and contemporary societies, nonprofits have had to spend increasing amounts of time, money, and expertise on resource attraction. This coincides with the dominant paradigm in nonprofit resource development in most developed societies being marketing (Kotler and Levy 1969; subsequently, among others, Bruce 1994; Lovelock and Weinberg 1984; Rados 1981; Rees 1998; Sargeant 1995). However, the institutionalized position of the marketing paradigm may vary. For instance, in countries using the social economy paradigm, the marketing model is modified (e.g., Larivet 2010) and in developing countries it may be rejected altogether (e.g., Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2005). Within marketing, the dominant paradigm has been product/ transaction marketing, where products are a mixture of goods, services, and ideas (cf. the development of the definition of marketing by the American Marketing Association; also Andreasen and Kotler 2007; Bruce 1994; Shostack 1977; Vargo and Lusch 2004). A different stream of marketing thinking highly relevant to nonprofit resource attraction is relationship marketing (RM).

Relationship maintenance is a key factor in managing organizational resources (Gummesson 2002), and especially so for nonprofits (Macedo and Pinho 2006). Relationship building is the organizational task of relating to the various actors in the operational environment. This work is in the literature discussed under various names, such as, market/marketing orientation and social/societal orientation (among others Gainer and Padanyi 2005; Laczniak and Murphy 2012; Liao, Foreman, and Sargeant 2001; Lusch and Webster 2011; Petkus 2000). Market/marketing orientation concentrates on the needs of customers, whereas social/societal orientation considers the impact of marketing and other organizational behaviors in a wider networked framework consisting of various stakeholders.

Whether the goals of nonprofits are altruistic or related to the particular constituency of members, followers, or *customers*, the most fundamental aim of nonprofit activity is to create value for involved actors while managing various conflicting stakeholder interests (e.g., Ingenbleek and Immink 2010; Laamanen and Skålén 2014; Macedo and Pinho 2006; Petkus 2000; Warnaby and Finney 2005; for a general discussion on customer value, see Grönroos 2011; and Vargo and Lusch 2004). Value creation literature in marketing considers the main organizational objectives of such activity in the co-creation of assets and long-term resources, such as knowledge and skills, together with the users (e.g.,

Vargo and Lusch 2004). While most of this literature concentrates on immediate interactions between providers and their customers, a larger societal outlook moves away from concentrating on single actors, such as donors, beneficiaries, or end users (e.g., Pope, Isely, and Asamoa-Tutu 2009), and marketing management in tactical terms (e.g., Akchin 2001; Brennan and Brady 1999; Dolnicar and Lazarevski 2009). Accordingly, understanding the relevance of the nonprofit organization's offering and its activities in relations with its stakeholders is essential for organizational longevity, meeting stakeholder needs, and securing organizational resources. Relevance further links to relational commitment and trust (MacMillan et al. 2005).

At the heart of the relational approach, as opposed to the product/transaction approach, is generating an understanding of the constituencies, especially the customers. A further way to approach this is through Appreciative Inquiry (AI) theory, which was developed in the 1980s by David Cooperrider and colleagues at Case Western Reserve University (e.g., Cooperrider and Whitney 2005). A simple understanding of AI is that, as a theory and application, it builds on people's strengths (or assets) and encourages them to co-construct and deliver actions that will satisfy their dreams (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993). AI attempts to strengthen community members' coping skills, bolster their potential, and negate the difficulties they experience (Lewis, Passmore, and Cantore 2008; Mathie and Cunningham 2008).

We argue that with regards to securing and maintaining resources nonprofits need to consider both offerings as outputs as well as relationships, especially those that provide resources. Considering the various approaches to marketing, we can conceive that they represent various points of view: firstly, what the organization can produce (offering), the stakeholder networks it is embedded in (relationship), and how to match organizational and beneficiary capacities (AI). In the following section, we discuss the key issues for resource attraction in both theoretical and practical terms, as well as point to future research topics.

D. Key issues

1. Resource challenges for small versus large nonprofit organizations

Fund-raising for money and goods in kind is widespread by nonprofits, including associations, throughout the world: For example, in Nigeria, Russia, the People's Republic of China, the Middle East, and South America (Mersianova and Yakobson 2010; Salamon et al. 1999; Wang and Liu 2007). In developed resource-attracting markets such as the United States and the United Kingdom, attracting financial resources is dominated by the relatively few larger organizations with strong brands that are widely known and trusted (e.g., as listed in the annual edition of the UK Civil Society Almanac – Clark et al. 2012). This is also likely to be the case in the formerly mentioned countries such as Nigeria, South Africa, and South America. The vastly larger number of small nonprofits

attracts only a tiny fraction of the financial resources and appears to be unable to compete with the few well-known and well-off, well-branded nonprofits.

However, small nonprofits attract a category of resource in a market where the large nonprofits are proportionately less strong, arguably with the United States as an exception – volunteers. Even where a large nonprofit uses a high number of volunteers, the value of their contribution in comparison to the total resource of the large nonprofit is often a smaller proportion than in a typical small nonprofit (Bruce 2011; Jas et al. 2002). For example, in the United Kingdom, valued at the minimum wage, volunteer hours attracted by small nonprofits move toward rebalancing the resource distribution from large to small nonprofits (Bruce 2011; Jas et al. 2002). Volunteer human resources do not apply only to developed countries. In a seminal study across several southern African countries, Wilkinson-Maposa (2005) and her coauthors show that the systemic contribution of relations of help among and between poor people is a powerful contributor to community well-being. This further illustrates the power of co-creation highlighting the collective *philanthropy of community* as opposed to *"doing" philanthropy for/or to a community*.

How should large and small nonprofits respond to these positionings in the two resource markets: money and volunteers? Common sense suggests that large and small organizations should address their weaknesses. However, marketers would encourage organizations to build on their strengths. A 5% expansion where one has a large market share has much more impact than a 5% expansion of a small market share.

2. How do nonprofit managers/leaders formulate resource-attracting offerings that are true to beneficiary needs and the philosophy of the organization, but that are attractive to the resource providers (e.g., donors/potential donors, volunteers/potential volunteers, staff/potential staff, state contractors)?

The marketing mix of product, price, promotion, and place (Borden 1964), including, in its extended form, people, physical evidence, process (Booms and Bitner 1981), and philosophy (Bruce 1994), can guide associations and non-profit agencies in the development of successful resource-attracting offerings. Nonprofits' offering is a mixture of goods, services, and ideas with resource-attracting products being strongly idea dominated (Bruce 1994; Fine 1981; Kotler and Levy 1969; Shostack 1977). Indeed, it can be argued that the successful fund-raiser takes the service-dominated product aimed at the beneficiary and translates it into an idea-dominated product aimed at the donor featuring those real beneficiary benefits which are most likely to appeal to the donor or resource provider (Bruce 1998). Due to the commercial roots of marketing management, most theory accepts the assumption that the purchaser and the user/consumer are the same individual, or at least in close proximity, such as

in a household. However, what makes nonprofit marketing particularly challenging is the divergence and distance of the users/consumers/beneficiaries, who often do not pay for the goods and services rendered on their behalf, and the purchasers/resource providers, who as different individuals from a different social positions may well have different needs and wishes than those individuals whom the nonprofit serves.

3. How does building and maintaining relevance to cause/ mission relate to resources?

Small nonprofits, as discussed here, especially local (grassroots) associations, are often groups with limited financial and physical resources at their disposal. Hence, it becomes essential to generate access to and maintain the supply of such resources. This entails maintaining a reputation and a scale of activity that enables relationship building over a network of relationships. Through vertical and horizontal networking, nonprofits may secure resources from a variety of sources (Cravens and Piercy 1994). Such nonprofits are created and maintained through relevance to the various supporters (e.g., members, donors, individual purchasers, volunteers) and stakeholders (e.g., staff, board members, powerful donors), who provide resources either directly or indirectly.

In this context, branding provides a strong tool for generating emotional connections to the providers of essential resources. Helmig and Scholz (2010) show the nonprofit brand value chain. Hankinson (2002) shows that high brand-oriented fund-raising managers attract significantly more voluntary income than low brand-oriented ones. Metz, He, and Vargo (2009) define the concurrent era of brands founded in dynamic social processes where various stakeholders in interaction have agency in the cocreation of a brand. Given their agency and involvement, the meaning of a brand becomes embedded in the minds of the customers and wider groups of stakeholders (cf. Ballantyne and Aitken, 2007). It is however to be kept in mind that branding is a means to an end. Keeping true to the RM paradigm, it can be questioned whether a supporter or a stakeholder can have a meaningful relationship with a nonprofit brand (O'Malley, Patterson, and Kelly-Holmes, 2008). For resource attraction and maintenance purposes, personal interaction becomes important and sustained interpersonal proximity works for nonprofits. Ideally, brand co-creation generates value to the individuals as well as communities of stakeholders, for instance in the form of cultural or social capital through the generation of interaction, commitment, and trust.

4. What activities and processes are required to manage relationships that supply resources?

Contemporary marketing theory would suggest that the key aspect of success in any market is related to the ability to build relationships for co-creation with the decisive audience. This approach has been taken up to some extent in the

nonprofit world (Bruce 2011; Burnett 1996; Knox and Gruar 2007; Palmer, Wise and Penney 1999, Sargeant and Lee 2004; Wymer, Knowles, and Gomes 2006). As seen above, relevance of the nonprofit, its brand, and, most importantly, its activities are the dimensions that impact availability of resources and the sustainability of those relationships that provide them. Ultimately, conceiving the operations of a nonprofit in terms of co-creation signifies a departure from the idea that a producer has the ability to manage image, production, offering, and consumption (cf. Grönroos 2008; Vargo and Lusch 2004).

Co-creation is fundamentally the idea of producers, consumers (in nonprofits, beneficiaries), and increasingly other stakeholders sharing the value creation processes that in effect provide benefits for the parties involved (e.g., Grönroos 2011). Operations of nonprofits are thus conceived as coproduction and co-consumption with their various stakeholders. In co-creation, the line between the relational roles of the producer, the customer, and other actors becomes ontologically blurred (Normann 2001). As a result, resources are pooled and shared in the creation, production, and consumption of an offering. This approach and enactment can be called collaborative marketing, which is a development of the relational perspective to marketing (e.g., Cova and Cova 2012). It calls into question the functionalist perspective of the bulk of non-profit marketing (cf. Akchin 2001; Brennan and Brady 1999; Dolnicar and Lazarevski 2009), which treats particularly the customers as passive recipients of a predetermined and producer-generated value and producers endowed with the required resources.

5. How to build on beneficiaries' resource capacity?

Appreciative Inquiry, as one of the modalities available to engage all stakeholders in decision making for nonprofits, has influenced nonprofit marketing on this issue. At first sight, the two approaches have similarities: they focus on people's views, they cluster people into segments, they regard people's wishes as key guides to action, and they see people as co-constructers of the actions which arise. However, they are different in that marketing starts from people's needs (AI from their strengths), often from an implicit assumption of need/dependency (AI from competence/independence), from an exogenous approach (AI from an endogenous one), from largely top down (AI from bottom up), and from people as recipients (AI as collaborators or partners) (Bruce and Nel 2010; Kretzmann and McKnight 1993; Mathie and Cunningham 2008; Schenck, Nel, and Louw 2010). So, adopting an AI orientation in nonprofit marketing embraces the strengths of beneficiaries as a resource.

6. How to build internal capabilities toward relationship building and resource attraction?

As seen above, an orientation toward the customers/beneficiaries, supporters, stakeholders, and market is replacing the traditional product orientation.

Becoming *market* oriented requires change: organizational culture and values guide behavior and performance. Ultimately, the employee and/or volunteer staffs' attitudes and activities work to promote or obstruct market orientation (Gainer and Padanyi 2005). Managing attitudes is a matter of internal marketing whereby attending to employees and/or volunteers as customers aims to permeate the organization to achieve its goals. The employees and/or volunteers are the first market engaged with as partners to ensure combining internal efforts and processes with external efficiency (Grönroos 2007).

According to Grönroos (2007), internal marketing rests on a combination of service-oriented and customer-focused mindset, adequate skills, support systems, and leadership. Gainer and Padanyi (2005) further contend that inclusive leadership improves the chances of success in creating client-oriented culture. The benefits of creating customer orientation are best effected where RM "mediates the relationship between engagement in a specific set of activities and higher levels of client satisfaction with the organization, its programs and its role in the community" (Gainer and Padanyi 2005:860).

7. What are the kinds of collaborative linkages required?

The successful implementation of co-creation and community engagement allows for the creation of collaborative linkages that provide access to depositories of resources, skills, and material. Literature dealing with the complexity of collaboration, and taking it above the rhetorical level of *collaboration is good,* include Schiller and Almog-Bar (2013), Austin (2000), and Linden (2010). Along with the characteristics of relationship-based collaborative marketing, activities of co-creation are using resources to the benefit of others in an interactive networked context (Grönroos 2011; Lusch and Webster 2011; Vargo and Lusch 2004).

E. Usable Knowledge

1. Resource challenges of small versus large nonprofits:

Small nonprofits, particularly grassroots associations, should concentrate on recruiting/involving their community/volunteers and not seek or rely on major fundraising efforts. While larger (national) nonprofits may try and recruit large numbers of volunteers, their efforts at fund-raising are likely to be relatively more successful.

2. How do nonprofit managers formulate resource-attracting offerings which are true to beneficiary needs and the philosophy of the nonprofit but which are also attractive to the resource providers?

The co-creation of resource-attracting offerings should use the marketing mix as a checklist of attributes which need to be present – namely, product, price,

promotion, place, people, physical evidence, processes, and philosophy. The core resource-attracting product is likely to be the service-dominated product aimed at the beneficiary which should be translated into an idea/product aimed at the resource provider – featuring those benefits to the beneficiary which are most likely to appeal to the donor or other resource provider

3. How does building and maintaining relevance to cause/ mission relate to resources?

Nonprofits draw on causes as their raison d'être. A cause gives a nonprofit agency but in reality is often regarded by the nonprofit as ancillary to ways of operating. While it is important that audiences, supporters, and stakeholders recognize causes, the true test is whether these groups appreciate and resonate with the image and activities of the particular nonprofit. Branding provides a means of encapsulating an image and point(s) of identification for the different target groups and so actually (or potentially) provides a resource for the nonprofit.

4. What activities and processes are required to manage relationships that supply resources?

Nonprofits should aim to integrate their beneficiaries, supporters, and stakeholders to the cause by developing possibilities for co-creating activities and offerings. The marketing mix is a secondary tool, which can be used to support active participation in large and small nonprofit offerings.

5. How to build on beneficiaries' resource capacity?

Appreciative Inquiry, as a management modality that honors stakeholder perspectives, rests on the idea that in every system – individual, family, group, organization, or community – something works well. This is an assumption, which nonprofit marketers can easily adopt. It is important to focus on what works in influencing the way in which people perceive themselves. When a group (e.g., of beneficiaries) questions a long-lasting assumption and realizes that it may not be true, they understand that they have power over their own future. Other assumptions begin to be challenged, and images of the future that emerge previously seemed impossible (Ashford and Patkar 2001; Mathie and Cunningham 2008; Schenck, Nel, and Louw 2010). A key principle of Appreciative Inquiry is that it is a generative process. Every participant makes a contribution, and it is created and constantly recreated by the people who use it (Schenck, Nel, and Louw 2010; Watkins and Mohr 2001; Whitney, Trosten-Bloom, and Rader 2010).

6. How to build internal capabilities toward relationship building and resource attraction?

It is through their work that nonprofits achieve a status in the community, and their performance is evaluated by the work they do. Although resources need to be attracted, it is also essential to embrace the idea that, internally, resources need to be actively managed. Capabilities and competencies required for day-to-day operations are located within the organization. Drawing on Grönroos' (2007) ideas on internal marketing, nonprofits should adopt a service-oriented and customer-focused mindset supported by adequate skills, support systems, and leadership.

7. What are the kinds of collaborative linkages required?

Collaborative linkages are long-term affairs that connect skills and resources. To be successful these linkages must exhibit trust. Relationship marketing can play a key role in building and maintaining trust between collaborators and other customers and stakeholders. Where resource sharing is a promising solution, there is a possible threat of negative effects of collaborative linkages. There needs to be a plan in place in case of critical incidents: for instance, what happens if a partner organization is entangled in a crisis and collaborators are affected by their tarnished image. Eight models of collaboration were identified from a repository of more than 600 examples that emerged from the first US-based National Collaboration Prize held in 2008 (AIM 2009). At least one database of practical collaborations has been created, the Lodestar Nonprofit Collaboration Database located at the US Foundation Center (http://collaboration.foundationcenter.org/search/).

F. Future trends and needed research

We expect in the future intensifying competition for scarce resources in larger associations and nonprofit agencies, and also increasing competition for members and volunteers even in local, grassroots associations (see Handbook Chapters 32, 38, and 50). As we hope to have established, a stakeholder relationship perspective is highly relevant and promising to both associations and nonprofit agencies. Nevertheless, some hurdles may still hinder a wider adaptation, the roots of which are related to paradigmatic ideals or a lack of understanding. To address these we examine the following avenues for future research.

It is interesting, given the high level of its acceptance in commercial marketing, that the relationship paradigm has not become widespread in noncommercial contexts. This raises a wider question of why nonprofit leaders are so cautious toward marketing as a relevant management tool? Bruce (1995) has

hypothesized reasons for this caution (such as demand exceeding supply, non-profit monopolistic behavior, and the practice of professional distance), but we need research to establish the number and relative depth of the negative perceptions, how real they are, and how they might be overcome.

Apart from this foundational issue, three other major issues arise that have, to our knowledge, been neglected in previous research. First, market development, which in the context of this chapter relates to access to, and quantity of, resources. For instance, how is it possible better to balance demand for resources with supply, and does a *natural growth* of resources take place stimulated by demand?

Second, increasing competition impacts availability and renders resources (money, people, plant, and technology) highly contested. What is missing is an understanding of what nonprofits do in order to handle the situation. What are the means available for these organizations? How do they innovate solutions?

Third, there is the hypothesized phenomenon of supporter fatigue. This phenomenon is related to flows of volunteers and financial resources that can be critically impacted by increasing competition among nonprofits (as presented above), changes in the everyday lives of supporters (e.g., work–life balance, perceptions of volunteering), and similar variables. If this phenomenon exists, how it can be addressed, ameliorated, or avoided, because it can be a critical challenge to nonprofits.

G. Cross references

Chapters 5, 6, 9, 11, 12, 15, 17–24, 38, 44, 49, and 50.

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40
Avoiding Bureaucratization and Mission Drift in Associations

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A. Introduction

This chapter reviews research that suggests, contrary to Weber's and Michels' predictions, bureaucracy and oligarchy *are* avoidable, as evidenced by the many nonprofit organizations today that manage to avoid both tendencies, especially local associations but also some national associations. Such associations gravitate toward highly democratic and egalitarian practices, including giving all members a say, rather than relying upon hierarchal decision-making. Members usually believe that participatory and egalitarian practices are more likely to foster desired outcomes and empower members. In spite of pressures for efficiency and stability, associations can retain their missions and participatory-democratic processes by adhering to values, sharing knowledge relevant to the association's tasks, supporting sustained dialog, engaging in storytelling, cultivating associational norms that encourage individual voice and mutual support, and building community ties.

Over a hundred years ago, Max Weber (2009) explained why a bureaucratic mode of organization would come to dominate all modern societies and all domains of society. With this insight, the study of organizations was born. Weber not only outlined his well-known characteristics of bureaucracy but also explained how the hierarchy, the rules, and the procedures of bureaucracy would become normalized and accepted. His explanation of the spread of the bureaucratic mode was quickly followed by Frederick Taylor's insistence (1911) that industry must establish workplaces along specialized, hierarchical, closely supervised, and rule-bound lines if it was to achieve ultimate efficiency. In that same year, Robert Michels (1911) argued that even organizations with social purposes and democratic aspirations at their founding will end up yielding to "the iron law of oligarchy." These arguments for the inexorability of bureaucracy and oligarchy so influenced the development of organization studies that Gouldner (1970) later described the whole field of organization studies as a "series of footnotes to Weber."

With the bureaucratic way so enshrined and established in virtually every domain of modern societies, why would contemporary researchers even look for counter examples, for organizations that would reject the bureaucratic model and resist its encroachment? There are three main reasons:

(1) First, before his death, Weber (2009) himself came to understand and to dread the loss of human creativity and autonomy that bureaucracy would compel. In his words, from a speech he delivered in 1909:

> This passion for bureaucracy . . . is enough to drive one to despair. It is as if . . . we were deliberately to become men who need "order," and nothing but order, who become nervous and cowardly if for one moment this order wavers, and helpless if they are torn away from their total incorporation (in the bureaucracy) . . . The great question is therefore not how we can promote and hasten it, but what we can do to oppose this machinery in order to keep a portion of mankind free from this parceling out of the soul, from this supreme mastery of the bureaucratic way of life.

Thus, too often forgotten in the drive to bureaucratize nonprofit organizations (NPOs) is Weber's own warning that, in the interest of human freedom and human values, the bureaucratic machine is to be resisted, not embraced.

(2) Second, substantive human values – like the social purposes of many, if not most, NPOs – often get suppressed, if not entirely lost, in the quest to build careers, keep numeric accounts, abide by rules and procedures, and follow authority lines – all of which are part and parcel of what it means to bureaucratize. From this point of view, it may be especially self-defeating for NPOs, including nonprofit agencies and especially voluntary associations (Smith 2015a, 2015b), to try to mimic bureaucratic methods.

(3) Third, and most importantly, over the past 30 years thousands (perhaps tens of thousands) of small-scale, grassroots associations (cf. Smith 2000) have emerged, with very definite social change purposes in mind, that have explicitly resisted the hierarchical authority relations, rules, procedures, and division of labor that define bureaucracy (cf. Burstein and Linton 2002; Bush 1992; Bystydzienski and Sekhon 1999; Chetkovich and Kunreuther 2006; Eberly and Streeter 2002; Handy, Kassam, Feeney, and Ranade 2007; Rochester 2013; Skrentny 2004; Siriani and Friedland 2001; Smith 2000; Sommer 2001; Stout 2010; see also Handbook Chapters 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 32, 50, 51, and 54). In their place, they have struggled to develop egalitarian, cooperative and voluntary ways of relating and of accomplishing tasks. They have striven to offer equal voice to all who would be engaged in the activities of the association or social movement group.

Examples of these contemporary anti-bureaucratic organizations include everything from micro-credit groups in less developed countries to workers'

cooperatives and communes of different types all over the world to social movement groups, such as OCCUPY (Razsa and Kurnik 2012). These associations represent, in their very way of being, efforts to develop a fourth form of legitimacy and organization, one in which a decision is not legitimate unless everyone who would be affected by it has been invited to take part in making it, where voice replaces hierarchy as the organizing principle and where activity is freely (not coercively) engaged. A large research literature has grown up concerning these emergent non-hierarchical organizations, and it is the purpose of this review chapter to summarize the most important findings from this research specifically applicable to membership associations (MAs).

B. Definitions

This chapter accepts the definitions presented in the Appendix of the Handbook. In addition, we state the following definitions:

Organizational/associational goals: The outcomes or results sought by an association, which may be stated and official, or unofficial but operative, as noted below (see Etzioni 1975:103, 122; Glaser and Sills 1966:175; Perrow 1961).

Official/stated/formal goals: Outcomes sought that are found in an association's formal or legal documents, such as an association's charter, constitution, by-laws, or mission statement – *De jure* goals.

Unofficial/operative/informal goals: Outcomes actually sought by the association, as seen in its current/recent allocation of various resources and usually a reflection of the wishes of current top leaders – *De facto* goals.

Goal succession: The process whereby initial or prior official goals of an association change over time, often changing the basic character/nature of the association (Glaser and Sills 1966:193–198).

Goal displacement: The process whereby initial or prior official goals of an association (or other NPO) seeking useful outcomes for members and/or external recipients are replaced by operative goals focused on sheer association survival, maintenance, and growth, irrespective of useful goal attainment (Sills 1957:62–69).

Mission drift: A gradual process of an association (or other NPO) moving toward the actual/operative pursuit of other main goals or purposes than those that the group was established to achieve and that are usually still its official/stated goals.

C. Historical background

Organization scholars (e.g., Selznick 1943; Sills 1957) have long been aware of the tendency for any kind of organization either to change its goals

consciously over time (goal succession) or to gradually drift away from its initial goals of service or productivity in favor of sheer organizational survival, rule enforcement, or maintenance/growth (goal displacement). The discussion of the goal displacement process in bureaucracies by Blau and Scott (1962:228) suggests that this tends to occur when, in the course of adopting means to attain organizational goals, the means may become ends in themselves that displace the original goals. Goal succession is a normal adaptive response of an association when it achieves its goals, and its leaders still want the association to exist (Aldrich1979:211). [For a more detailed discussion of goal changes in associations, see Handbook Chapter 3 on Typologies of Associations and Volunteering.]

D. Key issues

1.   Why Do Some Organizations Choose Egalitarian/Anti-Hierarchical Approaches?

What motivates people to found or participate in organizations of this type, especially voluntary associations? First and foremost, researchers have found that it is shared social purposes that bring people together. Also, in many cases, the egalitarian and voluntary nature of the organization (i.e., its processes) is a big part of what attracts participants to this type of organization. According to data from the 1989 American Values Survey, people who say that "helping people in need is essential" are four times more likely to volunteer in an NPO (Wuthnow 2004). Thus, social purposes are germane in almost all nonprofit and voluntary groups, and we know that people tend to view NPOs as more trustworthy (than business organizations) and more likely to pursue values of importance (Frumkin and Andre-Clark 2000; Moore 2000). Perhaps for this reason, people are willing to work harder for NPOs (Knutsen 2013). As Rothschild and Milofsky (2006) forcefully argue, "values, passions, and ethics" are central in the nonprofit sector. This is especially true for associations (Eberly and Streeter 2002; Rochester 2013; Smith 2015a; Stout 2010), as contrasted with nonprofit agencies, foundations, and other nonprofits (Smith 2015b).

Beyond this general orientation to volunteerism in itself, the participants in these anti-bureaucratic organizations, mainly associations not nonprofit agencies (cf. Smith 2015a, 2015b), are drawn to the idea of producing a special type of public good or service that they see as especially needed and largely ignored by the mainstream. Alternative media outlets, feminist health clinics, micro-credit groups, artists' cooperatives, or law collectives to serve the poor all provide vivid examples of organizations that can fulfill an important social purpose but that are often unavailable. Given these public benefit and/or social change values, many of these groups go to the next step: They believe that *how*

the organization goes about its business – *its processes* – *should reflect and model its social values*.

Although conventional bureaucratic practices may enhance efficiency and stability, these anti-hierarchical groups worry that efficiency and stability would be quite insufficient for realizing their substantive values. They thus adopt collectivist or democratic organizing practices and methods such as decision-making by consensus, rotating tasks, sharing of task accomplishment, and social or collective ownership (Rothschild and Whitt 1986). Examples of such groups include worker cooperatives that manufacture goods (Cheney 1999; Whyte and Whyte 1988) or provide services (Brecher 2011), those seeking social change such as philanthropies (Eikenberry 2009; Ostrander 1995), civil rights groups (Polletta 2002), feminist groups (Kleinman 1996; Leidner 1991), and other social movement groups like Occupy Wall Street and its offshoots (Razsa and Kurnik 2012), community-based groups such as those that power Wikipedia (Forte, Larco, and Bruckman, 2009), open source projects (Chen and O'Mahony 2009), art groups (Bryan-Wilson 2009), and communes and Kibbutzim (Kanter 1972; Simons and Ingram 2003).

Most of these groups *believe strongly that adopting participatory and egalitarian practices are more likely to foster the desired outputs*, such as creativity, as evidenced by the Orpheus conductorless orchestra (Khodyakov 2007), the Amber Film and Photography Collective in England (Vail and Hollands 2013), and the organization behind Burning Man, an annual weeklong temporary arts community in the US (Chen 2009). In addition, worker cooperatives and social movement groups view collectivist practices as *empowering members*, allowing them to surmount challenges such as revitalizing economically depressed areas (Brecher 2011), reforming education (Su 2009a), achieving community development and sustainability (Phillips 2012), or fostering transnational movements (della Porta 2005; Doerr 2008).

Similarly, many thousands of self-help groups have been formed by people who find that, in some important way, they share the same circumstances and/or need to overcome the same challenges (see Handbook Chapter 18). They too believe that experienced-based, egalitarian methods of sharing and support are more likely to bring about the personal transformational changes they seek (Borkman 1999, 2006; Habermann 2001; Katz 1993; Riessman and Carroll 1995).

Some groups are intent on avoiding bureaucracy and hierarchy because they want to avoid known problems with bureaucracy, such as unresponsiveness to members' interests and an over-reliance upon hierarchy to make decisions (Iannello 1992; Kleinman 1996). The members of these groups are clear that they want organizations without hierarchy, or at least, without bosses, so that they can become, in fact, self-managing. Indeed, some groups have been known to reject all organizing structure as antithetical to their values (Freeman 1973).

However, this can lead to under-organizing or insufficient organizing practices that do not allow members' efforts to come to fruition. Sometimes, when members try to correct for under-organizing by introducing more structure, they may inadvertently trigger over-organizing, in which organizing practices mix with coercive control and hinder members' efforts (Chen 2009).

Chen (2009) argues that voluntary associations and collectivities can create enabling organizations by astutely *blending* bureaucratic and collectivist practices. Bureaucratic practices can support collectivist practices by providing stability, such as routines, that can smooth over inevitable member turnover. On the other hand, collectivist practices can check the "iron cage" of ever-increasing rationalization by reminding members that efficiency is not the only reason, nor even the key reason, for coming together. Similarly, Bordt (1997) found in her study of feminist nonprofit groups in New York City that many ended up developing a hybrid form, with elements of both bureaucracy and collectivism. These organizations tended to be flatter than the usual hierarchy, and they still had more egalitarian beliefs, but they did contain the sorts of rules and procedures that are the mark of bureaucracy.

2. Does avoidance of bureaucratization help prevent mission drift and goal displacement?

Although organizations with bureaucratic practices are more stable, they are less innovative than ones that rely upon more democratic practices (Staggenborg 1989). This is a key reason why participants who seek more creativity in their methods for pursuing social change or in their actual outputs tend to prefer participatory-democratic organizational forms. However, it is when such organizations seek to gain resources from external funding agencies that mission drift often becomes more problematic.

To the extent that the organization's members and leaders remain wedded to the egalitarian and participatory methods they have pioneered, they will probably stick to their original purposes. After all, since every member is invited to voice their concerns in a regular format and since the tasks of the group are openly discussed and frequently shared or rotated, it would be hard for such groups to stray far from their original intent. If one member tried to stray far, in minutes some members would be voicing concerns, as all members have come to these groups out of a common commitment of considerable meaning to them, or they would not have voluntarily joined the group.

Thus, egalitarian, highly democratic groups usually do not tend toward mission drift, *unless* they are co-opted by outside pressures to conform to bureaucratic ways or more conventional purposes (DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Rothschild and Whitt 1986). However, sometimes association leaders tend toward goal displacement, where organizational survival and resource attraction overpower original goals (see Handbook Chapter 3, Section D 1). Self-help

groups such as Alcoholics Anonymous, committed as they are to peer-based sharing, "have successfully resisted professionalization, bureaucracy and the concentration of power for more than seventy years" (Borkman 2006:158). Twin Oaks, among the longest standing intentional communities in the United States, has for almost 50 years continued to operate along egalitarian principles and with collectively owned property (Rothschild and Tomchin 2006). Although it necessarily does business with the outside world, as, for example, when it sells goods or services to capitalist-owned businesses, Twin Oaks has never been drawn to mimic private ownership, nor hierarchical organization. Instead, it has stuck to a work system it invented at the start, in which every type of labor is valued equally (wherein one hour of one sort of labor equals one hour of every other sort of labor), from an hour spent gardening to an hour spent indexing a book. This re-valuation and radical equalization of all types of labor have allowed Twin Oaks to resist inequalities based on gender, class or labor capacities and to maintain their non-hierarchical form (Bernhards 2013; Rothschild and Tomchin 2006).

Precisely to avoid outside pressures, many groups such as Twin Oaks elect to stay small – both to avoid mission drift and because they want to stick to their original democratic principles. In another example, the Amber Collective declined a lucrative contract to produce a soap opera because fulfilling this contract would entail hiring and managing a staff, thereby introducing bureaucratic practices that could undercut desired democratic practices (Vail and Hollands 2012).

3. External pressures to develop hierarchies and to quantify mission success

As DiMaggio and Powell (1983) explain, it is most often from the outside environment that organizations seeking to provide an "alternative" to mainstream experience isomorphic pressures to conform to it. In modern societies, the environment is bureaucratic: Bureaucratic agencies, be they public or private, are likely to respect rules and hierarchies of authority, not voices and outputs that can be fluid and inconsistent. Thus, as we see growth in government–nonprofit relationships and inter-dependencies, and in particular, where we see nonprofits spend much of their time trying to secure contracts and grants, we see the development of a "contract culture" of hierarchical decision-making and control by Boards of Directors replacing more democratic and volunteer-based forms (Coston 1998; David 2007; Kramer 1994; Kristmundsson 2009; Perri and Kendall 1997; S. Smith 2010; Young 2000). Collaboration of non-profit organizations with both government and businesses has been one of the important factors that have led to professionalization and commercialization in the voluntary sector (Galaskiewicz and Colman 2006; Guo 2006; Salamon 2003; Suarez 2011). Research has shown a strong correlation between

professionalization and *less participation* of volunteers (see Skocpol 2003) and greater potential for mission drift (Copestake 2007). Sadly, it is sometimes the need to acquire resources that leads to unwanted hierarchy and mission drift, as the organization must now send "leaders" to speak for it and it must now keep accounts and justify its processes and outcomes in a way that will please its generally bureaucratic donors (Christenson and Ebrahim 2006; Matthews 1994). However, less frequently, professionalization has also been known to radicalize organizations (Jenkins 1977).

Even feminist-inspired "alternative institutions" like rape crisis centers (Matthews 1994) and battered women's shelters (Reinelt 1994) that developed contract support from the state ended up watering down their original level of volunteerism and internal democracy and developing some forms of formalization and bureaucratization as a result of gaining state support.

4. Internal tensions in collectivist-democratic organizations

Because of the need to incorporate multiple perspectives, democratic forms of decision-making are generally more time-consuming than are oligarchical or unilateral forms of decision-making (Rothschild-Whitt 1979). For this reason, some newcomers who try participatory processes are unwilling to go through these time-consuming processes again (Lee and Lingo 2011). Consensus-oriented decisional processes are not for everyone.

Second, some organizations that set out to be highly democratic and egalitarian do not, despite their best intentions, achieve this model. For example, one case study of a wholistic health center studied by Kleinman (1996) showed an organization that ended up reproducing gender-based inequalities that preserve men's advantages, such as having more say in decision-making matters than women, even though they tried *not* to do this. Similarly, ethnic- and class-based inequalities can result in uneven participation, with the more privileged – typically, white men – dominating decision-making unless leveling measures are taken, as evidenced by OWS's efforts to "stack" minority participants (Gitlin 2012). In one civil rights group, Polletta (2002) found that members came to associate participatory-democratic practices with white male privilege rather than their original intent.

Thirdly, some people wish to avoid the interpersonal conflicts that can arise during participatory processes, as Mansbridge (1983) found in her study of citizen participants in a New England town meeting. On the other hand, groups may view the defense of ideas and thorough exploration of possibilities via democratic decision-making to be crucial catalysts for eliciting and improving their work (Vail and Hollands 2013). Over the years, participatory-democratic groups have been evolving various ways of dealing with internal conflicts that may arise. As Rothschild and Leach (2008) have shown, some contemporary democratic groups deal with internal conflict essentially by avoiding the direct

discussion of items that would engage conflict, while other democratic groups develop "talk cultures," with evolved norms of listening and talking that allow conflicting opinions to be respected and incorporated. Still other participatory democratic groups develop a "fight culture" to keep assertions in check, such as the *Autonomen*, an important social movement group in today's Germany (Leach 2009). Each of these different sorts of democratic norms and cultures appeals to different people. Over time, participants tend to sort themselves into the groups they find most comforting or riveting for them and that allow them to stay focused on their most important original purposes.

Hoffmann has shown in her examination of dispute resolution in workers' co-operatives versus conventionally owned firms (2001, 2005) that the cooperative enterprises are more likely to develop more avenues, both formal and informal, for the effective resolution of disputes. Similarly, many participants in full-scale intentional communities like the Israeli Kibbutzim (Cnaan and Breyman 2008) and Twin Oaks in the United States (Rothschild and Tomchin 2006) believe that only by building an exemplary non-bureaucratic model which encompasses all aspects of life can their members benefit from the full power of egalitarian relations and freely chosen work. In some cases, Japanese volunteers also have been critical of materialism, and have sought to build alternatives to mainstream institutions that are more communalistic and caring of others (Nakano 2000). Some of the members/architects of these non-hierarchical and voluntary communities simply want the contentment and integration that can come from *gemeinschaft* relations. Others want to establish a model that others in society could emulate. But either way, they can come together and operate with an exceptional level of consensus because of their practice of open and sustained dialog on an everyday basis and because they have re-valued and rendered equal the value of everyone's labor inputs to the community (Bernhards 2013). Based on case studies of three NPOs, Jain (2012) shows that volunteer-managed NPOs (VNPOs) can function effectively, overcoming most internal challenges they face.

E. Usable knowledge

Although there are exceptions, as noted earlier, many voluntary associations and social movement organizations that set out to offer voice, engagement and *gemeinschaft* (cordial, emotional) relations to their members *do* effectively reach their goals and *do* effectively resist pressures to mimic the hierarchical structures of the society that surrounds them. What have we learned about how they manage to achieve this highly democratized and egalitarian model of organization?

Iannello (1992) showed, in her fieldwork at three women's NPOs, that gender alone was not the key determinant, as one of her organizations elicited a

very low level of engagement in decision-making, while her other two feminist organizations *were* able to maintain high levels of participant interest and engagement in the decision process. In short, the latter two organizations were able to make "decisions without hierarchy," using a modified consensus process. For Iannello, what separated the groups was their belief structure or philosophy: The successful groups' members saw themselves as anarcho-feminists, and this guided their consensus-oriented decisional practices and their job rotation practices, both of which undergirded their ability to build organizations without hierarchy. Thus, Iannello, along with other feminist scholars, sees these emergent organizations without hierarchy as the key organizational harvest of the feminist movement (Ferree and Martin 1995; Iannello 1992).

Based on her own and others' research in organizations that have both male and female participants, Chen (2009) suggests that organizations can develop and sustain their highly democratized structures by paying attention to both internal and external pressures to adopt conventional hierarchical structures. To manage internal pressures to bureaucratize, organizations, especially voluntary associations, can

(1) balance expectations of how much members can give, thereby avoiding member burn-out,
(2) facilitate true participation among members so that members have both responsibility and authority to act,
(3) engage in reflexive dialog about whether organizing practices are appropriate or not, rather than mindlessly carrying out routines,
(4) supply sufficient resources to support members' efforts, and
(5) uphold inclusivity so that newcomers are not shut out by longer term members, thereby ensuring the reinvigoration of the collectivity.

To manage external pressures to bureaucratize, organizations can

(6) advance the legitimacy of organizational efforts by working on relations with other actors (i.e., the media, governmental agencies) that impact their abilities to operate and
(7) set precedents rather than conforming to the conventional standards that outside regulators constructed.

In addition, by engaging in storytelling, leaders and members can charismatize the routine, or infuse everyday, even mundane organizing activities with a sense of the extraordinary. Stories help (a) listeners and tellers make meaning from seemingly mundane activities and consider agency and (b) delineate appropriate and inappropriate activities (Chen 2012). For organizations that

seek to integrate a diverse membership (i.e., different socio-economic or ethnic backgrounds), storytelling can help bridge rather than elide differences. Otherwise, unacknowledged differences can eventually fragment collectivities (Su 2009b).

Grounded in five case studies of collectivist-democratic organizations, and confirmed in many case studies since, Rothschild and Whitt (1986) found that organizations can help their chances of building and sustaining participant engagement and a non-hierarchical internal form if they

(1) maintain a fluid, provisional, or even ephemeral mind set so that they can adapt when necessary and so that they will have the backbone to resist outside authorities and conventional ways too;
(2) deliberately limit their size, perhaps by spinning off new organizations when demand for their services grows too big, so that they are to keep their face-to-face democracy;
(3) engage in constructive self-criticism, so that they can continuously improve their methods and avoid oligarchization; and
(4) de-mystify the knowledge needed to perform the organization's tasks (often through task sharing, cross-training, and job rotation) so that expert knowledge cannot be monopolized and thus oligarchies based on monopolized knowledge cannot develop.

External relations are also important in sustaining highly democratized structures and processes. Here the organization can

(1) hold onto its ties to the social movement that spawned it, so that it will stay identified with its original social change goals;
(2) resist developing dependency relations with external funding agencies, businesses, or government agencies, if the latter demand a hierarchy of leaders to speak for the organization and formal rules and procedures to bind it; and
(3) build and sustain its ties with others in the community who offer moral, material, or social support for their egalitarian way of doing things. All of these actions will aid the organization that wishes to be highly egalitarian and democratic in its endeavors to offset and nip in the bud any sources of inequality that may arise.

F. Future trends and needed research

The sorts of organizations discussed in this review occur at the intersection of voluntary associations and social movement organizations (Lofland 1996), but generally are membership associations (MAs) in the broad sense meant

in this Handbook (Smith 2015a), not nonprofit agencies (Smith 2015b). Some of these associations are small-scale local organizations, Grassroots Associations/GAs (Smith 2000; see Handbook Chapter 32), while others are national in scope, and many are trans-national (see Handbook Chapters 33 and 34).

Associations are growing all over the world, as part of the *fourth* associational revolution now underway in more developed nations (cf. Smith 2016; see Handbook Chapter 50). GAs are consistently under-counted because most fly under the radar with no legal papers of incorporation, as legal constructions could lead them to the very formality and bureaucracy they seek to avoid (see Handbook Chapter 32). GAs are also consistently undervalued, underestimated in terms of their collective societal and global impact, and either ignored or misunderstood by most scholars in our field who tend to be dazzled by money and bureaucracy (but see Smith 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 2000:chapter 10, 2017).

Why study such types of associations? In short, because the new social processes and structures they are inventing are meant to allow for the creativity, the communal relations, the individual voice, and the collective control that bureaucracy and hierarchy have been long found to squash. Where the power centers of the bureaucratic nonprofit organization tend to be remote from the individual, where people in the bureaucracy would be set in competition with each other and arranged hierarchically, people with strong egalitarian values refuse to participate in such structures. Small associations, whether GAs or supra-local in scope, are often anti-bureaucratic and anti-hierarchical in their structure and process orientations, They seek to forge a new path in answer to the age-old problems of alienation, inequality, and the confining "iron cage" that defined and gave purpose to social science inquiry at its start (cf. DiMaggio and Powell 1983). Where government agencies and businesses may dominate the world, associations mainly provide social innovations that change the world (Smith 2017).

As is evident from the large number of studies cited in this review of the literature, a surprisingly large number of research projects have already been conducted on these new sorts of associations that seek to replace hierarchical relations with egalitarian relations and centralized decision-making with more de-centralized forms. Dozens of these studies have been grounded in intensive, ethnographic field study or participant observation of cases from many regions of the world. Other studies cited here have examined larger samples of, for example, Kibbutzim organizations or social movement organizations in today's Germany or cooperative enterprises from several parts of the world. Drawing upon this fieldwork and utilizing as well a comparative case study approach, substantial grounded theory has already been

developed about the conditions that facilitate (or defeat) these organizations in their efforts to develop and sustain deliberative democratic forms (cf. Smith 2000). An important next step in research would bring together for meta-analysis the many case studies that already have been done, retaining the richness of the qualitative observations that this fieldwork has uncovered and marrying it with the rigorous data analysis that a larger sample size would allow.

G. Cross-references

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41
Self-Regulation in Associations

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A. Introduction

This chapter describes various conceptions of nonprofit organization (NPO) regulation, based on theory and practice at the organizational, sector, national, and international levels. Membership Association (MA) self-regulation is seen as part of NPO regulation more generally. Governments in nearly all nations regulate MAs, especially large MAs with significant paid staff. Unregistered and/or unincorporated MAs (e.g., most local, all-volunteer, Grassroots Associations, GAs) are subject to very little government regulation, except in totalitarian dictatorships, and to lesser extent in authoritarian regimes. Most GAs and Supra-Local all-volunteer MAs exercise only minimal self-regulation in most nations. We sketch historical background and describe multi-national perspectives, including experiences in United States, the Middle East, and Africa. We also address the role of government, and identify various ways to promote MA self-regulation.

The larger intellectual context of this chapter is the study of crime, deviance/misconduct, and social control in human societies. Sociologists and anthropologists have been studying these topics for the past 150 years and more (e.g., Durkheim 1970; Maine 1861; Malinowski 1926).

More recent research in contemporary, usually modern, societies, has studied how social control processes work at the level of individual and organizational behavior (e.g., Chriss 2013; Ellickson 1991; Marshall, Douglas, and McDonnell 2007). The two key findings relevant to the present chapter are as follows: (1) Informal law in human societies precedes formal, government-enacted laws by over 150,000 years. (2) Social control and the restraint of rule-making *mainly* depend on *informal* social control processes, not on *formal* law enforcement activities by government social control agents and agencies (like the police, courts, jails/prisons, etc.). People mainly conform to societal rules and laws because of their socialization, self-monitoring and self-control, and informal monitoring and sanctioning by their peers and others around them. The focus

in this chapter on nonprofit (NP) and association self-regulation thus fits into the much larger context of the nature of social control and conformity to rules and laws more generally.

B. Definitions

This chapter accepts the general definitions in the Appendix of this Handbook.

The additional definitions in this section identify different aspects and levels of NP regulation and self-regulation used in the chapter. These definitions distinguish variations of self-regulation constructed at organization, peer, industry, and sector levels, as well as implications and opportunities for excluding, or including, a role by government.

Contract Regulation: The negotiation or exercise of rights or provisions contained in a written agreement between government (or agency) and a nonprofit providing goods or services funded by government. As such, the parties' responsibilities and exchange of resources are governed by a legally binding contract. Herein, this is referred to as *Level 5* regulation due to the explicit, negotiated role of government.

Co-Regulation: As applied to the NP sector, this refers to formal efforts and processes that establish and monitor compliance with written principles, standards, regulations, or laws agreed upon by nonprofits and government, with an enforcement role by government. Herein, this is referred to as *Level 5* regulation due to the explicit, negotiated role of government.

Discretionary Regulation: The exercise or attempted exercise of authority or oversight by elected or un-elected government officials, nonprofits, or for-profit organizations over a nonprofit not specifically authorized by legislation or contract. Herein, this is referred to as *Level 6* regulation.

Industry Self-Regulation: As applied to the NP sector, *industry self-regulation* (*ISR*) refers to formal efforts and processes performed at industry level by member organizations that establish and/or monitor compliance with written principles, standards, regulations, or laws, usually industry specific, where enforcement, if any, is structured without government. This contrasts with other notions of *industry self-regulation* requiring government involvement, described by Gunningham and Rees (1997) as "a little deceptive" (p. 398). Herein, this is referred to as *Level 3* self-regulation.

Nonprofit: The terms nonprofit, nongovernmental (NGO), or voluntary organization are used interchangeably in this chapter and are comprised of formal and informal non-governmental organizations, associations, and foundations designed to provide public and/or member benefits rather than creating wealth for private purposes.

Organizational Self-Regulation: as applied to NP sector, organizational self-regulation (OSR) refers to formal efforts and processes performed by an

organization on its own behalf that establish and monitor compliance with written principles, standards, regulations, or laws and where enforcement provisions are prescribed internally without government involvement. This is similar to *pure self-regulation* given lack of external stakeholder or state involvement (Bartle and Vass 2005:19, 22; Gunningham and Rees 1997:365). Herein, this is referred to as *Level 1* self-regulation.

Peer Self-Regulation: As applied to NP sector, this refers to voluntary sharing of regulatory responsibility between an individual nonprofit and one or more other co-equal nonprofit organizations. Such activities include establishing, and/or monitoring compliance with, written principles, standards, regulations, or laws, where enforcement, if any, is structured without government involvement. Herein, this is referred to as *Level 2* self-regulation.

Sarbanes-Oxley Act of 2002: Legislation passed in the United States to increase corporate accountability. While in response to for-profit scandals, some provisions apply to nonprofits, including criminal penalties for whistleblower retaliation and record destruction (Jackson and Fogarty 2005, 2006).

Sector Self-Regulation: As applied to NP sector, s*ector self-regulation* (SSR) refers to formal efforts and processes performed at sector level by organizations that establish, and/or monitor compliance with, written principles, standards, regulations, or laws, usually applicable across industry, where enforcement, if any, is structured without government involvement. Herein, this is referred to as *Level 4* self-regulation.

Statutory Regulation: The exercise of authority, oversight, and/or rights by elected or unelected government officials at national, regional, state, or local levels, prescribed by legislation or regulation. Generally, this refers to the exercise of enforcement powers by government entities or agencies granted by legal statute. Herein, this is referred to as *Level 7* government regulation.

Watchdog Organization: An organization that regularly evaluates and rates organizations, including NPs, on governance, financial, or performance criteria deemed relevant to promote informed decision-making by consumers or donors. Examples include the following: Better Business Bureau, Charity Navigator, and Fund Watch (formerly American Institute of Philanthropy or AIP) to name a few. This is a form of Discretionary Regulation [*Level 6*].

C. Historical background

The chapter Introduction indicates some historical roots of the study of rule-breaking as deviance from societal rules and laws. Here we focus more on NP (nonprofit) aspects. Rules and regulations empower and constrain the NP sector. Government, third-party, and self-regulation create opportunities and impose restrictions at multiple levels. Regulatory frameworks depend upon the sector's nature and environment in society and combined responses of government,

stakeholders, and NPs in its sectoral, national, or international context. Globalization and global transformation of governance are altering NP environments, government–civil society relationships, and stakeholder expectations. Governments, NPs, and third-party organizations construct regulatory responses to challenges presented by changing landscapes. The result is a shifting regulatory framework combining adaptive regulatory strategies with traditional government regulation.

Regulation reflects and establishes the role of NPs in civil society and as a foundation for democracy. Government determines the structural integrity and autonomy of NPs, tradeoffs between economic benefits and restrictions, and protections for donors and charitable assets (Pratt 2005). Regulation varies by political environment, sector maturity, and regulatory infrastructure within society. The United States, for example, has a long history of associational activity protected by, and predating, the first amendment of the US Constitution (see Handbook Chapter 46). The NP sector favors private action to accomplish public good (Salamon 1995). US NP law establishes formal structures, allowing sector freedoms and privileges through state incorporation and federal tax code (Fremont-Smith 2004). Alternatively, in Asian countries without government enabling structures, self-regulatory initiatives (SRIs) secure stable conditions for formation and operation of NPs (Sidel 2010a). Thus, sector development in society and relationships to state are relevant to comprehending regulatory environments.

Globalization and government devolution spur and influence both standards and regulatory practices. The global transformation of governance stimulated enormous sector growth, spurring governments to adapt regulatory mechanisms to accommodate new governance modes (Kettl 2002). Increasing NP involvement in public services and policy has intensified government, funder, and public scrutiny. This attention is amplified in countries with weak regulatory or NP capacity. Consequently, regulatory reform persists on governmental agendas even as NPs participate in self-regulation, generating practice standards beyond legal requirements.

The proliferation of SRIs since the 1990s varies by sponsorship, level, and scope (Sidel 2003; Warren and Lloyd 2009). One World Trust has catalogued their occurrence and structure, identifying 309 worldwide.[1] However, the Middle East, North Africa, and Central and Southeast Asia have very limited self-regulation compared to Western Europe, Canada and the United States (Warren and Lloyd 2009). Political, market, and NP conditions underlie motives, goals, and capacity for self-regulation. Stable political environments tend to produce SRIs encouraging best practices and learning (Obrecht 2012). In hostile political environments, SRIs emerge to counter state infringement on civil rights and political space of NPs (Gugerty 2008). However, government antagonism with limited resources and NP capacity stifles SRI emergence.

1. International perspectives and the Africa experience

Self-regulation is increasingly prevalent in debates over regulation of civil society. In traditional African societies, self-regulation evolved from honest relations at individual and community levels. Civil society was distinct, functioning through a complex web of extended family institutions and obligations motivated by individual and collective responsibility. Communities and neighborhoods represented inclusive subsets of society.

The advent of colonialism and capitalism transformed associational life from informal to formal institutions, in the face of socio-economic, political, and cultural challenges. Moreover, events in the 1980s and 1990s generated consensus to advance economic development, human rights, and peace which led to NGOs emerging to shape public policy regarding unsustainable debt, environmental degradation, human rights law, landmine removal, and corporate social responsibility (Jordan and Tuijl 2007). Hollands and Ansell (1998) aptly note such organizations play important roles, encouraging diversity and expression of views.

Fast nonprofit sector growth, however, has not kept pace with the growing governance crisis in Africa. This contrasts with associational activity in precolonial African societies that promoted long-term survival, sustainability of society, and institutional legitimacy (Hollands and Ansell 1998). Underlying political realities remained unchanged (Gershman and Allen 2006), influencing statutory standards and regulatory principles. This associational revolution was facilitated by external factors, including donor support for NGOs as agents of economic and political change (Salamon 1993). Other factors influencing regulation include concern for internal security and ensuring organizations are not engaged in illegal, subversive, or criminal activities (Alikhan et al. 2007). Such concerns are evident in the legal, regulatory, and policy regimes of Uganda, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, and Zambia.

2. Self-regulation in the Middle East and North Africa

The absence of self-regulation here is striking with three factors particularly relevant to comprehending self-regulation. These are NP sector relations with key stakeholders and state, market structure considering access to resources, and institutional capacity and professional norms (Bies 2010:1059).

Self-regulation depends on an environment of trust among stakeholders and nonprofits, access to resources, and supporting sector infrastructure. First, trust is fostered where NPs are not attempting to usurp central authority and government is not attempting to control NPs (Warren and Lloyd 2009). Trust allows flexibility, facilitated by modest regulations giving NPs and SRIs leeway to act. By loosening controls and increasing external regulation over time, government–NP relations can become a dependable partnership (Bies

2010). A second dimension of self-regulation is the sector's market structure or uncorrupted access to resources (Bies 2010). Funding diversity augments NP independence, power, influence, and autonomy (Oliver 1990:258). Third, industry self-regulation depends on collective action to set and enforce agreed-upon rules, norms, and standards (Gugerty 2008; Gunningham and Rees 1997; Sidel 2003). Strong networks and institutional capacity, or procedural approaches, are necessary to promote and sustain collaboration (Bies 2010).

All three dimensions of self-regulation are problematic for NPs operating here. First, mutual suspicion characterizes NP–government relations evident by lack of cooperation and control of NPs. Second, in most countries surveyed, NPs rely on government for primary funding, subject to monitoring and manipulation of foreign funding. Third, surveys show collaboration among NPs marginal and temporal, with weak networking bodies and organizational capacity. The next section profiles Egypt, Morocco, Lebanon, and Turkey, using this self-regulatory framework based on NP–government relationships; independence of funding; and internal sector capacity and cooperation.

(a) Egypt

Considering its socio-political environment, government exercises close control over NPs through constraints on board appointments, foreign grants, and dissolutions without judicial order (An Overview of Civil Society in Egypt 2005). Government uses NGOs to facilitate nepotistic political movements (AbouAssi 2006). Strict regulations internalize such practices given their exhaustive nature (An Overview of Civil Society in Egypt 2005), deepening distrust. Beyond being many NGOs main funding source, government requires approval of foreign assistance by the Ministry of Social Affairs (An Overview of Civil Society in Egypt 2005). Such control blocks market development. NPs lack institutional capacity to collaborate, except where religious-based NGOs and places of worship collaborate over shared interests but are not inclusive (An Overview of Civil Society in Egypt 2005).

(b) Lebanon

Lebanese NPs enjoy greater autonomy than regional counterparts. The formal NP registration process is expedient, requiring Ministry of Interior notification. Yet, Ministry uses the process to control (AbouAssi 2006), fostering instability and distrust, restricting dialog and collaboration. Lebanese NPs, however, are distinct in their ability to secure funding, including internationally, without control. With donor preference to work with NPs, many rely on foreign not government funding, limiting interference (AbouAssi 2006). Interaction among NPs is common but networking weak, communication inadequate. Collaborations are uncommon, mainly during emergencies but of short duration (AbouAssi 2006). Competition and individualism dominate, leading to "a waste

of resources and duplication of efforts" (AbouAssi 2006:49). There is growing awareness of need for self-regulation and codes of ethics. Yet progress is slow given inadequate institutional capacity and self-serving desires which hinder self-regulation.

(c) Morocco

Government and NGO relations are mediated by moderate restrictions, specifically the process of gaining *public utility status* (Akesbi 2010). This status does not impair NP formation and can foster a promising relationship; such status is required to receive public funding (Akesbi 2010). Securing funding is difficult; the process clouded by discriminatory *public utility status* authorization, limited state support, and uneven access to foreign donors (Akesbi 2010). Foreign funding – and public funding – imposes restrictions, hindering organizational capacity and performance. One promising sign is government efforts to partner with NPs to stimulate development and advance social issues through the National Human Development Initiative (Akesbi 2010). Yet, NP collaboration is limited, confined to local networks and partners with common goals (Akesbi 2010).

(d) Turkey

Strict regulations severely impair self-regulation here (Bikmen and Meydanoglu 2006). Governmental intervention and corrupt practices create distrust (Dçduygu, Meydanoğlu, and Sert 2010:67). Yet Turkey's European Union (EU) entry increases democratic space, enabling the NP environment. While the 2008 legislation introduced reporting mechanisms to encourage transparency, bureaucracy hinders performance. Unlike other Middle Eastern countries, Turkish NPs maintain diverse funding sources yet addressing inadequate financial resources remains a top priority (Dçduygu, Meydanoğlu, and Sert 2010). While access to EU grants helps, fund sources have dropped, crippling progress from bureaucratic procedures for project-based funding. Although EU grants require partnering with European organizations, neither collective action nor state dialog has improved (Dçduygu, Meydanoğlu, and Sert 2010:74). Self-regulation is limited as collaboration among NPs is informal; without active networks or coordinating bodies, information asymmetry results, with organizations lacking "codes of practice" (Bikmen and Meydanoglu 2006:52).

In sum, Middle Eastern NPs survive in environments that undermine self-regulation. There are isolated incidents of trial – and less of success. Self-regulation is limited to few organizations and codes of conduct, rarely used or applied, with self-regulation nearly non-existent. NP collaboration, critical to build or share cross-institutional norms and professionalism, is weak or non-existent. NP capacity across countries surveyed is constrained by inadequate, highly regulated funding, with government relationships often one directional, legislatively restricted, or politically manipulated.

D. Key issues

1. Forms of state and self- regulation

According to the World Movement for Democracy (2008), various legal restrictions are employed to control civil society, including (1) *barriers to entry* – developing legal systems with costly demands restraining registration; (2) *barriers to operational activity* – using laws to restrict legitimate activities; (3) *barriers to free speech and advocacy* – using laws to limit public policy participation that advances human rights; and (4) *barriers to resources* – using laws to restrict external resources that enable legitimate activities.

Some NPs have initiated regulatory mechanisms. Warren and Lloyd (2009) found 33 self-regulatory initiatives in Africa: 23 codes of conduct, two certification mechanisms, four information services, three working groups and self-assessment tools, and one awards scheme. While governments employ restrictive controls in regulating civil society, SRIs enable progress by promoting legitimacy, transparency, and accountability, striving to improve credibility and sector visibility. Self-regulation, however, only becomes possible in an environment conducive to civic action, in contrast to where authoritarian regimes repress basic freedoms of association, assembly, and expression (Jordan and Tuijl 2007; see also Handbook Chapter 46 on Civil Liberties and Freedoms).

There is broad consensus that self-regulation increases credibility, improves accountability, and demonstrates serious purpose by NPs, including associations (Kwesiga and Namisi 2006). Effective accountability systems combining government, external, and self-regulation earn NP respect and capture public trust, advancing civil society and prospects for new and sustainable indigenous resources (Naidoo 2010).

2. Research insights and theoretical frameworks

A regulatory system determines the balance between facilitation and control of the sector. Regulatory environment concerns include NP autonomy, accountability, and effectiveness, underscoring key regulatory issues. Government regulation can support or stifle SRI emergence. Also, government and sector capacity, the relationship between NPs and government, availability of resources, and public support all influence regulatory options and strategies. Third parties are significant sources of external regulation. Diverse public and private responses to sectoral concerns make NPs subject to overlapping regulatory, funder, and self-regulation requirements (Sidel 2010a). Frameworks are needed to study interactions and effects of different levels of public-private regulation.

Theory and research on regulation provide insights into regulation's role, frequency of occurrence, and the effectiveness of self-regulation and government linkages. Such studies emphasize the strengths and limitations of government,

third party, and self-regulation. Missing are frameworks capable of incorporating what research has shown to be important for understanding NP regulation and to guide future research evaluating its effectiveness.

Government regulation and self-regulation go hand in hand. This situation is characteristic of social control processes of all kinds in human societies, where informal social control processes (i.e., usually, socialization, peer-control, and self-control) complement formal control processes (e.g., by government and its agents and agencies), as shown in textbooks on social control, such as Chriss (2013:chapter 3) and Marshall, Douglas, and McDonnell (2007:chapter 7). Traditional command and control regulation presents a top-down, state-centered model that overlooks the reflexive nature of regulation and role of private actors (Fiorino 2006). Although regulation is thought coercive, it confers rights and creates opportunities, depending on normative frameworks to legitimatize authority, triggering creative and strategic reactions by regulatory targets (Scott 2008). Regulation is rarely unidirectional. Organizations and professional fields interact to interpret, construct, and diffuse the meaning of legal compliance and associated practices (Edelman, Uggen, and Erlanger 1999). Regulatory targets form SRIs that assume roles in influencing and implementing regulation, relying on collaboration and linkages with the state (Lad and Caldwell 2009).

Links to government hierarchy are important to prompt and sustain SRIs, while type of link needed depends on policy area and interest configurations.[2] SRIs link to government hierarchy through threats of intervention, policies, or direct cooperation (Sidel 2010a). Government stimulates emergence of SRIs when there is need for regulation and standardization in a particular subsector (Bowman 2010), via legislation for regulatory initiatives (Frumkin 2010; Young 2010), or from limited regulatory capacity that undermines donor or public trust (Ortmann and Svitkova 2010). However, government-allied regulation that conditions SRIs on funding or regulatory action, such as tax-exempt status, risks narrowing nonprofit freedom and innovation (Sidel 2003).

Most SRI research centers on comparative analyses to map frequency, regional distribution, structure, content, and strength of compliance mechanisms.[3] Common drivers include need to bolster public trust, counter restrictive legislation or gaps in regulation, and build capacity through good practices (Warren and Lloyd 2009). While only 47% of SRIs contain compliance mechanisms (Lloyd, Calvo, and Laybourn 2010), enforceability of standards and transparent assessments are essential contributors to effectiveness (Dale 2005; Gugerty 2009; Ortmann and Svitkova 2007).

Theoretical approaches identify pressures and relationships explaining SRIs. Economic perspectives explain emergence and structure of SRIs considering resources and demands of external stakeholders.[4] Institutional theory highlights importance of institutional context in determining SRI goals (Bies 2010). Collective action theories emphasize forces initiating SRIs and impeding

institutionalization (Sidel 2003). Empirical findings suggest intervening variables. Preexisting levels of social trust mediate benefits of signaling credibility to donors via certification (Bekkers 2003). Rather than conform to external demands, accountability pressures led humanitarian agencies to "articulate their own vision, principles and standards by which performance should be judged" (Deloffre 2010:197). Thus, internal variables, including ideas and norms also explain SRIs and their effects.

Diverse rule configurations are the expected response to varied circumstances, making underlying structure the focus of analysis (Ostrom 1990). Evaluating SRIs requires explicating theoretical assumptions about what SRIs respond to and how, the criteria defining the meaning of effectiveness, and regulatory structure and institutional context (Obrecht 2012). Further, rules are nested, acting in combination and to different effects depending on nature and environment of participants (Ostrom 2005). Capturing a regulatory system requires a theoretical framework that accounts for government and self-regulation, as well as relevant characteristics of the NGO community and its environment, at multiple levels of analysis (Vienne 2011).

3. Overview and limits of government regulation

Government's capacity to regulate NPs is limited and problematic due to political, philosophical, and economic factors. Regarding political factors, government is often driven by hidden motives (Irvin 2005; Jordan and van Tuijl 2007; Sidel 2010b). As Sidel notes, while combating terrorism may be the stated rationale, other motives could include opposition to advocacy roles; accountability concerns; and growing roles of political and religious giving (p. 6). The danger is real – government efforts could result in nationalization restricting NP freedom and autonomy (Sidel 2005:804). Philosophically, government regulation is often problematic as it undermines or precludes cooperation between sectors. As noted by Gidron, Kramer & Salamon (1992), while some see government–NP relationships as inherently competitive (pp. 5–6), they argue for collaboration rising above conflict. In their study of nine countries, they describe evolving collaboration between state and NPs, resulting in improved social welfare systems (p. 27). Expanding regulation by government, however, jeopardizes evolution of cooperative government–third sector relationships to meet public needs.

Effective regulation is threatened by economic factors. Fremont-Smith (2004) analyzed US charity regulation by state and federal governments (pp. 301–376), finding regulatory responsibility often legally prescribed but resources inadequate for legal and accounting support (pp. 352–358). Even in developed US jurisdictions, funding for effective regulation appears economically or politically unjustifiable (Duffy 2009). (See Handbook Chapter 47 for a review of government regulation of NPOs, especially associations.)

4. Nature, opportunities, and necessity of self-regulation

The challenges of government regulation of NPs are many. As Jordan and van Tiujl (2007) note, bureaucrats and politicians have no special competence to oversee NPs (p. 41). Yet proper regulatory roles for government exist; understanding them and their limits clarifies responsibilities and opportunities for NPs to improve self-regulation.

At times, a regulatory role by government is proper and necessary. One case is where NPs are acting collaboratively with government, as described by Gidron, Kramer and Salamon (1992:1–30), where government funds and NPs deliver services (p. 19). This warrants state regulations (p. 28), or by contract, referred to here as *contract regulation* (see Definitions). Another case is where an NP voluntarily involves third parties – potentially government – by establishing an ombud panel to address whistleblower complaints (Corbett 2011:13–20). Such a voluntary, compliance role by government is referred to here as *co-regulation* (see Definitions).

Another proper government role is enforcing laws applicable to NPs. Such exercise of authority is referred to here as *statutory regulation* (see Definitions earlier). While variations exist by country, Salamon (1997) provides key guidance to policymakers, identifying ten areas often addressed in nonprofit law (pp. 8–42). Of particular note here are laws proscribing internal governance requirements (p. 8). According to Salamon, policymakers must balance two competing values in framing laws on internal governance: firstly, the value of autonomy and noninterference by the state in NP internal affairs and, secondly, the need for NPs to have understandable, decision-making structures and be publically accountable (p. 20). Further, in distinguishing roles, government should establish laws with "broad general requirements" and NPs should explain in governing documents or *bylaws* how it will meet them (p. 20). This guidance from Salamon is critical to frame proper roles and responsibilities of government versus nonprofits. While government provides a broad legal framework – NPs are responsible to construct governing documents or *bylaws*, with freedom to shape their internal management to fit their purpose and style (p. 20). If government affords NPs such role, NPs become empowered to devise regulatory and accountability mechanisms, as voluntary measures themselves, an outcome identified by Jordan and van Tiujl (2007) as ideal (p. 41).

Improved self-regulation stands to prevent, or mitigate, greater regulation of NP governance and intrusion into sector affairs. As stated by White (2010), improved governance is an ethical imperative. NPs must embrace their obligations; if NPs do not prevent scandals, government will step in (pp. 207–208). The ball of ethical governance and accountability belongs squarely in NP boards' court – *precisely* where it needs to be if real change is to occur (Corbett 2011:xvii).

5. Types and mechanisms of self-regulation

Bothwell (2001) identifies self-regulation trends, including calls for more government regulation, self-regulation by improved board governance, codes of conduct, accountability standards, and principles of good practice (pp. 4–5). Other trends are accrediting organizations; government encouraged self-regulation; watchdogs and accountability clubs (Gugerty and Prakash 2010:5–10; Prakash and Gugerty 2010:31).

Which stakeholders can best advance self-regulation? Narrowing stakeholders and intervention levels is essential to advance self-regulation. At the nonprofit sector level, *watchdog organizations* (see Definitions) provide donors and public valuable information. Yet, Szper and Prakash (2011) found ratings did not influence donations (p. 112). Cnaan et al. (2011) found most donors do not use any watchdog rating (p. 392). Watchdogs while theoretically appealing appear unlikely to advance self-regulation in practice.

Bartle and Vass (2005) have studied self-regulation in practice (p. iii). They address definitions, classification, practitioner models, academic views, and recommendations for self-regulation in practice (pp. 1–35). While they studied utility industries (p. 31), various concepts apply. For example, they propose *subsidiarity* as a paradigm that delegates regulation downward (p. 4). They also detail models addressing government's role, ranging from none to full regulation by statute or legislation (pp. 19–22).

Beyond Bartle and Vass, *subsidiarity* is highly relevant. As noted by Gidron, Kramer and Salamon (1992), under the doctrine of subsidiarity, the social unit or institution closest to the problem has primary responsibility; when it fails to perform, responsibility rises to next level (p. 5). Thus, the point nearest to the problem, of highest priority, is the individual, organizational level. That is, efforts to improve self-regulation ideally appear first and best directed at organizational level, referred to subsequently as Level 1 – and only if such efforts fail, would responsibility shift to next higher level.

Secondly, the state's role is highly relevant. Under *subsidiarity* the state is the institution of last resort – used only when all other avenues are exhausted (p. 6). Applying to the NP sector entails identification of all potential intervention levels, prioritized for self-regulatory efforts before any state involvement. Self-regulatory models devised at all levels, which can be constructed excluding any state involvement, help preserve organization and sector autonomy, identified as critical by Hammock 2011; Woldring 1998 and de Toqueville 1988. There are at least four levels of self-regulation highly worthy of pursuit, all free of state involvement: *organizational self-regulation*; *peer self-regulation*; *industry self-regulation*; *and sector self-regulation* (see Definitions), referred to here as Levels 1–4, respectively, where Level 1 is *pure self-regulation*. Pure self-regulation, or Level 1, is the highest priority as it *lacks any external stakeholder or state*

involvement. While *pure self-regulation* is exceedingly rare (Gunningham and Rees 1997:365), it is the theoretical and practical imperative – if NP autonomy is to be retained or achieved, the essential quality noted by Hammack, Woldring and Toqueville.

6. Developing a self-regulatory agenda

A key question is: Who is regulating whom? Should government regulate the sector? Or must NPs self-regulate, preserve autonomy – supporting and enabling civic participation, as counterweight to the state's heavy hand, or despotic nature?

The latter position is advanced here. Many regulatory methods and strategies exist. They occur, at least at seven levels, from farthest to closest levels of inter-vention, including *statutory regulation* by government; *discretionary regulation*; *co-regulation*; *sector self-regulation*; *industry self-regulation*; *peer self-regulation;* and *organizational self-regulation*, respectively (see Definitions).

To preserve or enable autonomy, the highest priority and form to implement is clearly *pure self-regulation,* Level 1, which defines the problem and challenge at organizational level, without state involvement. Exigent circumstances require it – namely the essential need to preserve or enable autonomy, supporting the sector's role to promote civic participation and voluntary association, achieving many virtues, as detailed by de Tocqueville (1988). While *pure self-regulation* is very uncommon (Gunningham and Rees 1997:365), such models can be con-structed (Corbett 2011) and other competing, economically feasible models are needed to provide NPs choice (xvii:3, 79). As Sidel states, it is notoriously difficult to develop substantial, detailed, explicit adherence to NP norms and codes, especially where incentive mechanisms are lacking (2005:821). Yet Sidel's insight helps frame the self-regulatory challenge: for researchers and practition-ers to devise incentive mechanisms – or alternatively, effective enforcement and self-monitoring mechanisms at organizational level to enable *pure self-regulation*. Further, if and when concerted efforts at *pure self-regulation* fail to bear fruit or progress, at least three levels and opportunities for intervention can be sequentially pursued, consistent with *subsidiarity* – starting with *peer self-regulation* (Level 2), *industry self-regulation* (Level 3), and *sector self-regulation* (Level 4) – none of which requires *any role by government*. For illustrations of Level 2–4 variations that rely upon peer, industry, or sector members to enable enforcement and self-monitoring through an ombud panel, see Corbett (2011:13–20). Many options avoid state involvement – and *subsidiarity* justifies aggressive pursuit of improved self-regulation at all four Levels, sequentially, given the "last resort role of the state" (Gidron, Kramer, and Salamon 1992:5).

In sum, the state is properly considered the *regulator of last resort*, whose involvement in self-regulation stands to threaten, undermine, or preclude NP autonomy. Such loss of autonomy will very likely come at direct and substantial

cost to all nonprofits and communities they serve (Corbett 2011:xxii). All self-regulation options dispensing with state involvement justify aggressive pursuit and are necessary to prevent corrosive regulation that jeopardizes sector autonomy.

E. Usable knowledge

Many stakeholders have critical roles in improving self-regulation. Policymakers and regulators control legal frameworks. Highly *usable knowledge* (Lindblom and Cohen 1979) and practical guidance are provided by Lindblom (1990:269) and Salamon (1997), who identifies universal issues (p. 8) and legal frameworks of many countries (pp. 48–368). Also of high practical use is Fremont-Smith's (2004) analysis of US regulations at state (pp. 301–376) and federal levels (pp. 377–427). De Toqueville (1988) provides policymakers pragmatic insights into state and federal relationships in various countries (pp. 106–170) – and essential virtues of voluntary association and democratic forms of government (pp. 231–245).

Practitioners are essential to improving self-regulation: donors, citizens, watchdogs, trade groups, sector advocates, NP executives, and board members. For anyone contemplating engaging government officials, understanding legal-institutional frameworks and government corruption syndromes, as detailed by Spector (2012:75–111), will help illuminate whether government can even be engaged to advance sector interests.

Watchdogs, rating groups, donors, and citizens will benefit from examining well-documented cases of malfeasance, such as of the Central Asia Institute, as exposed by AIP (American Institute of Philanthropy 2011:25; Krakauer 2011; Montana Attorney General 2012).

Executives and board members are linchpins in improving self-regulation. While policymakers establish each country's legal framework, responsibility lies with organizations to establish governing documents and bylaws (Salamon 1997:20). Executives and board members can readily institutionalize enforceable, ethical, and governance principles, directly within their bylaws, implementing *pure self-regulation* (Level 1) without any state involvement. Examples of such highly *usable knowledge* are contained in Corbett (2011), which identifies specific, enforceable bylaws to improve self-regulation, accountability, and ethical practice (pp. 9–72).

Finally, relevant to all policymakers, regulators, practitioners, executives, and board members are the promise and product of a model national collaborative. In October 2007, Independent Sector (IS), the major US trade group for NPs issued *Principles for Good Governance and Ethical Practice: A Guide for Charities and Foundations* (Independent Sector 2007). This extraordinary and unprecedented effort occurred in the aftermath of Sarbanes-Oxley Act of 2002 (see Definitions)

and resulted from a multi-year collaborative (Corbett 2011:1) including many sector stakeholders and industry experts, costing USD 3.5 million (p. 81). Independent Sector's report identifies 33 principles, widely endorsed by industry and hundreds of nonprofits (p. 1). This is a model, voluntary effort where government acted as catalyst to advance self-regulation (pp. 1, 81), supporting and enabling sector autonomy. While risk of onerous legislation was undoubtedly motivating, it shows how governments can spur collaboration, *industry*, and *organizational self-regulation* rather than imposing the will of the state. The 33 principles, which were updated in February 2015 (Independent Sector 2015) with minor revisions, are highly relevant cross-nationally as many principles promote transparency, accountability, and ethics, all universal values and challenges faced by NPs worldwide. Lastly, the process employed and principles themselves are very useful to researchers. That is, research on the processes used to successfully reach national consensus along with any compliance and monitoring mechanisms developed by hundreds of implementing NPs could identify successful, highly replicable methods and strategies to advance self-regulation in many regions of the world.

F. Future trends and needed research

Governance trends and globalization create regulatory dilemmas that defy resolution. Long range (25–30 years), self-regulation will become increasingly important to preserve NP autonomy and NP sector integrity. The sector needs new models of self-regulation, more theory building and research. Case studies are needed in all world regions, including on co-regulation and government-sector regulatory initiatives. It is clear in the United States that more government regulation will likely be coming if the NP sector fails to do adequate self-regulation, given the Sarbanes-Oxley Act (cf. Corbett 2011; Ostrower and Bobowick 2006).

Future research is needed on successful SRIs. There is keen need for models that constitute *pure self-regulation* (Level 1), noted by Gunningham and Rees (1997:365) as extremely rare. There is need for competing models and strategies of self-regulation that implement good governance and ethical practices (Corbett 2011:79). Also, additional models are needed, including peer (Level 2), industry (Level 3) and sector (Level 4) self-regulation, not requiring any state role, preserving NP autonomy. Research on workplace deviant behavior, such as that described by Nair and Bhatnagar (2011:302), is needed with implications for training, and board and employee selection strategies. Research is needed to improve voluntary club effectiveness (Prakash and Gugerty 2010), prevent *shirking*, and enable monitoring with reporting requirements (p. 37). Future research on successful watchdog investigations, such as by the American Institute of Philanthropy (2011), and use of media and

public shaming techniques will improve watchdog effectiveness in promoting self-regulation.

G. Cross-references

Chapters 42, 47, 48, and 54.

Notes

1. The One World Trust database of civil-society self-regulatory initiatives is available at: http://oneworldtrust.org/csoproject/.
2. EU NewGov: New Modes of Governance Project. Access http://www.eu-newgov.org for project descrip.
3. One World Trust series of briefing papers cataloguing occurrence, structure, and compliance mechanisms of self-regulatory initiatives worldwide is available at http://www.oneworldtrust.org/csoproject/cso/resources. Referenced here are Warren and Lloyd (2009) and Lloyd, Calvo, and Laybourn (2010).
4. Research edited by Gugerty and Prakash 2010 uses an economic lens to explain emergence, design, goals, and effectiveness of SRIs.

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Accountability and Social Accounting in Associations

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A. Introduction

This chapter reviews research on the topic of accountability and social accounting in associations, from small ones, primarily run by volunteers and focused on member benefits, to larger ones, with paid staff, which may focus on non-member benefits. However, the main content of this chapter will be relevant and useful mainly to larger associations, especially ones with several paid staff and larger budgets. Such content is likely too costly, elaborate, and extensive to be useful to small, all-volunteer associations. We emphasize that there are multiple accountabilities and multiple social accountings, leading to different responses to the questions *to whom*, *for what* and *how*. We summarize research knowledge about this topic from different areas of the world, primarily North America, Europe, Australia, and New Zealand.

B. Definitions

The general set of definitions in the Handbook Appendix is accepted here.

In addition, we define here the terms *accountability* and *social accounting* as they relate to membership associations (MAs).

Accountability is considered in multiple dimensions: upward and downward, reactive and proactive, and internally and externally oriented.

Social accounting as a concept will be considered not only as a measurement and management tool to discharge externally imposed accountability demands but also as a driver of behavior to facilitate internal accountability and achieve the mission/goals of the organization.

1. Accountability

It is reasonable that all organizations are held accountable for their actions and decisions. For nonprofits organizations (NPOs), accountability is often seen as even more important than for other organizations, because NPOs often are assumed to be an extension of the state, which acts to increase common welfare (Jegers 2009; Salamon 1995). While MAs are less likely than nonprofit agencies to be social service providers or to be so perceived, the imperative to develop and sustain legitimacy is underpinned by accountability. MAs do provide social services, but generally do so for their members, rather than for non-members (cf. Smith 2015a, 2015b).

The concept of accountability has been defined in numerous ways. Ebrahim (2003a: 194) has stressed the duality of accountability: "Accountability may be defined as the means through which individuals and organizations are held externally responsible for their actions and as the means by which they take internal responsibility for continuously shaping organizational mission, goals and performance." In other words, accountability can be thought of to exist in two dimensions, namely upward and downward accountability. The former refers to the accountability toward donors and government (Fowler 1996), and the latter refers toward beneficiaries, staff, partners, and supporters (Najam 1996).

Another distinction can be made between proactive and reactive accountability (Quarter, Mook, and Armstrong 2010). Reactive accountability measures occur to mediate internal crises or shifting societal expectations, or to satisfy obligations connected to grants and contracts (Moxham 2009). Proactive accountability seeks to influence and shape the environment in which the organization operates. Relatedly, the so-called nonprofit accountability movement has changed the meaning of the term *accountability* from *being held to account* (enforceability) to *giving an account* (answerability) (Ebrahim 2003a).

Molnar (2012) argues that the most basic accountability mechanisms are the laws and regulations governing nonprofit organizations that require information disclosure, and are intended to ensure a minimum level of transparency. Ebrahim (2003b) reports on four other broad mechanisms to put accountability into practice: internal performance assessments and evaluations, self-regulation, social auditing, and participation.

Regulatory agencies' requirements also affect the way that associations report. For example, charitable nonprofit organizations in England and Wales must (in addition to providing financial information) prepare a Trustees Report and state how they achieve public benefit (Morgan and Fletcher 2011). Furthermore, new requirements in New Zealand will mean that charitable nonprofit organizations registered in that country will be required to provide information on their goals for the past year and how they have achieved them (External Reporting Board 2012).

2. Social accounting

Social accounting expands the items that are considered in an accounting framework beyond economic accounts, and typically involves a number of stakeholder groups in the process of implementation. It includes a number of approaches including "social responsibility accounting, social audits, corporate social reporting, employee and employment reporting, stakeholder dialogue reporting as well as environmental accounting and reporting" (Gray 2002:65). It embraces concepts such as social costs, social justice, reporting to and about employees, community reporting, relationships with stakeholders, and the phenomenon of ethical investment (e.g., Reynaert 1998). Crowther (2000:20) defines social accounting as "an approach to reporting a firm's activities which stresses the need for the identification of socially relevant behavior, the determination of those to whom the company is accountable for its social performance and the development of appropriate measures and reporting techniques." Not only can the concept of social accounting be considered as a measurement and management tool to discharge externally imposed accountability demands, but it can also be looked at as a driver of behavior, such as to facilitate internal accountability and achieve the mission and goals of the organization (Mook 2007).

C. Historical background

This section traces the general history of social accounting in Europe, North America, and New Zealand from the mid 20th century. This history starts with the business sector, which experienced the emergence of various accountability initiatives, corporate social responsibility, and sustainability reporting primarily since the mid-1950s (Andras et al. 2013; Rajcsanyi-Molnar and Andras 2013). This included campaigns calling for socially responsible corporate and public governance (Acar et al. 2001; Backman, 1975; Bowen 1953; Friedman, 1970), the establishment of *social enterprises* (Borzaga and Defourny 2001; Nyssens 2006; Spreckley 1981), systematic attention to quality assurance, and social accounting and accountability for the social impacts of corporate actions (Molnar 2012). This call for increased accountability and socially responsible action also manifested for nonprofit organizations and cooperatives, although later in the century (Mook 2007, 2013).

Europe has historically taken the leading position in the development of social accounting, and many of these models have been adapted throughout the world. France and Germany respectively created the *bilan social* and *sozial-bericht/bilanz* in the 1970s and 1980s. In the same time period, the United Kingdom experimented with *social audits*, employee and employment reporting, and value-added statements (Bebbington, Gray, and Larrinaga 2000). Social accounting practices were used in the mid-1970s for the first time to describe

the possible impact of the closure of a company on employers, the local community and the environment. In the second half of the 1980s, attempts were made to approach social accounting and social auditing in a more systematic way (Meireman et al. 2002; Mook 2007, 2013). In practice, a great example is The Co-operative Group in the United Kingdom, which produces a comprehensive social and environmental report and provides guidance to other cooperatives to do the same (The Co-operative Group 2006).

In recent years, organizations across nations for diverse reasons such as environmental disasters, corporate scandals, and concern for future generations experienced a growing pressure to demonstrate their social and ethical performance (Gao and Zhang 2006). In response to this, social accounting gained additional importance and numerous instruments were developed to put it into practice. This included efforts to develop a social accounting and audit model (Pearce et al. 1996); the development and implementation of social accounts (Dey 2000, 2007; Gray et al. 1997; O'Dwyer 2005); and balancing performance, ethics, and accountability (Zadek 1998).

While many social accounting models were developed initially for for-profit organizations, there were also models developed within the social economy. In North America, these include the Social Impact Statement (Land 2002); Cooperative Social Balance (Vaccari 1997); Community Social Return on Investment (Richmond 1999); Expanded Value Added Statement, Socio-economic Impact Statement, and Socio-economic Resource Statement (Mook 2007; Mook et al. 2007); Co-operative Sustainability Scorecard (Christianson 2008); Cooperative Balanced Scorecard (Leclerc et al. 2012); and Demonstrating Value Framework for social enterprises (Sadownik 2013).

For cooperatives, interest in demonstrating the *co-operative difference* has led to a number of innovative approaches to social accounting and accountability. In Canada, this has been facilitated by the Canadian Co-operative Association, which made this a focus of interest since at least the beginning of the 2000s, sponsoring and publishing a series on social accounting and environmental sustainability on its website (CCA 2008). Vancity Credit Union in Canada is a pioneer in publishing social reports, with its first report published in 1997. Other cooperatives, such as the Cooperators insurance group, Desjardins, Mountain Equipment Co-operative, and a small worker cooperative called the Sustainability Solutions Group have published annual sustainability reports, and consumer cooperatives in Atlantic Canada along with academic researchers are developing a scorecard incorporating practices and indicators related to the seven cooperative principles (Leclerc, Brown, and Hicks 2012).

There was also a growth in importance of accountability for nonprofit organizations, especially those externally imposed by funders and regulators. Related to the increase in demands for accountability is the growth of audits, which is called the *audit explosion* by Power (1984). While this can be useful, it has been

argued that sometimes calls for increased accountability are little more than attempts to remake nonprofits into another sector's image (Nowland-Foreman 1995).

D. Key issues

Key issues to understanding the current state of social accounting and accountability in MAs include diversity of models, drivers and challenges for implementation, dilemmas, and skills and competencies to operationalize.

1. Diversity of social accounting and accountability models

In Western Europe, North America, and New Zealand, there is a large diversity of social accounting practices in both profit and nonprofit organizations (Bebbington et al. 2000; Gray, Owen, and Adams 2010). Examples of currently used accounting mechanisms include: AccountAbility 1000, the Balanced Scorecard, the Global Reporting Initiative, the Ethical Accounting Statement, the Community Benefit Audit, and the Sociale Balans. The geographical scope of these instruments varies widely, and some of these instruments are only used in one or a few countries. For example, the Sociale Balans is unique to Belgium and the Community Benefit Audit to Scotland (Meireman et al. 2002).

2. Drivers to implementing social accounting and accountability mechanisms

There are several studies looking at why nonprofit organizations, including associations, implement social accounting and accountability mechanisms. Interviews with small to medium-sized health charities in New Zealand that communicated volunteer value did so for effective management, for instance, managing resources in a strategic and effective way, as well as to report to external bodies such as standard setters and funders (Cordery et al. 2013). In North America, associations such as the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action (ARNOVA; www.arnova.org) measure and report volunteer contributions to recognize the value added of member labor to their organizations. For ARNOVA, volunteers contribute over 60% of the total labor hours necessary to run the organization, and as a result membership fees can be reduced by about 70% (Mook et al. 2007, 2011). Volunteers are recognized and thanked at the annual general meeting, and their feedback is passed along to the board of directors. Another driver of accountability relates to taking a democratic approach in running an organization. It is evident that not everyone involved in an association can participate in decision making at the board level, and there is a need to demonstrate accountability to a broader group of stakeholders.

Involving stakeholder groups in accountability mechanisms can have several benefits that can drive organizations to implement social accounting. Gijselinckx, Coates, and Deneffe (2011) studied cooperatives and found that greater member involvement led to better service quality, a price reduction through the productive contribution of members, and members learning new skills and competences that might be of use elsewhere in society.

3. Challenges in implementation and strategic use

A number of challenges relating to implementation and strategic use of social accounting for accountability are mentioned in the international literature. Some of the most mentioned challenges or barriers include financial constraints (administrative), time constraints, lack of personal motivation, lack of understanding (Gao and Zhang 2006; Mook et al. 2005), and the challenge of valuing volunteer contributions and other non-market items (Cordery et al. 2012). Studies reveal the desirability of a flexible (international) social accounting standard that allows adaptation to the uniqueness of an organization and local situation (Gao and Zhang 2006; Meireman 2002; Molnar 2010a). Government attitudes and support for the implementation and strategic use of social accounting for accountability vary across countries (Meireman et al. 2002; Rydberg 2007). Selecting appropriate and material items to measure can also be a challenge (Mook et al. 2007).

Balancing the interests of multiple stakeholders in associations is another challenge. Accountability complicates organizational governance and requires balancing the needs, expectations, and objectives of various stakeholders such as funders and members (Christensen and Ebrahim 2006; Cordery, Baskerville, and Porter, 2010; Cribb 2006; Guo and Musso 2007). As a result, the association might be impeded from being member driven when setting organizational policies.

As illustrated by the findings of Kreutzer and Jäger (2011), appropriate stakeholder management is crucial. Kreutzer and Jäger conducted 34 interviews with internal and external stakeholders of six European patient organizations with large volunteer workforces and observed noticeable tensions between volunteers and paid employees, causing volunteers to even abandon the association. These problems can be caused, among others, by conflicting perceptions about the association's identity.

Despite the recognized importance of social accounting and the multitude of existing instruments, some organizations, especially small ones, find it difficult to implement these in a structured way (Cordery et al. 2013; Meireman et al. 2002; Mook et al. 2005). As the vast majority of associations in any nation are small, unregistered, and with limited financial resources, the processes used to decide what gets measured, and how data are collected, happen in a rather informal and unstructured way.

Lessons from what happens when nonprofits actually try and implement these models in practice are reported in the New Zealand social audit pilot (Nowland-Foreman 2000), the communication of volunteer value in New Zealand (Cordery et al. 2012); the UK nonprofit and social enterprise use of social performance tools (Gibbon and Affleck 2006; Paton 2003), and the US nonprofits' use of evaluation and performance tools (Herman and Renz 2008). All suggest mixed messages regarding the significance of the specific tools used in these examples. The importance of leadership, identifying key stakeholders, and reserving time to reflect collectively and across stakeholder groups is emphasized.

4. Dilemmas and debate

At a more theoretical level, one cannot assume that the concept of enhanced accountability of voluntary organizations is desirable per se (Brody 2012; Molnar 2010b). There is still debate concerning the concept and implementation of accountability. Issues of contention include the overburden of nonprofits with accountability requests, increased levels of bureaucracy, tensions in stakeholder prioritization, balancing the short-term and strategic uses of accountability, internal or pure external provenance of accountability mechanisms, to name just a few. Ideally, the significance of accountability mechanisms lies in the organizing principle of accountability for better results, compared to accountability for minimum standards. To achieve better results, accountability through social accounting must be a democratic process through which shared goals are explicitly established, progress is measured, and work to improve performance is motivated and guided (Molnar 2010a).

5. Skills and competencies needed

There are a number of skills and competencies necessary to implement a social accounting approach. Board members of associations are generally democratically elected, and act as representatives of others. They need to have the expertise and experience to run a board effectively, to be able to make strategic decisions, support and control management, and be critical when necessary. They also must understand the value of (social) accountability and protect the interests of members and other relevant stakeholders (Cornforth 2004). Furthermore, associations in many countries face increasing regulation and therefore skills in dealing with the rising number of regulators are also required.

Other skills relevant to accountability and social accounting are effective collaboration, stakeholder engagement, conflict management, qualitative and quantitative data gathering and analysis, and critical reflection (Mook and Pstross 2013). The ability to ask critical questions, clarify values, and envision positive and sustainable futures are all important learning processes that will help associations be accountable in both proactive and reactive ways

(Tilbury 2011). For instance, Balduck, Van Rossem, and Buelens (2010) analyzed competencies in grassroots sports clubs and summarized these as the most important: cognitive (e.g., having a long-term vision, having professionalism), emotional intelligence (e.g., being reliable, being honest), and social intelligence (e.g., listening to others, being jovial/nice to be with).

E. Usable knowledge

Despite the internationally recognized importance of social accounting and the multitude of existing instruments, MAs are only slowly starting to implement and strategically use social accounting for accountability. Increasing attention to accountability and social accounting is likely in the future for paid-staff associations, and also for larger volunteer associations at different territorial levels, especially the national and international levels. When associations receive external grants or contracts, greater accountability is usually demanded. Hence, it is important to focus also on the implications and recommendations for practitioners and policy makers. However, we recognize that most of the discussion in this chapter is of little relevance to all-volunteer MAs, which constitute the vast majority of MAs and of NPOs by sheer numbers of entities or groups (Smith 2014). The approaches reviewed in this chapter are usually too elaborate, costly, time consuming, and largely irrelevant to such MAs. However, the main content of this chapter will be relevant and useful to larger MAs, especially in ones with paid staff and large budgets.

Well-designed accountability mechanisms act as checks against abuses of power; they increase openness and professionalism and enhance ethical conduct that are all crucial in order for voluntary organizations to gain and maintain public trust (Molnar 2010a). Accountability in practice can take a number of forms: accountability can be internal or external, formal or informal, vertical or horizontal, bottom up or top down. Analyzing the various accountability mechanisms we must state that there is neither universal approach nor general system, rather the practices vary significantly. Nevertheless, they can be categorized into two main types: one is declarations or ethical codes of conduct and the other is qualifications or standards. The first is more common, but not supervised rigorously. The latter usually involves (voluntary) membership in umbrella organizations and implies accreditation processes in order to get the reports and certificates. The qualification systems can exist on three levels: first, ensuring and *measuring* transparency; second, applying best practices (expressed in standards; see, for example, the GNAS standards in Farkas and Molnar 2006); third, assessing efficiency and effectiveness (NIOK and IFUA 2011).

As emphasized earlier, social accounting and accountability need to be driven by the associations themselves. Therefore, associations must be convinced

of the benefits of social accounting, must receive information on existing instruments, and develop the necessary expertise to maximize the potential advantages of these mechanisms (Meireman et al. 2002). As previous research indicated, existing instruments cannot simply be transferred from one association to another; sometimes instruments must be adapted to the specificity of an association, hence the need for expertise within the organization (and external (financial) support from social accounting experts).

Within associations, persons who act as board members and managers should not only have the necessary governance expertise (in social accounting) but also act as representatives of others (Novkovic 2008). This representative approach will diminish intraorganizational conflicts over organizational identity. Apart from the association's members, external bodies can also play a role in the implementation successes of social accounting. National and supranational governments could provide a framework in which the conditions for a successful implementation of social accounting are present (Meireman et al. 2002). As the association's action plans or projects become more concrete, the government's role can diminish, to make sure that the accountability processes are sufficiently driven from within the organization. Related to this, there must always be a balance between the degree of government encouragement to implement social accounting and asking too much from associations and overburden them. Governments can also create platforms to make information readily available to associations and their members, through national and international collaborations. The development of a website seems a suitable medium, where special attention is paid to ((inter)national) social accounting and accountability best practices. In this way, people can learn from each other, across countries' borders.

It is important for associations to identify their stakeholders and to determine what tools are best to use in communicating the difference the association makes, in order to discharge accountability in a manner that is acceptable to the key stakeholders.

F. Future trends and needed research

In the international literature, a number of challenges related to the introduction of these accountability and social accounting practices are identified. Paying attention to the following topics in future research will stimulate the utilization of social accounting instruments.

As mentioned earlier, the introduction of the numerous accountability initiatives into practice can be executed in various ways and levels. Some initiatives are adapted by organizations on a voluntary basis, but this implies erratic application and influence. On the other hand, if a regulatory, supervised, and controlled execution is considered, various problems can be identified (see, for

example, *coercive isomorphism*; DiMaggio and Powell 1991). Further research would be needed to elaborate on this matter, and identify the ramifications of each approach for associations.

Globally, many countries are increasingly confronted with an aging population (e.g., Vleugels 2005). In addition, in certain areas of the world, a growing individualism is observed. Both trends result in the question whether there will be sufficient (healthy and physically capable) volunteers in the future who will be active in the associations and willing to spend time on social accounting projects. Earlier research also showed (Kreutzer and Jäger 2011; Thiel and Mayer 2009) that volunteers can become demotivated by the increasing professionalization of an organization (new managerialism) and consequently lose touch with the institution (conflict over organizational identity). Social accounting practices that focus too much on administration and/or are perceived as too time consuming can threaten the importance volunteers attach to such practices. Future research needs to reveal how people can be encouraged to volunteer and stay motivated to spend time in the association and how contexts can be adjusted so that those who wish to volunteer are also able to do so. Social accounting and accountability can increase association members' sense of ownership and commitment (Gao and Zhang 2006), if associations are able to select proper accounting instruments and receive and provide the necessary (external) support.

Studies also show that many associations are strongly dependent on one or several donors, and numerous researchers question the room for plurality in a world of associations that is increasingly dominated by competition for funding (Cordery, Sim, and Baskerville 2013; Rydberg 2007). This ambiguity requires more attention and of specific importance is research focusing on the impact a donor-driven policy might have on (the quality of) social accounting and accountability.

Due to high financial costs and administrative requirements, a number of social accounting tools are not considered useful for (small) associations, although they could provide insights that can be used in developing more appropriate models. One should search (further) for the most efficient and effective ways to implement social accounting in smaller associations that desire to go this route.

Despite the longevity of mutuals and cooperatives in society (especially in many European countries), the literature on accountability in respect of social accounting is sparse. This is another area for future research.

Further research should also pay attention to how national and supranational governments can create a well-functioning policy framework for social accounting and accountability.

Generally, research is needed for small, all-volunteer, grassroots associations and also supra-local all-volunteer MAs to determine what level of accounting,

accountability, and social accounting is optimal for their use. Most of this chapter's focus has been on varieties of accounting that are far too elaborate, extensive, costly, and time consuming for the vast majority of all-volunteer MAs in the world. The question is, thus, what is a truly appropriate, simple, and inexpensive version of accounting, accountability, and social accounting for such MAs, which constitute the vast majority of MAs in the world by sheer numbers in the past and present, but only a tiny fraction of NPO financial assets and income (cf. Smith 2000:chapter 2, 2014).

G. Cross-references

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Information and Technology for Associations

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A. Introduction

Information and communications technology (ICT) is a force that has transformed life for many people in societies throughout the world. In concert with other forces, it alters the nature of human organizations in important and often profound ways. Many of these changes will affect voluntary action, voluntary associations, and volunteering. This chapter will discuss some of these issues and present the impact of ICTs on voluntary action in the context of an emerging global information society. We will delineate how this evolution relates to other content covered in the handbook and discuss how the growth of information technology in society in general will affect voluntary associations. We will define how technology in associations differs from nonprofit technology and other forms of public technology such as e-government.

B. Definitions

The set of general definitions in the Handbook Appendix is accepted in this chapter.

In addition, several special definitions of terms used in this chapter are given blow.

Digital divide refers to inequality in access to information networks by either lack of access to technology, skills, or understanding of the system. The digital divide can be a form of economic and political discrimination because it can limit the individual's participation in society.

Information and communication technologies (ICT) refer to technology that include computing and communications capacities that allow information discovery, storage, manipulation, and transferal. It is more inclusive than information technology.

Information society is one where the information sector of the economy has become the dominant part of the system. This changes the nature and organization of the social institutions toward an information-based model away from the industrial model.

Internet is a network of networks brought together by the TCP/IP protocol. The Internet was created as a project of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA). Subsequent developments (such as the development of the World Wide Web in the 1990s) have greatly expanded the capacity of the Internet.

Open source refers to the development of software by a user community as opposed to a professional software development group. This has become a way of looking at other tasks, as well in the use of collective effort to build new programs.

Web 1.0: This term is usually taken to mean older technology that preceded the development of Web 2.0. It includes Webpages, discussion lists, e-mail, and so forth. There is also software that preceded the development of the World Wide Web, such as newsgroups and bulletin boards. This software is less interactive than Web 2.0 and lacks both the cloud base (although this is changing) and the same capacity to pool collective thinking.

Web 2.0/social media: Both of these terms (which are roughly synonymous) refer to technologies that are essentially cloud based, allow for user-generated content, and facilitate the pooling of collective intelligence. These were essentially marketing terms so precise definitions are often problematic, but there is general agreement on what they mean. "Social software" is, perhaps, an older term. Some of the technologies included are blogging, microblogging, social networking software, social book marking, and virtual worlds.

Virtual communities refer to a network of people who interact and form community through technology. Originally, this term was used to describe community computer networks and participation in multiplayer games, but the connotation has gotten much broader and now refers to a wide variety of technology-assisted networks.

Virtual associations refer to associations that conduct their efforts virtually without the usual physical setting of traditional associations. These are analogous to commercial virtual organizations.

C. Historical background

Understanding the historical development of information and communication technology in voluntary action requires the consideration of three interrelated

arenas: The Emerging Information Society, the evolution of computer technology, and the development of technology tools within voluntary action. The information society represents the overall context of ICT development, technology evolution provides a more specific context, and the use of ICTs by voluntary action represents the most specific instance of use.

1. The emerging information society

Developed countries began to transition from an industrial society model to an information society model in the 1970s (Dillman 199; Porat 1977; see also Bell 1973). In essence an information society is one where the information sector of the economy has become predominant. This causes major changes in the economy and eventually in all of the social institutions. While the emergence of mass populations with earning capacity to buy mass-produced products characterized the industrial society model, the information society model is characterized by the centrality of data and information for both global and niche populations.

Development of computer storage capacity, expansion of data transmission abilities and the spread of knowledge about computing were some of the technological developments that ushered in the information society. The spread of education created a base of knowledge workers and a concomitant demand for data production, storage, transmission, and distribution. Thus, the spread of education and the technological developments that lead to the information age went hand in hand.

Technologies, in particular information and communications technologies, have developed in waves. The first wave, focused on processes assisted by technology, such as computer-aided design and computer-aided manufacturing. This first wave, primarily relevant to industrial processes, at once marked the end of the industrial age and the beginning of the information society. The second wave consisted of the development of organizations' end-user technologies to help gain efficiencies in "back office" functions such as human resource management and budgeting. Thus, we saw the widespread use of spreadsheets and databases, for example. Email and its close relatives, discussion lists and electronic bulletin boards, were used for unidirectional communication – that is, information distribution from one source to many. Further technological developments, specifically development of the World Wide Web, allowed people and organizations to conduct transactions on line. The most notable example of this was e-commerce. This wave is often referred to as Web 1.0. The third and present wave of technology development, often referred to as Web 2.0, consists of the development, diffusion, and widespread use of advanced personal and social technologies such as social networks and social media (e.g., Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Instagram) accessed on a wide range of devices from computers to tablets to smart phones.

These waves of technology, especially the second and third, also relate to social and civic interaction. With regard to large, formally organized non-profit and voluntary organizations, Web 1.0 technologies allowed them to gain efficiencies in managing personnel (paid and volunteers), managing money flows, and managing processes, such as program evaluations. They also enabled online transactions, such as web-based donations. Web 2.0 technologies have also benefitted large, formally organized nonprofit and voluntary organizations. For example, these technologies have enabled such organizations, via Facebook and Twitter for example, to have a larger and more pervasive presence in peoples' lives. YouTube, for example, has allowed them to distribute their messages and missions to a larger group of people for lower costs than traditional brochures and advertising and fund-raising campaigns. For informally organized grassroots associations, Web 2.0 technologies have lowered the costs of organizing and coordinating social and civic activity by enabling practically free, asynchronous communication without regard to geography. The development of social media has allowed people and organizations to continue to realize first-wave gains, but also has enabled them to become both producers and consumers of information in many forms – written, moving images, still photos, and the like.

Regardless of the expansion of capacity enabled by Web technologies, the extent to which they are used by nonprofit and voluntary organizations – whether formal or informal, international, national or at the grassroots – varies widely, prompting the development of scales to understand the extent of usage. For example, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) defines four stages of use: information provision, interaction, transaction, and transformation. Information provision is the one-way sending of information, knowledge, and or data. Interaction is two-way communication. A transaction occurs when an exchange takes place, such as a donation. The fourth stage would be transformational, at which point technology has so changed the nature of organizations – whether formal or informal, and their interaction with members, that the relationship is entirely changed as well – often blurring the distinction between the organization and the member.

2. Association use of technology

Research on Voluntary Association use of technology is often difficult to distinguish from personal technology and technology that is used by nonprofit organizations. Part of this is due to misunderstanding of what a voluntary association is and how it is different from other types of nonprofit organizations or NPOs (Smith 1991, 1997, 2000, 2010a, 2010b, 2015a, 2015b). Frequently, research that deals with nonprofit agencies as one type of NPOs is confused with research on voluntary associations as a very distinct type of NPOs (see

especially, Smith 2015a, 2015b). At least some of that research is relevant to a discussion of volunteering.

There are standard organizational maintenance tasks that are common to a range of smaller organization types, and technology for those tasks varies little across sector. ICT applications can be used for a variety of tasks that are important to those in leadership roles within voluntary association. Tasks such as fund-raising, bookkeeping/accounting, databases for membership, and communicating with membership are easily automated with commonly available office technology and simple modifications to existing technology. Technology can also be used to support standard work encouraging participation and engendering social action.

D. Key issues

1. How will technology change the structure of associations?

Information and communication technologies have the potential for restructuring organizations in important ways. By changing the incentives and cost arrangements, organizational structure elements that are relevant for pre-technology organizations become far less so in organizations that have adopted technology. In general, span of control increases, hierarchies become flatter, and organizations become smaller. Technology expands the reach of organizations over distance.

More importantly, technology can substantially reduce transaction costs, which can be substantial in voluntary association. These include the transaction costs of organizing and constituent development (Earl and Kimport 2011; Shirky 2008), which represents a significant barrier to the growth of associations. These tasks are time consuming and labor intensive in many cases. ICTs can not only automate traditional organizing tasks but also create new systems that are far more efficient and less costly. This makes larger voluntary associations possible and lowers the costs of operation. This, in due course, lowers the barriers to entry for new associations. In theory at least, this should lead to a proliferation of voluntary associations. It also changes the need for infrastructure.

Another factor is the ability of ICTs to transcend distance in recruiting members. While it is relatively easy for community associations to find potential members that share broad interests, more specialized voluntary associations often find this difficult. For general purpose voluntary associations, there is a large potential body of potential members. This makes membership development a matter of creating appeals for participation. While this requires a good deal of effort, the process is straightforward. On balance, more specialized voluntary associations, such as associations for parents of children who

suffer from rare diseases, face more severe recruiting environments. The principal barrier is that the potential pool of members is by definition tiny. The same is true for esoteric hobbies and interests and can be true for hate groups and terrorist organizations. Technology can expand the potential membership base of many small population/limited interest associations. This uses a process that Anderson (2008) refers to as the "long tail" which uses the capacities of ICT to pool small numbers into larger, more economically sufficient pools of interested parties.

This same technology-related process is utilized in micro-volunteering, a form of episodic volunteering. In micro-volunteering, associations use the Internet to assemble many small parts of individual volunteering into meaningful efforts. One example of this type of activity is the Katrina People Finder Project (McNutt et al. 2006) created in the wake of the three major hurricanes that hit the US Gulf Coast in 2005. Volunteers were recruited throughout the world to search the Internet for survivors who had been evacuated. Local nonprofits, governments, and media outlets often posted people who were found and volunteers scraped these sites to create a searchable database that family and friends could use to identify their loved ones.

Looking at the dark side of nonprofit organizations, the development of antisocial nonprofit organizations (Hate Groups, Terrorist Organizations, extremist organizations, etc. – this might also include some religious organizations), the ability of the Internet to bring people of like minds together over vast distances is a boon (see Handbook Chapter 53). Technology has created the tools needed to organize such groups and to aid in the expansion of existing groups. A portal called "Stormfront" serves as a central place for those so engaged. What this means, in the end, is that technology has removed an important barrier to the growth of antisocial segment of the nonprofit sector.

2. How will technology change the leadership of voluntary associations?

The growth of leaderless organizations and self-organizing can have direct impacts on voluntary association. The growth of ICTs has created the opportunity for associations to organize themselves without national leadership and without the complex organizational structures. Leadership is certainly different in technology-enabled associations. The issues, referenced above, concerning span of control and transaction costs also affect leadership.

Leaderless organizations and distributed leadership are an emerging aspect of technology-enhanced organizations (Brainard, Boland, and McNutt 2012; Earl and Kimport 2011) that creates exciting new possibilities. While this type of organization is certainly possible without technology, the development of new network-oriented technologies like Facebook and Twitter have certainly accelerated the process. The pro-democracy social movements in North Africa and the Middle East have used technology extensively, and the Occupy Wall

Street Movement has created a worldwide effort without the need for a central planning and administration system (Brainard, Boland, and McNutt 2012).

The creation of self-organized and self-led organizations has material implications for nonprofit and voluntary action. If this becomes a major part of the organizational field, it will shift the emphasis toward voluntary associations and away from more traditionally organized nonprofit organizations.

3. Automating versus reengineering?

Technology can be used to automate existing association patterns and methods or create entirely new patterns of organization. Much of the advantage to technology comes from reinventing or reengineering rather than automating existing processes. Most organizational processes are developed to use the existing technology fit, not the potential technology fit.

4. Will technology change the nature of civic engagement? How about political engagement? How will online voluntary associations affect social capital?

For the past couple of decades, scholars, public office holders, and nonprofit and voluntary sector researchers and advocates have worried about perceived declines in citizen participation in public life, including participation in the voluntary sector. Robert Putnam (2000; see also Sanders and Putnam 2010) first threw down the gauntlet in his now-famous 2000 book, *Bowling Alone.* In it, Putnam discussed in detail the decline in social capital – relations among people that enable them to engage in public and collective action. He also discussed the decline in citizen involvement in politics (voting, running for office, consuming news) and in civic life (membership in voluntary and civic organizations, philanthropic giving, and voluntary action) (Skocpol 2003). Though others do not see the same decline that Putnam sees (Smith and Robinson 2016), at least in part because he does not account for informal social relationships and informal grassroots organizations found on the Web (Brainard 2003; Brainard and Siplon, 2004; Norris 2002), there does seem to be a general consensus that we – scholars, practitioners, politicians, and voluntary sector leaders – ought to turn our attention to fostering participation. Technology – and in particular Web 2.0 technologies – often are viewed as a tool to do just that.

People come together in both local and virtual communities via the tools that technology provides. Internet users are more likely than non-users to participate in voluntary groups or organizations (Rainey and Wellman 2012; Rainey, Purcell, and Smith 2011). A recent study by Pew Internet and American Life concluded, "It becomes clear as people are asked about their activities that their use of the internet is having a wide-ranging impact on their engagement with civic, social, and religious groups" (Rainey, Purcell, and Smith 2011). Technology has become part of our lives and, by way of extension, part of our

organizational lives. The growth of mobile technology promises to cement that situation to an even greater extent. Even fifteen years ago, there were nonprofits that lacked a website and e-mail connectivity. Today that would be hard to believe. While the nonprofit sector has historically experienced lower rates of technology adoption, the higher level of adoption by the population in general will compel reluctant organizations to adopt.

There are extensive efforts aimed at building civic capacity via the Internet. The community networking movement and the community technology centers' efforts both started in the 1980s to build the idea of civic engagement programing via the Internet (Schuler 1996). Major statewide efforts, such as Minnesota E-Democracy, have created systems to bring people together on a variety of issues and needs (see also Handbook Chapter 13).

E-government efforts also attempt to bring people together and develop civic engagement. These efforts have been very successful in Europe as part of e-consultation efforts. The European Union has an ongoing series of projects aimed at civic engagement within e-government efforts. The 2012 United Nations E-Government study ranks nations on an "E-Participation Index." The Netherlands and the Republic of Korea are tied for first place, while the United States and Great Britain are tied for fifth place (United Nations 2012). Whereas much of e-government has been limited to transactions and information provision, other efforts have gone much further toward engaging citizens with their governments.

Political engagement

Technology has become an important component of political activity. Davis, Elin, and Reeher (2002) noted how a group of citizens, with wide-ranging views and opinions, formed an online community of discourse surrounding the 2000 election. Individuals used their online community to try to persuade others to vote for a particular candidate and to consider opinions and make their own voting decision. The 2008 and 2012 campaigns of US President Barack Obama are well-known for their efforts at using social media to recruit and engage voters, donors large and small, and activists. Perhaps the watershed event for this trend was the 2004 primary run of Vermont Governor Howard Dean. The Dean campaign made excellent use of a number of Web 2.0 technologies (Teachout and Streeter 2008; Trippi 2004). While Dean ultimately lost to Senator John Kerry, his efforts demonstrated that a small campaign with little money can still challenge larger better-funded efforts if they made good use of technology. In many ways, this has the potential to reverse the trend toward the professionalization of politics and the move toward professional political operatives. Worldwide, efforts in Europe have changed the nature of politics and of elections by infusing technology. These have been repeated in every continent throughout the world.

In addition to electoral campaigns, issue advocacy is another major function of voluntary associations. The creation of new policies, the protection of rights, and the securing of benefits and protections is part of the mission of many non-profit associations. Technology has become a major part of these efforts through online email campaigns, e-petitions, microtargeting, and so forth (Congressional Management Foundation 2005, 2007; McNutt and Boland 1999). Social media has added considerably to the advocate's arsenal.

Research (A. Smith, Schlozman, Verba, and Brady 2009) suggests that those who participate in politics online are similar to those who participate offline. It also puts forward that many of these are usually the same people. Similar results were reported by Conroy, Feezell, and Guerrero (2012). This indicates that the relationship between face-to-face and virtual spheres might be closer than some imagine. A good deal of what we "know" about the relationship between online and offline political action is actually speculation of which much is self-serving. When those who have a vested interest in traditional social change techniques predict that online activisms cannot possibly have long-term success, it should be seen as a statement of interest.

In one-party states, social media provides a means for citizen communication and eventually protest. The Green Revolution in Iran and some aspects of the Arab Spring demonstrations in other Middle Eastern nations provide some examples of this type of process. In China, bloggers and social networking provide alternative news media (Sima 2011). There is also evidence (Yang 2003, 2007, 2009) that Chinese voluntary associations are using the Internet to build civil society and advance social action.

Technology provides those who work within the advocacy communities in the nonprofit sector with exciting and creative new tools. It should be noted, however, that technology tools can be used for both pro-social and antisocial ends. These tools can be used by hate groups, terrorists, and other malefactors within the nonprofit field.

5. Will new forms of fund-raising change the nature of voluntary associations? What will be the effect of crowd funding?

Associations raise money for many reasons, not the least of which are operating funds for bricks and mortar operations. This activity represents a major use of their time and effort. Since virtual organizations can have decidedly lower needs in that regard, fund-raising efforts can be more modest.

Technology has made it possible to raise money from smaller donors at far lower costs. Secure donation sites, charity malls, shop for a cause programs, and online auctions allow frictionless fund-raising. Small donations to organizations, via text messaging, in the wake of the earthquakes in Haiti and Japan have been well publicized.

A related application is the growing practice of "Crowdfunding." In crowdfunding, a website is used to collect small pledges for a proposed project. This type of process is already well established in the venture capital world. One example of this type of effort is KIVA, which acts as an intermediary between grantees and grantors. This is logically similar to micro-lending, but uses the power of technology to aggregate small gifts into a possible project.

Fund-raising is important in the world of voluntary associations. In the past, the logic of economies of scale pushed organizations to big donors and federated fund-raising. This process meant that going after big donors was a matter of survival. It also meant that big donors had a great deal of influence on the sector's priorities. Technology means that it is economically possible to build support from a more diverse set of donors, including those who receive services.

6. What will be the major characteristics of online voluntary associations? Will they replace, supplement, or compete with existing face-to-face associations?

There are two types of online or virtual voluntary associations (see also Handbook Chapter 13). The first type started out as a traditional bricks and mortar association. They rented office space, hired staff, and did the other things that organizations do to establish a face-to-face presence. For some of these organizations, the reason for becoming virtual organizations includes resources, declining memberships or other factors. These organizations might have had a transitional phase where they were run by an association management firm, or by some other entity. The virtual model outsources all of its critical function and uses technology to coordinate the functions.

Other associations began as virtual organizations. The advocacy group MoveOn is an example of this type of effort. Anonymous is another good example. This is an organization of online activists (often called Hacktivists) that promotes various causes on a global scale. These are organizations that never had a real physical presence. They have members and a budget and conduct organizational business

There are degrees of virtuality and organizations should be regarded as points on a continuum rather than discrete ideal types. The degree of *Virtuality* is actually an organization's strategic choice, rather than a firm characteristic.

Virtual advocacy organizations often have a difficult time differentiating themselves from AstroTurf efforts (McNutt and Boland 2007). Astroturf is synthetic participation created to influence policy. It does not represent the real feelings of affect people. On balance, the processes may be the same, and it might be very difficult to differentiate between legitimate participation and AstroTurf.

7. What is the relationship between online communities and offline communities? How will this affect the development of both and their relationship with civil society?

People are becoming involved in online communities at an incredible rate. In developed economies throughout the world, a substantial portion of the population is involved in social networking (Pew Global Attitudes Project 2012).

Civil society will reflect the way that people organize their lives. If a significant part of that is conducted in online venues, then association life is likely to follow into cyberspace as well. This means, in all likelihood, that people will have relationships in multiple venues. Smith, Schlozman, Verba, and Brady (2009) found a connection between online and offline political life. The relationship between online and offline associational life identified by Rainie, Purcell, and Smith (2011) also suggests that a similar process is also occurring in associational life.

8. What is the relationship between social media and global social movements? Do new media essentially change the nature of these organizations?

Technology has much to add to global social movements. It can extend the reach and effectiveness of social movement activities. There is evidence that technology will also alter the structure of the organizations, away from the careful command and control model specified in social movement theories (see Earl and Kimport 2011).

E. Usable knowledge

Technology brings with it the promise of revitalizing association life in new and vital ways. It can change the way that voluntary associations are led and structured and how they carry out the organization's core tasks. Technology can further lower the barriers to entry for new associations. Social media and related tools can facilitate the management of meetings, the recruitment of volunteers, and the creation of public awareness and attention. Fund-raising can change as a function of technology. It can change both the way that resources are obtained and from whom we obtain those resources. This might lead to changes in nonprofit strategy as associations reorient themselves. Association life will change, but will offer many of the existing benefits that currently exist will be enhanced by an online component. Volunteering may change, at least for a few. The rise of virtual volunteering, micro-volunteering, and so forth represent important resources for associations and potential volunteers. The possibilities for technology in advocacy and political participation are considerable.

F. Future trends and needed research

While it is impossible to forecast where a volatile area may be heading, some trends are clear. First, the involvement of voluntary associations in online environment will most likely continue and the complexity of those relationships will continue. The development of mobile technology will add new facets to this relationship. Reinventing the sector in the information society will require a range of creative solutions. Much of the emphasis of creating formal nonprofit organizations can be attributed to the transaction costs of traditional organizing and programming. This can be reduced via technology. The outcome may be a shift away from this type of organization toward voluntary associations. We may already be seeing that in the profusion of groups organized through social media. Since these organizations will never be on the radar of traditional nonprofit studies, scholars might miss this development entirely unless new methodologies are developed.

Research into online voluntary associations and volunteering will need new or at least substantially revised theoretical frameworks. Information on new organizational forms will have to be incorporated. One challenge that will need to be met is the lack of sampling frames for associations that occur online. A special, immediate need is for research comparing the nature of membership in online versus in-person associations. Anecdotal findings suggest that online associations tend to arouse less member commitment, involve less member activity and time, and lead to much faster member turnover/exit rates than do in-person associations.

G. Cross-references

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Economics of Associations and Volunteering

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A. Introduction

This chapter reviews economic approaches to volunteers and nonprofit organizations (NPOs), especially membership associations (MAs). Because volunteers work without (significant) pay, volunteering has no market price. Still, volunteering has economic value, as would become evident if all volunteers stopped working simultaneously. Estimating the monetary value of volunteering is a second emphasis of this chapter. The economic contribution of volunteers and MAs (or NPOs generally) has been neglected for a long time. Due to minimal data, the economic relevance of the nonprofit sector has long remained invisible. In recent years, some effort has been made to obtain more information on volunteering, mainly fostered by the academic world, but increasingly recognized and supported by governments. As a third emphasis, this chapter provides a comprehensive overview of relevant, existing data.

B. Definitions

This chapter accepts the set of definitions in the Handbook Appendix.

Volunteering fulfills many purposes and functions for individuals, organizations, and the society. Economic theory emphasizes the productive component of voluntary actions. Volunteers and voluntary organizations produce goods and services that create an economic value, even if they are not sold in the markets and hence have no market prices. One main aspect of the definition of volunteering is that it has to be productive: a person other than the volunteer himself or herself has to (also) benefit from the volunteer's action. Volunteering is thus distinguished from solely consumptive leisure-time activities, such as doing sports, playing a music instrument, and so on (Anheier et al. 2003). Some scholars believe that only an *intention* to benefit others is necessary, not an actual benefit.

According to the International Labor Organization (ILO) manual (ILO 2008), which aims to guide countries in generating systematic and comparable data on volunteer work, the following definition is applied: "activities or work that some people willingly do without pay to promote a cause or help someone outside of their household or immediate family" (ibid.). The definition includes both formal volunteering, which is an activity taking place in an organizational context, and informal volunteering, which is assistance given directly to individuals outside the volunteer's household.

Although the definition does not include any motivational aspect, still volunteering is often viewed as being altruistic behavior. Cnaan, Handy, and Wadsworth (1996) defined volunteering along a continuum: "In all cases the higher the net costs and the purer [i.e., more altruistic] the volunteer act, the higher the person will be ranked as a volunteer" (ibid., 381). They calibrated their definition with a survey of disinterested persons. They also found that people are less likely to rank persons of higher social standing as volunteers, other things being equal, presumably because high-status persons have greater social obligations (*noblesse oblige*).

On an organizational level, the unit of investigation in economic theory is mostly nonprofit agencies rather than voluntary associations, especially if it comes to the collection of economic data (cf. Smith 2015a, 2015b). Capturing the economic importance of the third sector has been one major goal of nonprofit sector research since its beginning (Salamon 2010). A major focus of economics is the production of goods and services. However, the nonprofit sector research has always pursued an interdisciplinary approach. The definition of NPOs is quite broad and includes both voluntary agencies and voluntary associations. Of course, economic literature is also approaching other organizational units, such as voluntary associations, grassroots, social networks, interest groups, cooperatives, and so on, discussing both service delivery functions and expressive functions (Salamon and Sokolowski 2011). This chapter focuses on NPOs in order to demonstrate the economic importance of the sector.

C. Historical background

The history of economic research on volunteering goes back to the 1960s. Wolozin (1966, 1968) was one of the first economists to assess the economic value of volunteering in the United States. On a micro-economic and individual level, the main concern was the motivation of voluntary actions and the question of how volunteering is compatible with the economic assumption of utility maximization. Individuals might volunteer to gain certain (economic) benefits (Chinman and Wandersman 1999; Olson 1965), but this is only one side of the coin. Volunteering has also been related to the concept of altruism. The economic theory of altruism deals with the question of how the utility of

others can be integrated in an individual's utility function and faces certain limits in power of explanations (e.g., Halfpenny 1999). Researchers often conclude with a demand for a broader, interdisciplinary approach (e.g., Rose-Ackerman 1996).

In terms of organizations, economic research has focused on the explanation of why certain goods and services (such as public goods, club goods) are provided by NPOs rather than by other types of organizations (i.e. for-profit enterprises and government organizations). Nonprofit sector research received a major impetus in the 1990s when the Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project (CNP) started collecting data on NPOs in various countries systematically (Salamon et al. 1999). During the last 25 years, the number of participating countries increased from 13 to 40 (Salamon 2010). The data sets allowed cross-country comparison and therefore gave access to analyze the influence of macro-(economic) factors such as economic power and welfare states (Salamon 2010; Salamon and Anheier 1998; Salamon, Sokolowski, and Associates 2004).

On a macro-economic level, research has further been driven by the desire to prove the contribution of voluntary work and NPOs to a country's economy. Non-market activity volunteering is hardly reflected by the main economic indicators, such as the gross domestic product (GDP), although it creates a reasonable economic value. The United States has the longest tradition of regularly recording the volume of voluntary work. From 1988 to 2001, the nonprofit INDEPENDENT SECTOR (IS) published data on giving and volunteering in the United States (e.g., Hodgkinson and Weitzman 1988). During the last two decades, many countries have started to systematically collect data on volunteering and/or the nonprofit sector. The current peak of this development is the creation of a satellite account for the nonprofit sector within in the System of National Accounts (SNA). This allows for the inclusion of non-market activities such as volunteering and private giving in the SNA and offers a comprehensive picture of the economic importance of the nonprofit sector. In recent years, 12 countries all over the world (e.g., Canada, Czech Republic, Japan, and Australia) have completed satellite accounts (Salamon 2010). Govekar and Govekar (2002) reviewed economic research on the determinants of the volunteer labor supply.

D. Key issues

1. Volunteers and voluntary organizations in economic theory

A large body of economic literature deals with the motivation of volunteers on an *individual level* as noted earlier. According to the consumption model, volunteering creates *private benefits* for the volunteers themselves, such as prestige and attendance at elite parties (Rose-Ackerman 1996: 714). Andreoni (1989) introduced the term "warm glow" for the good feeling volunteers might gain from their contribution. Volunteering can also be viewed as an *investment*, for

example in terms of gaining labor experience, skills, and contacts (Ziemek 2003). The concept of *altruism* is applied to situations where volunteers consider the benefits for others. Pure altruists care about the benefits for others only and not for their own benefit, whereas impure altruists care about their contribution to the outcome (which is actually a form of private benefit as mentioned above; Rose-Ackerman 1996). The term "reciprocal altruism" is applied to situations where an individual expects to obtain the same benefit for himself or herself at a later time (Badelt 1985). The dualistic view of considering either one's own benefit or the benefit to others is often not sufficient in describing various motivations and behaviors. Therefore, a more interdisciplinary view is applied, such as the feeling of moral obligation in contributing to the provision of charitable goods (Rose-Ackerman 1996; see also Handbook Chapters 30 and 31).

Some studies differentiate between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. These terms originally stem from social psychology, and were adopted by economists (Frey and Jegen 2001). Empirical studies show that direct extrinsic rewards reduce voluntary work by diminishing intrinsic motivation, that is, extrinsic motivation might crowd out intrinsic motivation of volunteering (Bénabou and Tirole 2006; Frey 1992). This crowding out effect is not limited to time donation, but can be observed in a variety of social interactions, including monetary as well as blood donation (Titmuss 1970).

In reference to factors affecting the amount of time given to others, theory suggests that opportunity cost of time given should reduce volunteering time. This prediction is supported by some empirical tests (Menchik and Burton 1987), but not by all. In general, empirical studies confirm a positive correlation between the socio-economic status of individuals and volunteering (e.g., Smith 1994), which is in a way contradictive to the time allocation model mentioned above. People with a higher income and related characteristics such as higher education (and therefore higher opportunity costs) are more likely to volunteer than others. Also, in terms of the amount of time spent by volunteers, increasing opportunity cost of volunteering suggests no clear effect on volunteering time. Non-economic aspects such as social inclusion and social networks have a greater impact on volunteers' decision making than economic factors such as income. Psychological factors tend to be especially important (Smith 2015; Handbook Chapters 30 and 31).

On an *organizational level*, the existence of NPOs is explained by the theories of market and government failure. According to these theories the market and the government are not able to produce a sufficient amount of public goods. Public goods are characterized by low excludability, that is, consumers cannot be excluded from the consumption of the good. Further, the consumption by one person does not affect the consumption by another person (low rivalry in consumption). Therefore, there is no incentive for private enterprises to

produce these kinds of goods; hence, market failure occurs. Market failure is one of the main arguments explaining the necessity of the state to provide public goods. Government failure may lead to insufficiency because the government will provide levels of public goods according to the preference of the median voter in order to maximize votes.

Another form of market failure is the existence of asymmetric information, which occurs even with private goods, described as contract failure (Hansmann 1980). For goods or services where quality is unverifiable, consumers cannot evaluate quality accurately. In this case, for-profit organizations seeking profit maximization are likely to take advantage of customers by providing lower quality goods and services than promised by contract or marketing claims. Due to the prohibition of distributing profits, NPOs usually care more about the quality of products/services they provide, not about profit maximization (Hansmann 1996; Weisbrod 1988). NPOs therefore have less incentive in taking advantage of the asymmetric information (Easley and O'Hara 1983; Hansmann 1996) and are hence more trustworthy than profit-oriented organizations (Hansmann 1980). Trust is an important issue in research on organizations (Ben-Ner and Benedetto 1993; Hansmann 1980) and in public economics, since a lack of trust increases transaction costs (Alesina and La Ferrara 2002).

Market failure occurs also in cases where customers cannot afford services provided by for-profit organizations (Hansmann 1981). NPOs deal with these problems by cross-subsidization (James 1983; Weisbrod 1988). They charge higher prices for some products to make extra revenues and reduce over exclusion of products, rather than direct price discrimination, that is, charging different prices among different consumers for the same product. For those who care about ideas of helping others with voluntary donations, service providing or advocacy NPO are better positioned than government or for-profit organizations to implement their ideas, because government is too constrained by legislative mandates and for-profits have to satisfy market survival (Sugden 1984).

Some types of organizations and networks are used in order to improve the allocation of resources by different forms of decision-making. Participation plays an important role. Cooperatives can be considered in this way; another form can be found in development assistance. Community-based and -driven development tends to reduce poverty by actively including beneficiaries in the design and management of projects (Mansuri and Rao 2004).

Entrepreneurship theories provide a link between individual aspects, such as motivation, attitudes, and personality, and the existence of certain types of organizations, such as associations and other types of NPOs. Young (1983) describes various entrepreneurial motivations. Driving force for nonprofit managers might be the personal development, process-oriented factors (e.g., search for personal identity, need for autonomy, and independence), orientation

toward the outcome of the production process, the belief in a cause, as well as the desire to gain power. According to entrepreneurial theory, entrepreneurship is linked to innovation, which might refer to the product/service, as well as to the production process. Many examples can be found where nonprofit agencies and associations have been first to provide certain goods and services. The use of volunteer labor as an input factor in the production process is one of the main characteristics of associations and nonprofit agencies and can be considered as an innovative element of NPOs. The mobilization of volunteer effort is one of the abilities social entrepreneurs usually require. Still, there is a lack of empirical evidence for the thesis of innovative power of NPOs (Badelt 1997).

On a *macro-level*, the size of the nonprofit sector and the volume of voluntary work have been linked to various factors. Some studies indicate a positive correlation between the economic strength or the national wealth of a country (measured by the GDP) and the size of the nonprofit sector (e.g., Pryor 2012) or, more specifically, the number of voluntary associations in a society (e.g., Schofer and Longhofer 2011). Still there is a countless number of other – often interrelated – political, historical, cultural aspects influencing the size and character of the nonprofit sector (e.g., Smith and Shen 2002; Ziemek 2003). This explains in part the strong interdisciplinary approach of the nonprofit sector research. Some empirical studies focus on the question whether there are crowding effects between the public and the nonprofit sector, that is, if a strong welfare state is crowding out voluntary action (Abrams and Schmitz 1984). The theory of social origins (Salamon 2010; Salamon and Anheier 1998) analyzes historical developments of the nonprofit sector in various countries considering institutional arrangement influencing the size and development of the sector (Hustinx et al. 2010). Various patterns of civil society sector structures have been identified, distinguished by particular constellations of various features, that is, the size of the workforce, the share of volunteers, and the structure of financing the NPOs (Salamon 2010).

2. The economic value of the work of volunteers

Measuring the economic value of volunteer time remains ambiguous because it is not determined by a market transaction. Therefore, the valuation of volunteer time depends on an observer's viewpoint: (1) volunteers themselves (the supply price); (2) the managers of the organizations they assist (the demand price); (3) clients–patrons–members of a service-providing organization (consumer surplus); (4) the macro-level – the value to society – which is not necessarily the sum of any of these micro-level valuations.

(a) Volunteer's View: Rational persons should value an hour of volunteering in terms of the most attractive activity that they would willingly sacrifice to make more time for volunteering, namely their "opportunity cost." The generally assumed alternative is employment in the paid labor market (Freeman 1997).[1]

However, 20% of volunteers in one study said that their next most valuable use of their time was leisure or an activity other than gainful employment (Foster et al. 2001). Brown (1999) refined this opportunity cost model by taking into account taxes, foregone benefits, and empirical studies on the value of free time, and concluded volunteers value their own time between 50% and 86% of their average hourly wage rate.

(b) Managerial View: The popular replacement cost model assumes equality between the value of volunteer help and the cost of an equivalent amount of paid work. Gaskin (1999) uses replacement cost in her widely used Volunteer Investment Value Audit (VIVA). Unfortunately, the equivalence assumption is often counterfactual (Brown 1999; Brudney 1990; Brudney and Gazley 2002). Typically, volunteers have neither the formal training nor the experience of paid employees, so fewer paid hours should be needed to replace a given number of volunteer hours (Handy and Srinivasan 2004). Volunteers are more likely to be complementary to paid labor rather than its substitute (Preston 2006).[2] If these human resources are complements, replacement cost under-states the value of an additional volunteer because both resources must be used simultaneously (Bowman 2009).

The lack of proper education, formal training, and experience of the work-force (including both regular employees and volunteers) is very typical for NPOs in many countries, where a significant part of the staff consists of volunteers. This is also the case in the Slovak Republic (Slovakia) as a transition country. Although, according to the statistical data, volunteers represent around 20% of total workforce of the NPOs (Kuvíková, Stejskal, and Svidroňová 2014), the authors believe that this percentage is in fact higher due to the limited statistical data. The specific law on volunteerism has existed only since 2011. It is the first regulation in the Slovak Republic that defines the volunteering systematically (Kuvíková, Stejskal, and Svidroňová 2014). The problem of incompetence in the paid and volunteer workforce is connected to the issue of NPO, including association, failures – *philanthropic amateurism* (Nemec 2000).

Although unpaid, volunteers should be supervised and trained, which uses real resources. Depending on the complexity of the task and the quality of the volunteers, it is not always the case that volunteer labor is cheaper than paid labor. If the task requires specialized expertise, it is possible that the paid labor will be cheaper than the volunteer labor (Hughes 2006).

Bowman (2009) argued that a volunteer's contribution to revenue establishes an upper bound on value, because a nonprofit manager has no economic incentive to pay more to recruit, train, and supervise volunteers than the resulting contribution to total revenue.[3] Handy, Mook, and Quarter (2006) measured the value of volunteered time to an organization by the amount of monetary donations its leaders would be willing to sacrifice for one additional hour of volunteered time, presumably net of the cost of volunteer management. They

arrived at an estimate of USD 10 (11.91 in 2011 USD). Hager (2004) estimated the value that NPOs ascribe to volunteers by asking the managers "to place a dollar value on an hour of their typical volunteer's time"; the median charity responded USD 20 (24.44 in 2011 USD).

Generally Accepted Accounting Principles (GAAP) in the United States allow NPOs to recognize the economic contribution of volunteers if and only if (1) the time is spent building an asset for the not-for-profit or the volunteer possesses a professional skill, such as an attorney or CPA, and (2) the not-for-profit would have paid for the service had it not been donated. The estimated value of volunteer time is recorded twice – once as revenue and once as an equal expense because the services would have been purchased if not provided by volunteers. According to the above analysis, it is valid to impute a wage equal to replacement cost in these particular circumstances.

In Slovakia, national survey data and the systematic evaluation of voluntary work are not as developed as in the United States or Germany, for example. The value of the voluntary work is usually measured (imputed) according to the average hourly wage. Hence, the total hours of volunteering are multiplied by the average hourly wage. Using this method, the total value of the voluntary work in the Slovak Republic was almost EUR 120 million in 2012 (Kuvíková et al. 2014).

(c) Clients' View: Garbacz and Thayer (1983) evaluated the value of volunteers in a companion program for low-income elderly, concluding that volunteers added 3.06 USD per hour in value (or 7.13 in 2011 USD).[4] The utility functions of managers and clients may differ. In Philadelphia, "Nonprofit directors [of community-based organizations] across neighborhoods held more similar views with each other than they did with residents of their own communities, even though the communities were quite different" (Kissane and Gingerich 2004). No one has yet compared the value of volunteers to the managers and clients of the same organization, but it would be valuable research.

(d) Society's View[5]: Aggregating micro-level data to obtain the economic value to society presents a formidable set of conceptual problems. The conventional metric of economic value to society is GDP. According to the accounting identity that is the basis for national income and product accounts, GDP is equivalently measured by either of two methods: (1) the sum of final consumption, including government purchases, business investment, and net exports, and (2) the sum of payments to all resources, which necessarily excludes unpaid volunteer labor. (Another major exclusion from GDP is the economic value of unpaid work performed at home for one's family.) Both methods are used to construct income and product accounts and both use market values.

According to data of the Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, which monitors nonprofit institutions serving households, the contribution of NPOs to the GDP represents around 1.17% or EUR 836 million (Kuvíková et al. 2014).

Where there are no markets, economists sometime use the concept of "shadow price," which is the opportunity cost of utilizing a resource. The market value of resources that an NPO expends on recruiting, training, and managing volunteers would be available for other uses if it utilized no volunteers represents the economic value of volunteers in terms of their shadow price. Therefore, the economic value of volunteers in terms of the shadow price represents the market value of resources that an NPO expends utilizing them. However, GDP includes this amount as an ordinary cost of production. The shadow price model of valuation assumes that firms are in equilibrium. We infer that most NPOs are not in equilibrium with respect to utilizing volunteers, because four in five charities and one in three religious congregations that run social service programs using volunteers report that they need more (Hager 2004). Therefore, the shadow price of volunteers undervalues their economic contribution.

GDP already includes the imputed value of owner-occupied housing, so it would be natural to augment GDP with the number of volunteered hours multiplied by an imputed wage rate. The IS annually estimates the economic value of volunteers derived from the number of volunteer hours multiplied by the average wage of all non-managerial workers outside of the agricultural sector. (The hourly figure for 2011 was 21.79 USD.) Although Statistics Canada and the British Institute for Volunteering Research do not publish an annual number, they advocate using a similar method. The IS procedure is simple, but it is flawed in two respects. First, a unique imputed wage does not exist. Volunteering is a non-exchange transaction between two parties (unlike housing where an owner rents to himself), who may value the transaction very differently. Second, the IS method assumes perfect substitutability of volunteer labor and paid employees, which is often contraindicated in practice. It is very likely that the IS method overestimates the economic value of volunteers (Bowman 2009).

Published research assumes that all benefits are captured exclusively by the volunteers themselves or the organizations they assist, but the general public may also experience a benefit from living in a society where volunteering is the norm. This diffuse secondary benefit is known as a positive externality (Handy and Brudney 2007). Unfortunately, we are unable to measure it and perforce unable to include it in GDP (but see Smith 2017). Elementary welfare economics teaches that whenever in cases of a positive externality, the equilibrium level of output will be below the optimal level.

In conclusion, measuring the economic value of volunteer time is ambiguous because it is not determined by a market transaction. Therefore, the valuation of volunteer time depends on an observer's viewpoint: (1) volunteers themselves, (2) the managers of the organizations they assist, (3) clients–patrons–members of a service providing organization, and (4) society as a whole – which is not the sum of any of these micro-level valuations.

3. The economic importance of nonprofit organizations and volunteers

In recent years, the increasing political interest in volunteering and the non-profit sector has resulted in a growing availability of national data. Many countries publish an official report on volunteering (e.g., the United States, Canada, Germany) on a more or less regular basis. Most of these volunteer reports include data on the rate of participation among the population and among various subgroups of the population referring to socio-demographic characteristics such as gender, age groups, education, and so on. Some reports (e.g., Switzerland, Austria) include an expansion of the volume of work provided by volunteers and relate them to economic indicators such as employment.

Due to diverse definitions and methods of collecting data, the results of such reports are hardly comparable. The term *volunteering* is used very differently in everyday language. Therefore, the definition and method applied are crucial for the results. For instance, in Germany, the rate of participation identified by different studies ranges between 18% and 52% (Alscher et al. 2009). In order to compare data, it is necessary to consistently use definitions and survey instruments across nations. Some international studies such as the World Values Survey, European Social Survey include questions on volunteering and can be used for cross-country comparison.

The research interest in the economic importance of associations and non-profit agencies has been mainly fostered by the academic world. The Johns Hopkins Project has provided the longest and most sustainable cross-national work as mentioned earlier. In its beginning, the project provided definitions which were applicable to all the countries respecting their different cultural backgrounds. A further intention was to collect data on the nonprofit sector. The latest results (Salamon 2010) include data from more than 40 countries, for which operating expenditures of USD 2.2 trillion are indicated. Fees (50%) and government payments (36%) are the most important sources of revenue for nonprofit agencies, whereas philanthropy (14%) accounts for a relatively small share. The composition of these three revenue sources varies greatly across the different countries and also across industries. The nonprofit sector accounts for a workforce of 56 million full-time equivalents (FTE) which approximates 5.6% of the economically active population of these countries. Volunteers represent about 42% of nonprofit workers measured in terms of FTE. Salamon, Sokolowski, and Haddock (2011) use Johns Hopkins Project data to estimate the global numbers of formal and informal volunteers, and their economic value (see Handbook Chapter 51, Section D, #6). Quoting from Handbook Chapter 51:

> The results indicate about 971 million people volunteer in a typical year worldwide (p. 22), with 36% being formal volunteers and 64% being informal volunteers. The estimated total economic value of this volunteering

in 2005 was USD 1.348 trillion (p. 23). This number was equivalent to the seventh largest economy in the world in that year. Another estimate yields the total value of USD 1.49 trillion, with more extensive extrapolation (p. 23, fn).

In recent years, the focus was to find ways to systematically integrate the nonprofit sector in the SNA by creating a "Satellite Account." In 2003, a UN handbook (United Nations Statistics Division 2003) was created for national bureaus of statistics. NPOs and their economic activities are partly included in the SNA, partly not. For creating a satellite account, it is necessary to identify and extract the data that indicate the economic activities of the nonprofit sector out of the SNA (in a separate satellite account). From a statistical point of view, one challenge is to identify NPOs (out of existing data bases) and to clearly differentiate them from other organizations. In most countries, there is no specific legal form that applies to NPOs. Hence, the NPOs and their activities are not flagged as such. In a next step, the satellite account has to be amended with data that are not reflected by the SNA such as (the economic value of) voluntary work. The implementation has to be considered as a long-term process due to complex information requirements. Currently, 12 countries have already created a satellite account according to the UN Handbook: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Czeck Republic, France, Israel, Italy (partial), Japan, United States, New Zealand, Norway, and Mozambique. Initial findings confirm a reasonable economic force, representing 5% of the GDP on average (Salamon 2010).

E. Usable knowledge

In recent decades, economic research on volunteering and various types of voluntary organizations has progressed tremendously. Politicians and practitioners, as well as researchers, have realized the importance of the sector and its activities taking place in many areas of society. Financial and economic crises all over the world have broadened the scope of search for solutions, which has been limited very much to the market and the state for a long time. Due to economic and social developments, welfare states have also faced problems which contributed to an increasing interest in the nonprofit sector, as well as concerns about the environment, poverty, the situation in developing countries, political developments in the former communist countries, and so on. With an improving availability of data, a better understanding of the voluntary sector's functions, determinants, and development could and can be obtained. One of the results is that a strong welfare state is not necessarily contradictive to a high level of volunteer engagement, as the examples of Scandinavian countries prove. Denmark, Sweden and Norway have both, strong welfare states and high levels of volunteer participation.

Occasionally (e.g., in the course of the European Year of Volunteering), there is discussion about how the government can actively foster volunteer engagement. This is a crucial topic since political influence can be easily considered as interference in the independence of individuals and associations. In Slovakia, the law allows individuals and incorporated entities to allocate a particular percentage of their income tax to NPOs. It is called a tax assignment. The Slovak government uses such tax assignment not only as a form of financing of the NPOs but also as a tool to motivate volunteers and private donors to offer more time and money to NPOs, including associations. The income tax assignment is considered as public financial support toward NPOs. Through the tax assignment process, the government offers an opportunity for individuals and legal entities to assign part of their income tax to an NPO. In Slovakia, this tool has been implemented since 2001. More recently, after 2010, the Slovak government used the tool to motivate volunteers, as well as private donors. Normally, individuals are allowed to assign 2% of their income tax, unless they are official volunteers. If they had officially worked as volunteers for at least 40 hours yearly, they may assign 3% of their income tax. Likewise, legal (incorporated) entities are allowed to assign 1.5% of their income tax to NPOs. But if they offer some financial gift (donation) to NPOs, they may assign 2% of their income tax (Svidroňová and Kuvíková 2014; Svidroňová and Vaceková 2012).

In some countries, governments are financially supporting volunteer agencies and training of volunteers. Also, research can contribute to an increased recognition of the importance of volunteers. Local governments often arrange certain events in order to honor the engagement of volunteers in their communities. In most countries, monetary donations reduce donors' tax liabilities, but contributions of time (volunteering) do not. Ascribing an accurate value to volunteer time can help advocates defend the tax exempt status of voluntary agencies.

F. Future trends and needed research

Although economic research on volunteers and voluntary organizations has faced an upturn in recent years, many topics remain to be investigated. On the individual level, changes in motivations of volunteers over time represent a research topic that calls for further interdisciplinary research. Therefore, it is necessary to better understand the influence of social aspects, which might be derived from further cross-country comparisons. On the organizational level, only a little attention has been paid to the role of associations as sites and stimuli of voluntary work and respective influencing factors. In terms of the economic value of volunteering, it would be useful to compare the value of volunteers to the managers and clients of the same organization. On a macro-level, it is still difficult to analyze the development of volunteering and associations

over time, due to a lack of comparable data in many countries. Creating regular and consistently collected databases across many countries would be very useful, in order to demonstrate the economic importance of volunteering and associations, and to help us better understand factors influencing volunteering and associations.

Cross-references

Chapters 4, 10, 11, 19, 20, 21, 22, 39, and Part IV.

Notes

1. Freeman also proposes that volunteering is an onerous activity that persons would prefer to avoid. It may seem an odd position, but it is not far removed from the cost-based definition of volunteering of Cnaan, Handy, and Wadsworth (1996).
2. Two resources X and Y are substitutes whenever the price of either is *positively* correlated with use of the other. They are complements whenever the price of either is *negatively* correlated with use of the other.
3. If volunteers and paid labor are substitutes, this upper bound lies below volunteers' replacement cost because substitution allows a cheaper resource to be used in lieu of a more expensive one. On the other hand, if they are complements, the new upper bound may lie above replacement cost because both resources must be used jointly. Whether the new upper bound lies above or below replacement cost depends on the elasticity of substitution between labor and capital.
4. Calculated by the first author using US Inflation Calculator (based on US Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics data as presented by CoinNews Media Group LLC) – http://www.usinflationcalculator.com/inflation/consumer-price-index -and-annual-percent-changes-from-1913-to-2008. Accessed September 11, 2011. Because of diminishing marginal utility, it is important that respondents are in the same income class.
5. The first author thanks Eleanor Brown for constructive suggestions on an earlier version of this section.

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Part VII

External Environments of Associations

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45
Civil Liberties and Freedoms as Association Contexts

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A. Introduction

As vital aspects of genuine democracy and of widespread citizen participation, even in authoritarian nations/regimes, civil liberties and freedoms are important contextual factors affecting the development, growth, operation, and survival of nonprofit membership associations (MAs) and of individual formal volunteering in any society. Quantitative research on the prevalence of both formal volunteering and MAs supports this statement with solid empirical evidence on sets of most contemporary nations (Halman 2003:191; Schofer and Longhofer 2011:565; Smith and Shen 2002:115, 117). This chapter examines the role of civil liberties and freedoms as they affect volunteering and MAs, with primary emphasis on the interrelated freedoms of association and of assembly. Chapter contributors focus on these issues in their birth countries – the United States, Ukraine, Belarus, and the Philippines.

In the societies of the world over the past 150,000–200,000 years of our species on earth, democracy has only been practiced widely within certain nations for the past two centuries plus – about one-tenth of 1% of the time and only for a minority of societies in the recent period. Ancient Athenian democracy was confined to only a small percentage of the population who were adult, non-slave, native-born, urban, noble, wealthy males – perhaps only 10% (Osborne 2010). Older democracies in the past two centuries, such as France, the United Kingdom, and the United States, have gradually widened their range of enfranchised categories of people, first abolishing slavery and including former slaves as voters (if male) in the 19th century and then including women as voters in the 20th century.

During the 20th century, however, many more nations became electoral democracies, with varying degrees of freedom of association and assembly, but usually much more than previously (Diamond and Plattner 2001; Markoff

1996:chapter 1). Markoff identified three waves of democratization in nations of the world in the 20th century: (1) from 1910 to the mid-1920s, (2) from the 1940s to the 1950s, and (3) from the mid-1970s to the mid-1990s (Ibid.; see also Huntington 1991). More recently, some authors see democracy in retreat or decline in many nations (e.g., Kurlantzick 2013), while other scholars see democracy as still strong and deepening or expanding globally (e.g., Diamond 2007).

Freedom of association is a precious and valued civil liberty in many nations, perhaps in most or all nations, if the people are consulted, rather than only lawyers or the government. Research by Smith and Shen (2002) and by Schofer and Longhofer (2011) on over 100 nations at different points in time recently shows that democracy and civil liberties are strongly correlated with the prevalence of associations in a nation, with many other factors controlled statistically. Nonprofit, voluntary, membership associations (MAs) are known to have value for many reasons, but two of the most fundamental reasons are the following:

(1) Their immense, historical contributions to human progress, democratic participation by the people in policy making, economic and human development, human rights, and civil liberties (Smith 2017; see also Handbook Introduction).

(2) Their contemporary contributions to allowing people all kinds, ages, genders, economic and educational levels in any nation to have some influence over their lives, their economy, their polity, their belief system and religion, their leisure and recreation, as well as over other major institutions and activities of their society (Brown 1991; Lowie 1948; Smith 2017; Turner 2003).

Social observers and social scientists have recognized the importance of MAs to the health of the American democracy since Alexis de Tocqueville (2000) in the early 19th century down to Robert Putnam (2000) and Charles Murray (2012) in the early 21st century. However, the US Supreme Court did *not* recognize freedom of association as a constitutional right until the mid-20th century. As with other rights, freedom of association is not an absolute. In various decisions, the Supreme Court has attempted to find a middle ground between associational freedom and social needs, such as anti-discrimination laws.

Several decades of the commonly shared Soviet past appear to have made a mark on the contemporary developments pertaining to freedoms of association and assembly in the Commonwealth of Independent States (Russia and the other eight member states of the CIS) region. While each country provides a constitutional foundation for the protection of such freedoms, practical experiences show a wide range of issues hindering citizens' ability to exercise their

constitutional rights. This chapter provides an overview of historical and philo-sophical underpinnings of freedoms of assembly and association in the context of the post-socialist CIS, as well as offers a snapshot of the current developments affecting citizens' ability to associate and assemble.

The Philippines offer an interesting national case study of freedom of associ-ation lost to a dictatorial regime, but eventually regained by a unique, peaceful, popular revolution. Civil liberties remain under some pressure there, probably as everywhere in these days of widespread terrorism and even more *fear* of ter-rorism, not least among government leaders (Civicus 2006; Ombwatch 2003; Sidel 2007, 2010). Similarly, China is an interesting case of fairly recent transi-tion from a totalitarian regime under Mao to a still authoritarian regime that nonetheless has some aspects of freedom of association and assembly (Smith with Zhao 2016).

B. Definitions

This chapter accepts the definitions in Handbook Appendix, including the definitions of civil liberties and civil rights. We also define the following here:

Freedom of assembly: "basic human civil liberty supported by law and allowing for any set of people in a society to meet and talk together publicly, indoors or outdoors, in a peaceable manner, without interference from authorities" (Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:92).

Freedom of association: "basic human civil liberty supported by law and allowing for widespread opportunity for people in a society to freely participate in, form, or dissolve associations of their choice and to freely join or leave them" (Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:92).

Bresler (2004) and Gutman (1998) discuss freedom of association and its importance for civil society. Inazu (2012) discusses freedom of assembly and its history in America in a recent book. The freedom of speech, of (peaceful) dissent, and of religion also have important effects on the prevalence of their respective types of associations and volunteering, but will not be treated here because of space constraints (see Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:92–93).

C. Historical background

As suggested in the Introduction above, the prevalence and impact of MAs are significantly related to the effective presence and extent of civil liberties, and especially the freedoms of association and assembly, in specific nations. The term *effective presence* means that civil liberties/freedoms have to be more than

just present *on paper* (or digitally, nowadays), in enacted laws or a nation's Constitution – they have to be enforced and permitted systematically through time by the government. In this section, we review the historical and recent situations for several nations, with experts from these birth nations doing the writing in most cases. In the case of China, Smith bases his writing on nine months of residence in China in the past five years, participant observation, interviews with local MA leaders, plus an extensive review of the research literature on associations and the nonprofit sector in China (Smith with Zhao 2016).

1. In the United States

Freedom of association was neither an explicitly articulated constitutional right nor a clearly articulated concept in the late 18th and 19th centuries. It came out of the fabric of life in early America. The early Americans, as Alexis de Tocqueville (2000) observed, relied upon themselves and their neighbors. In the rough and tumble world of the early 19th century, the American pioneers built communities and established volunteer associations (fire departments, religious societies, charitable organizations, and schools). People developed habits of individual responsibility, self-restraint, and social cooperation.

Several decades after the American Revolution, America had the beginnings of a functioning democracy and self-governing society. Tocqueville (2000) wrote, "I encountered sorts of associations of which, I confess, I had no idea, and often admired the infinite art with which the inhabitants of the United States managed to fix a common goal to the efforts of many men and to get them to advance to it freely." Tocqueville understood associational freedom as a counterweight to the powers of the state. By contrast, he must have rued that the French Revolution produced terror and Napoleon. Paris continued to rule France, whereas Washington was a far-off distant place with little connection to ordinary Americans.

These voluntary associations allowed citizens to solve community problems without the intervention of the state. They were an essential barrier between the individual and the state, fortifying the elements of individual freedom. Tocqueville also understood that democracy was more complex than a set of constitutional arrangements. The secular associations and religious communities were the corner stone of a self-regulating society. The more people did for themselves, the less dependent they would be of the state. Of course in early America, there was not much the state could or would do.

In Europe, Tocqueville saw a contrast, "Among all the peoples of Europe, there are certain associations that can only be formed after the state has examined their statutes and authorized their existence" (Tocqueville 2000:658). Voluntary associations, formed and continued on the sole initiative of citizens, were insurance against the eventuality of state-enforced social and political

orthodoxies. Such was the concept of a civil society, voluntary associations that promote self-help, and mutual responsibility.

Building on Tocqueville's observations, George Kateb (1998) saw voluntary non-governmental associations as teaching citizens the value of self-restraint and the importance of compromise and cooperation in broad social network. These were habits crucial if a people were to learn to govern themselves. Nancy Rosenblum argued that these associations also integrated people who may be otherwise disconnected into the larger community (Bresler 2004; Kateb 1998; Rosenblum 1998).

Robert Putnam in his seminal work, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (2000), examined the state of civil society in late 20th century America. Civil society, as Putnam observed, built reciprocal trust and shared values, which are transferred into the political sphere and help to hold society together. Putnam called it "social capital." Social capital in the form of strong religious organization, extended families, and neighborhood associations can help to produce lower incidents of drug abuse, school dropouts, crime, and gang warfare. Measuring participation in a variety of local organizations from the PTA to men's bowling leagues; Putnam claimed that America had suffered a severe loss of social capital. Smith and Robinson (2016) reviewed empirical, survey evidence on many other nations that do not support the declining participation Putnam found in the United States.

Charles Murray, in his book *Coming Apart: The State of White America, 1960–2010* (2012), found an alarming decline of social capital in lower-income white neighborhoods. Church attendance, membership in social clubs, and family stability had declined. The religious institutions, strong families, and schools that once guided young people from low-income families to a better life exercised only a shadow of their former authority. Civil society was still vigorous among upper-middle-class whites, but its decline in the lower-income groups contributed to an alarming inequality in American society.

Mark E. Warren (2001) in his study of democracy and associations argued that associations were essential to creating a sense of political efficacy among citizens. Such participation allowed citizens to participate in collective judgments, contribute to the forming of social agendas, and enhance an individual's leverage on the political system (Warren 2001:61). All of these activities contribute to participatory democracy.

2. In the CIS[1] region/Ukraine

This sub-section presents a brief overview of selected historical events affecting freedoms of association and assembly in the CIS region during the Soviet era commencing with the adoption of the 1936 Constitution. It will conclude with a snapshot of developments affecting freedoms of association and assembly since the USSR's dissolution in 1991.

The 1936 Constitution of the USSR provided guarantees for freedoms of assembly and association. However, such freedoms were provided under the condition that they serve the "interests of the working people" and function "to strengthen the socialist system." Additionally, the Constitution stipulated that the Communist Party was to be the "leading core of all organizations" (Chapter X, Articles 125 and 126).

In practice, the Soviet legal and political apparatus provided scarce opportunities to exercise fundamental human rights, including rights related to assembly and association. The Criminal Code included broad provisions for prosecuting actions demonstrating divergence from Soviet ideology (Williams 1975:868), and constitutional rights rarely were referenced in trials and almost never served to alter judicial decisions (Williams 1975:870). Furthermore, the Soviet government applied extensive and often drastic methods to eradicate opposition to its ideology, resulting in tremendous human loss. During Stalin's Purges in 1937–1939 alone, hundreds of thousands of citizens were executed and millions sent to labor camps, frequently on fabricated charges and self-incrimination after undergoing physical or psychological torture, if not both (Subtelny 1988:417–421).

In the post-Stalin era, labor camps held prisoners of conscience into the 1980s, and involuntary psychiatric internment was frequently utilized to neutralize political and ideological opponents (van Voren 2010:33–35). In addition, the government establishment closely monitored and usually dominated all MAs, especially larger ones, during this time (cf. Smith 1974:chapter 5). Consequently, with the exception of leisure and sports activities, rights of freedom of association and assembly were severely restricted, if not banned.

After the 1966 internationally publicized Daniel and Sinyavsky trial in which two writers received labor camp sentences for publishing "anti-Soviet" literature abroad, "human rights, and particularly…freedoms of assembly and association, became real issues inside the Soviet Union" (Feldbrugge 1980:452). This issue was fueled largely by the intensification of internal dissident movements and the increased international attention to human rights violations in the USSR.

The Soviet Union's signing onto several international human rights treaties during this period, including the Helsinki Final Act, provided a foundation for launching many civic human rights organizations (Bazhan 1999:74). Notably, Helsinki Monitoring Groups were established in Russia, Ukraine, Lithuania, Georgia, and Armenia (Subtelny 1988:517). In contrast to the previous underground dissident movements, the Helsinki Monitoring Groups, for the first time in decades, claimed legal right to exist as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (Subtelny 1988:518). However, by 1980 most members of these groups were imprisoned or exiled (Subtelny 1988:519), and the organizations ultimately were forced to disband.

The 1977 Constitution included more human rights guarantees. In reality, however, the Communist Party did not offer tangible improvement and the Party defined the fundamental rights of people and their MAs. Simply stated, "[i]n the Soviet Union, people ha[d] the basic right to agree with the government" (Feldbrugge 1980:466). Additionally, while the 1977 Constitution provided for greater protection of human rights than its previous 1936 version, activists attempting to exercise those rights "quickly learned that they existed only on paper" (Hendley 1996:32). Such discrepancy between the written law and practice was commonplace throughout virtually all the post-Stalin era (Hendley 1996:32).

The late 1980s, however, marked significant changes on the Soviet Union's political scene "with the emergence of a myriad of informal groups and associations" (Brovkin 1990:233) that subsequently helped fuel the end of the Soviet Union. While the government managed to issue new laws restricting rights to assembly in 1988 (Brovkin 1990:237), on 26 December 1991 the USSR officially dissolved.

The now-independent states of the CIS continue reverberating Soviet practices of governmental interference and suppression of MAs, despite recent democratic gains, including the *color revolutions* in Ukraine, Georgia, and the Kyrgyz Republic. To illustrate, there has been little palpable change in terms of government cooperation with civil society since the Orange Revolution in Ukraine (Stewart 2009:16–17). Furthermore, with the 2010 election of Viktor Yanukovych as president, Ukraine has significantly restrained "civil freedoms, especially mass media, right to assembly, and elections" (Riabchuk 2012:445). Not surprisingly, Freedom House (2011) downgraded Ukraine from "Free" to "Partly-Free."

Other CIS countries also have exhibited repressive trends to varying degrees. The Russian Federation's newly adopted law that imposes overly restrictive regulations on foreign-funded organizations targets large NGOs and grassroots groups alike (Christensen and Weinstein 2013:78). Vladimir Putin's recent return to the presidency has prompted the largest public protests since the dissolution of the USSR (Shevtsova 2012:209). Belarus has been called "Europe's Last Dictatorship" (Marples 2005:895); its president, Alyaksandr Lukashenka, severely restricted rights of association and assembly, including recently adopting "a series of bizarre policies – such as outlawing public clapping in unison" (Freedom House 2012:7). Central Asian countries appear to enjoy even fewer individual freedoms than during Gorbachev's *perestroika* (Riabchuk 2012:439), with Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan receiving the lowest possible rating in terms of political rights and civil liberties by the latest Freedom House (2012) report.

3. In Belarus/CIS region

Formerly one of the Soviet Republics under the USSR with a slightly different name, Belarus became independent in 1991. However, it turned into a full-fledged autocracy in 1996, after the constitutional referendum giving extraordinary powers to Alyaksandr Lukashenka. That shift from a hybrid regime to *preemptive autocracy* (Silitsky 2004) was accompanied by repression of civil liberties and the freedoms of association and assembly. In practice, this meant that the domains in which the opposition could potentially challenge the incumbent (i.e., the judiciary and elections) vanished, leaving the regime's opponents with some limited space for criticizing the country's development in the sphere of media.

There were heavy crackdowns on the civil society groups and associations, viewed as potential dangers, and they were banished to the margins by the government. Learning from the mistakes of the fallen autocrats in Eastern Europe, the Belarusian regime intended to preempt civic mobilization that could lead to the organized protests.

Throughout 2000s, the fate of the freedom of association and civic liberties has become dependent on the geopolitical cycles of the Lukashenka regime. Where previously the survival of the regime depended on external rent flows (significant parts of Belarus' GDP was extracted as rents from Russia), Lukashenka successfully maneuvered between the pro-Western rhetoric and the pro-Russian one. The former required demonstrating progress in upholding the effective catalogue of the extended civic and political rights, while the latter denoted burning the bridges with the West and reverting to harsh anti-liberal policies.

The main lesson here from recent history in Belarus is that freedom of association and civic liberties, central to the idea and especially to the practice of democracy, can often be the tools in the bigger, geopolitical game of the non-democratic authorities using them as means of survival: extending them and almost legalizing the opposition (the pre-2010 election situation) in order to get a better linkage to the West, but abandoning them either when they are not rationally needed or when the extension of those domains may lead to the destabilization of authoritarian, even totalitarian, regime.

4. In the Philippines

Civil liberties, such as the freedom of association and assembly, took root in the Philippines earlier than its neighbors in the Asia-Pacific region. Filipino voluntary associations were formed as early as the 19th century because of the strong influence of Spanish Catholicism. These associations continued during the US-guided colonial regime, from 1898–1940 (Cariño 2002). The nonprofit sector grew further after formal independence from American rule, as political

freedoms guaranteed by the 1935 Constitution were generally respected. The stability of democratic rule allowed civil society to become a viable sphere of human action relatively autonomous from the state. At the same time, however, some of these collective associations saw the contradictions between an elite-led political regime and increasing poverty among its masses. More progressive members of the nonprofit sector started to imagine a new political vision where the interests of the majority could be better served (Racelis 2000).

The freedom to organize and associate came under threat under the dictatorial regime of President Ferdinand Marcos (1971–1986). Under martial law, freedoms were curtailed, political institutions were destroyed, and dissent was stifled. Tolerance of the dictatorship turned to fierce resistance by the late 1970s. Two pillars of Filipino civil society became the vehicle for political resistance against martial law. The Catholic Church, embracing principles of liberation theology, became vocal about the human rights violations of the Marcos regime (Youngblood 1990). The burgeoning, yet largely clandestine, communist movement was also busy reaching out to the countryside while mobilizing urban crowds known as the "parliament of the streets" (Weekley 2001).

This series of collective actions culminated in the 1986 Yellow Revolution – the first peaceful "color" revolution for regime change in the world. This critical, watershed event started with widespread disgust over the government attempts to rig a "snap election" between Marcos and Corazon Aquino, the widow of the dictator's political nemesis. People flooded the streets, given the government's blatant disrespect for the sanctity of the ballot (Mendoza 2009; Thompson 1995). This display of "people power" would not be possible without the shared commitment of most Filipinos to reclaim their civil liberties from the brutally harsh and totally inept Marcos regime. The Philippines showed that nonviolence and revolutionary political change are not mutually exclusive, inspiring subsequent popular upheavals in South Korea, Pakistan, South Africa, and many other nations (Chenoweth and Stephan 2011).

The role of MAs and civil society in the Philippine regime change became the crucible for the expanded political role of associations in post–martial law politics. The 1987 Constitution reemphasized the state's guarantee to respect and promote civil liberties. Restored democracy in the Philippines provided NGOs voice in and access to policies oriented toward good governance, popular empowerment, community development, and service delivery (Magadia 2003). This becomes salient, given the weak nature of the Philippine state, the oligarchic nature of its political parties, and the predatory tendencies of its political elites (Eaton 2003). That is not to say, however, that all NGOs in the country are democracy's ballast. Similar to other socio-political institutions, some are also involved in shady practices and exhibit undemocratic proclivities and corrupt behavior (see Handbook Chapter 53).

5. In China

China's political regimes have been persistently autocratic for thousands of years, nearly all of that time led by divine-right emperors. But since early in the 20th century, an autocratic Party leader has controlled China. Until the death of Mao in 1976, and the reconstruction led by Deng Xiaoping, MAs were totally controlled by Mao's Party-State from 1949 when Mao assumed power and created a totalitarian regime (cf. Smith 1974:chapter 10). Deng saw value in nonprofit organizations (NPOs), including MAs, which translate from Chinese as *social organizations*. By 1988, there was a law making foundations legal, and by 1989, a similar law existed making other NPOs legal. As a result of this law, NPOs, including MAs, underwent exponential growth in China in the subsequent 25 years (Smith with Zhao 2016; M. Wang 2011; S. Wang and He 2004).

In the effort of the post-Mao Communist Party-State to assert great control over any signs of political opposition, the 1989 law required every MA or other NPO to register with the government in order to exist lawfully (Smith with Zhao 2016). Interestingly, the law has not been applied systematically, especially to MAs. Nonprofit agencies as NPOs have to register to be able to function (or else to register as for-profit businesses), but small, local, all-volunteer grassroots associations are permitted to exist without formal registration, even though they are all technically illegal (outlaws). This is an example of freedom of association in China *de facto*, contrary to *de jure* law requiring all MAs to register. Given various expert estimates of from 4 to 10 million of these unregistered social organizations (USOs) in China now, the extent of freedom of association being permitted at this grassroots level is amazing (ibid.). At the level of national MAs, the situation is totally opposite: The Party-State controls nearly all national MAs in China (ibid.).

D. Key constitutional/legal issues

1. In the United States[2]

In the early years of the American Republic, the importance of collective and associational actions was clear to many, but not all. George Washington in his Farewell Address warned against "the ill-concerned and incongruous projects of faction." James Madison in *Federalist #10* worried over the "mischief of faction." Nonetheless, Americans persisted in organizing political parties, action groups, and social organizations soon after the Revolution. Washington was in fact ambivalent on the subject. He was proud member of the Masons and dedicated the US Capitol in Masonic garb. The controversy over the Sedition Act of 1798, which made it a crime to join any group "with the intent to oppose any measure or measures of the government of the United States," raised the issue

of what collective actions should be within the sphere of private activity and what should be subject to public regulation.

Although the Sedition Act was allowed to expire early in Thomas Jefferson's presidency, it began a debate continuing to this day. Where does the government's authority to regulate the public order trample upon a citizen's right to associate with like-minded people in voluntary associations? Eventually, like most questions in American politics, this became a constitutional issue. One could infer the protection of associational freedom in the First Amendment mention of "freedom of assembly." Whether that freedom went beyond the actual physical act of assembly was not clear in the 18th and 19th centuries. In the 20th century, the Supreme Court did recognize that the Fourteenth Amendment's Due Process clause embraced the freedom of assembly protection of the First Amendment. In *De Jonge v. State of Oregon* (299 U.S. 353:1937) and *Thomas v. Collins* (323 U.S. 516; 1945), the Supreme Court recognized that unpopular groups, such as the Communist Party, had a right to meet without unreasonable government barriers. Speaking for the Court, Justice Wiley Rutledge argued that the rights of the speaker and the audience were "necessarily correlative." Placing both the speaker and the audience within the ambit of freedom of assembly implied that the right also included freedom of association. But it remained only an implication.

John D. Inazu in *Liberty's Refuge: The Forgotten Freedom of Assembly* (2012:2–4) argues that placing upon this right explicitly as a part of freedom of assembly would have provided a more grounded projection for freedom of association. In the mid-20th century, the Court did not move in that direction. It struck down an Alabama edict that required the Alabama Chapter of NAACP to disclose its confidential membership list. Given the hostile racial climate in Alabama in the 1950s, the need for confidentiality of the Chapter's membership was considered essential to safety and welfare of its members. The Court stated the edict was an "effective restraint on the freedom of association," which was an independent right assured by "liberty" in the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. This, according to Inazu, gave the right a much weaker foundation than had it been considered synonymous with the First Amendment's freedom of assembly.

As with other rights, freedom of association in the United States was not without limits. No society could allow all associations to be free of government regulations. Laws that apply to the general population, such as health, safety, and environmental laws, must also apply to associations. Nor were all associations created equal. As the Court began to refine the right of free association more precisely, it was clear that some associations would gain more constitutional protections than others. When it came to the Ku Klux Klan and the Communist Party, the Court took a different tack. As early as 1928, the Court upheld a New York law demanding that the Klan turn over its membership list

because of the "particular character of the Klan's activities, involving acts of unlawful intimidation and violence" (*Bryant v. Zimmerman*; 278 U.S. 63; 1928).

During the Cold War, the role of the American Communist Party and its legal standing presented a complex challenge for the issue of associational freedom: how to balance the government's interest in monitoring an MA with close ties to a hostile foreign policy against an individual's right to privacy in their political associations. Was the Communist Party a tool of the Soviet Union, aiding and abetting its interest in subversion and espionage, and thus placing it outside the protection of associational rights? Or was it a radical political group, sympathetic to the Soviet Union, but whose members did not always toe the party line (Hook 1953; Schrecker 1998)? In the early years of the Cold War, the Supreme Court generally upheld government efforts to restrict the Communist Party, going so far as to convict its leaders under an antisedition law (*Dennis v. United States* 34 U.S. 494 1951). As tensions eased in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Court took a more expansive view of the Party's associational rights. The Court overturned governmental rules requiring that the Party to register and file its membership lists, to deny members a passport to travel abroad, and to deny the right to work in any defense facility (*Albertson v. SACB* 378 U.S. 70, 1965; *Aptheker v. Secretary of State* 378 U.S. 500, 1964; *United States v. Robel* 389 U.S. 258, 1967).

Beyond the role of government in chilling associational rights, there is the role of private organizations in establishing a "blacklist" of those who belong to "undesirable" associations, denying them employment. The blacklisting of communists or former communists became a notorious practice in the film and broadcast industries during the 1950s. In order to remove their names, individuals had to come forward to the FBI or the House Un-American Activities Committee to recant their membership and name names of others they knew in the Party. The blacklist jeopardized the careers of many innocent and gifted artists and contributed to decline of films with serious social messages.

Nonetheless, did blacklisting raise constitutional issues? The First Amendment placed restrictions on the right of government to limit association and expressions of personal views. The film studios and the radio/television networks are privately owned. If they did not wish to hire those whose political views they found odious, were they not asserting their own associational rights? Would the same objections be raised if the blacklist were directed at neo-Nazi groups and the Ku Klux Klan? In the 1950s, hiring communists was considered financially risky. Did the studios and the networks have the right to keep these people off their payrolls (Redish and McFadden 2001)?

Associational liberty was rooted in the concerns of the Founding Fathers had over the power of the federal government to infringe upon the individual. Hence, these founders were more concerned about liberty than they were about

equality. Equality often required the intervention of the state and, hence, until the Civil War most Americans tolerated slavery in the South. For almost 100 years afterwards, discrimination and segregation in parts of the country even beyond the South maintained legal protection. In the mid-20th century, the impulse for social and legal egalitarianism overcame 18th- and 19th-century libertarianism with the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Among other things, the 1964 law outlawed racial and gender discrimination in employment and in places of public accommodation.

Soon antidiscrimination laws were passed in most states and numerous municipalities. The federal law did exempt institutions "not open to the public," while many state and municipal laws antidiscrimination laws were interpreted to include private associations, such as the Boy Scouts of America. Libertarians, jealous of associational freedom, felt these laws could extend the authority of the state. They were concerned that, by the extending antidiscrimination laws to private clubs and organizations, the vitality and diversity of such organizations and civil society itself would be weakened. Egalitarians feared that associational freedom could become a cover to preserve the habits of discrimination.

In mid-1980s, the Court attempted to find a middle ground between associational freedom and antidiscrimination laws. The case involved the United State Jaycees, an organization that had limited its membership to males between the ages of 18 and 35 and had been found to violate state antidiscrimination laws against women. In writing for the Court, Justice William Brennan denied the Jaycee's claim that its policy was protected by its associational rights. Brennan defined two dimensions of associational freedom: expressive association and intimate association. Intimate association was rooted in the concept of liberty in the Fourteenth Amendment and included such matters as marriage and family relationships. Expressive association was, according to Brennan, an essential corollary to the First Amendment and protected associations for political, social, economic, educational, religious, and cultural ends. This included the right of an association to exclude those who did not share those ends. The Jaycees being unselective with no concern other than a member's gender or age was not protected under either definition of associational freedom (*Roberts vs. United States Jaycees* (468 U.S. 609; a1984).

In *Boy Scouts of America v. Dale* (530 U.S. 640; 2000), the Supreme Court upheld the right of the Boy Scouts to exclude James Dale, an openly gay man, as a scoutmaster. Writing for the majority, Chief Justice Rehnquist argued that the Boy Scout's creed and message would be incompatible with their inclusion of an openly gay scoutmaster. Rehnquist asserted that an organization had a right to define its own message and exclude those who did not accept it. Thus, the exclusion of Dale from the Boy Scouts was upheld under the concept of expressive association.

The Court attenuated the right of expressive association in (*Christian Legal Society v. Martinez* 130 S. Ct 2971, 2010). CLS, a student chapter at the Hastings School of Law, invited all students to participate in their activities, but required members to sign a statement of faith. The statement affirmed that sexual conduct should be restricted to marriage and that any member who engages in sexual activity outside of marriage cannot be a member. CLS had applied for formal recognition by Hastings, and it was denied. Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, writing for the majority, claimed that the law school policy required that recognized groups must accept all comers, and thus CLS was required to take any member who wanted to join. This included those who did not accept the CLS statement of faith. Ginsburg distinguished the decision from the Boy Scouts in *Dale,* since CLS would not be compelled to include unwanted members so long as it did not receive the benefits afforded to recognized student groups.

In criticism of the Court decision, John Inazu argued, "An already attenuated right of association established during the national security era [the 1950s] now gave way to even more incursion into group autonomy in the equality era" (Inazu 2012:149). The Court continues to wrestle with finding the line between social interests and associational freedom. It must weigh the necessity of the social need against the degree of infringement on the right to associate. In *Martinez* and *Dale*, we see the constant elastic tension between liberty and equality, as the Court attempts to balance the two.

2. In the CIS region/Ukraine

Each country in the CIS region provides a constitutional foundation for the protection of basic human rights, including freedoms of association and assembly. In practice, however, none demonstrates adequate safeguards of constitutional rights. While some countries, such as Armenia, Georgia, Kyrgyz Republic, and Moldova, appear to enjoy greater protection of association and assembly rights than other CIS countries, international criticism remains. Despite Georgia's success in bringing profound change to the country after its "Rose Revolution" (Kuzio 2012:437), for example, the country continues to constrain opposition figures and NGOs, as well as impose legal limitations on conducting public demonstrations (U.S. State Department 2012a, 2012b). Armenia, Kyrgyz Republic, and Moldova impose cumbersome registration procedures for certain kinds of NGOs and often limit rights of assembly in practice (U.S. State Department 2011).

Post-Soviet Central Asian countries tend to significantly restrict constitutional rights of association and assembly. In Tajikistan, government authorities require individuals to obtain approval to stage public demonstrations and individuals, fearing retaliation, reportedly choose not to request such approval (U.S. State Department 2011). In Azerbaijan, recent amendments to the Penal Code have extended the law's defamation and slander provisions (Articles 147

and 148) to include expression on the Internet and at public demonstrations; perceived offenders may receive six months to three years of imprisonment (IPGA 2013). Freedom of association in Turkmenistan is restricted by cumbersome registration requirements, with unregistered activity being punishable by law, including by confiscation of property and detention (U.S. State Department 2011). Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, along with Russia and Belarus, have received some of the lowest rankings for safeguarding constitutional rights, and their constitutions were placed on the list of "The Twenty-Five Worst Sham Constitutions" (Law and Versteeg 2013).

In the Russian Federation, a recently adopted law requiring organizations that receive foreign funding to register as "foreign agents" has prompted a wave of government inspections and administrative proceedings against NGOs (Human Rights Watch 2013). Additionally, assembly rights have been restricted with penalties for unsanctioned protests increasing by 100-fold and all demonstrations comprising more than one person requiring prior notification to the government (U.S. State Department 2012a, 2012b). Belarus citizens' rights of assembly and association likewise continue to be severely restricted. There is political repression and legal harassment of associational and assembly activity, including disbanding and closing offices of human rights organizations, as well as imposition of fines and jail time on participants of pro-democratic public protests (Puddington 2013).

Ukrainian legislation encompasses multiple laws governing rights of association and assembly, and there have been notable recent developments. The new law on Public Associations (2012), effective as of 1 January 2013, offers momentous improvements for the NGO sector, including simplification of registration processes, lifting territorial restrictions on operating, and granting permission to conduct entrepreneurial activities. While the new law generally is welcomed by the international community, criticism within the country exists, and the law's practical efficacy was yet to be determined when this chapter was being written. Following the adoption of the new law, Ukraine's president issued a decree titled, "On the Strategy of Public Policy to Promote the Development of Civil Society in Ukraine and Priority Measures for its Implementation" (Decree of the President of Ukraine 2012). The expressed intent of the decree was to strengthen cooperation between civil society and the government. Once again, however, the decree has not yet resulted in any practical developments (Bekeshkina and Kaźmierkiewicz 2012:46).

By contrast, the Law on Volunteering (2011), adopted in the spring of 2011, has been criticized for imposing significant limitations on volunteering, in addition to offering no legislative body to govern and oversee the law (Lyakh 2012). Notably, the law specifies multiple restrictions on volunteering for youth, which poses obstacles to the volunteer sector, as volunteers in Ukraine predominantly are students (Palyvoda and Golota 2010:38). Finally,

the draft Law on Peaceful Assembly that is currently under review has been heavily scrutinized. The Venice Commission (2011) issued an official legal opinion suggesting over 30 revisions to make it comply with democratic standards. The absence of specific legislation governing peaceful assembly, in addition to lack of independent judiciary, creates obstacles for organizing public protests in Ukraine, especially those critical of the government.

Freedoms of assembly and association are important for nonprofit associations and volunteering in the CIS region. Although it is difficult to adequately generalize what is happening in the region because of its geographic expanse and contextual diversity demonstrating notable variation across countries, overall, the CIS region does not enjoy sufficient protection of constitutional rights to assembly and association. While some countries enjoy a more favorable legislative environment for volunteering and nonprofit association, laws may contain ambiguities and be prone to subjective interpretation in courts. In countries where democratic development has regressed or has been slow in coming, challenging political and legislative environments often hinder, and in some countries severely suppress, associational activity. Lacking legal protection or under severe governmental pressure, organizations may be forced to disband or severely limit activities, and citizens may choose to not volunteer fearing prosecution. However, a recent trend also suggests that, in certain contexts, governments' increased human rights violations have begun to promote social mobilization. This has been exemplified by numerous public protests in the CIS region in the last decade.

3. In the Philippines

The experience with authoritarian rule under Marcos significantly shaped the protection and promotion of civil liberties in post–martial law Philippines. The end of dictatorship did not simply mean a reinstatement of the freedom of assembly, speech, and association. Democratization meant giving further substance to the ways these political rights are enjoyed by Filipinos. One critical political reform has been the legal mandate provided to voluntary associations and other NGOs to participate in legislative politics, public procurement, and local governance bodies. The party list system has allowed social organizations to even compete for seats in the national legislature. These mechanisms allow civil society organizations, especially associations, to diversify their repertoire of collective action from mainly contentious protests to more participatory modes of engagement with the state (2006). An example of such a public–private partnership between the government and NGOs is in the fight against corruption (Arugay 2012).

State regulation of the Philippine voluntary sector is relatively weak. The government does not require NGOs to register and divulge their funding sources. NGOs voluntarily get official state accreditation in order to acquire nonprofit

status for their programs, activities, and tax responsibilities. NGOs, mainly foreign funded, do not get funding support from the government, apart from projects where they deliver services. The complacent monitoring of their activities has obvious trade-offs. The proliferation of civil society organizations has also meant the formation of NGOs who intend to abuse the opportunities for profit making. In 2014, a political scandal surfaced that involved politicians and fake NGOs. In this multimillion scheme, pork barrel funds were funneled to fly-by-night NGOs, and then reverted back to the pockets of politicians. On paper, the NGOs declared that these resources were spent for antipoverty projects and public infrastructure.

Legal guarantees are no assurance that civil liberties will be respected. A change in the political environment could impact the way in which, and even whether, the government respects these freedoms. Since 2005, the number of extra-judicial killings of political activists, NGO workers, and media practitioners has risen to a rate that even alarmed the United Nations and other international human rights advocates (Arugay 2011). Part of the government's campaign against terrorism and other threats to the survival of a then-fragile and paranoid government, these summary executions were pinned against the military and private militia groups. This situation remains an allegation, given that no military official has been charged nor made accountable. At the very least, the Philippine security sector has been complicit in these human rights violations. This has occurred despite the comprehensive legal-institutional framework for protecting civil liberties in the country. The Philippine case demonstrates that basic freedoms can be stated on paper, but substantial protection and promotion require political will and vigilance on the part of the state, civil society, and ordinary citizens.

E. Usable knowledge

In the CIS region, as in China and elsewhere, it is useful to acknowledge that written laws protecting the rights of association and assembly often contradict real-world practices of government suppression or repression MAs. Additionally, the legislation frequently changes, and the judiciary habitually interprets the laws to the advantage of government establishment, further restricting constitutional rights.

In the United States, as in most countries, no right is absolute. That includes the First Amendment's Freedom of Speech. The Supreme Court, nonetheless, has shown great deference to that right in part due to its explicit mention in the American Constitution. Freedom of association, on the other hand is not an explicit right in the American Constitution. Consequently, Court has had more discretion in shaping its contours. The limits the Court had placed on freedom of association reflect the competing legal demands for national security, public

safety, and antidiscrimination. These demands can put limits on the freedom of private associations. Thus, the Court is inevitably involved in a balancing act in which freedom of association does not always win. Thus, the right is constantly subject to the vagaries of the time – the composition of the Supreme Court, the political support for the competing demand, the vitality of civil society, and specific mission of the organization.

An understanding of the strength of freedom of association must be rooted in both thorough understanding of the legal precedence and a full investigation of the social and political climate of the time.

F. Future trends and needed research

The future global trends regarding democracy and the related trends toward greater and more effective civil liberties and freedoms are not clear. If we simply extrapolate from the experiences of the past two centuries; worldwide, we may expect more of both. However, when we examine carefully the past 100 years, we see much variability over time, with oscillating waves of democracy and civil liberties, involving advance and then retreat. One lesson from this global history is that democracy can be quite fragile – an ongoing political process rather than some permanent, steady state. This fragility is especially true of nations that have come to democratic regimes recently, as in the past half-century or so.

It is notable that youth, the constituency that has little or no memory of the Soviet period, comprises the majority of volunteers in the CIS region (Smith 2015). Thus, it is important to continue to pay particular attention to youth engagement when monitoring the role of the voluntary sector in the region.

Civil liberties are fragile in any society, often subject to majoritarian pressures. An investigation into the strength of associational freedom in the United States must involve research into the vitality of civil society. Such research should attempt to understand what social, political, and economic factors influence this vitality and how it affects association freedom. Similar research is needed for many other nations. Such research must also examine the correlative role of democracy in the nations studied. Research such as that by Lijphart (1977, 1999) needs to be expanded to most or all nations or the world and extended into the future, as well as into the past, seeking to understand the influences on democratization and de-democratization (see also Fisher 2013).

G. Cross-References

Chapters 23, 24, 41, 46, 47, 49, and 54.

Notes

1. For the purposes of this chapter, the CIS region is referred to here as a geographical area, rather than a political unit, and includes all current and former CIS member states, including Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan.
2. This section draws significantly on Bresler 2004.

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46

Corporatism versus Pluralism and Authoritarianism as Association Contexts

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A. Introduction

We tend to assume, sometimes even by definition, that civil society as it emerges will be liberal, pluralistic, and democratic. Civil society is often assumed to be non-bureaucratic, independent from the state, a force for social justice and reform. But liberal or pluralistic civil society is only one form of civil society. There are also authoritarian, corporatist, and totalitarian forms in which the state, in varying degrees, creates, structures, licenses, moderates, and controls civil society (Cavatorta 2012). There is nothing automatic or inevitable about democratic-pluralist civil society. Civil society can and does exist in a variety of forms related to levels of socio-economic development, world region, culture, and institutions. In this chapter, following a theoretical introduction by the lead author, co-authors explore the variety of civil society structures and state–society relations in Europe, Latin America, and Asia. Of particular interest are the recent efforts of regimes in China, Egypt, and Russia to impose limits on civil society groups and activities. The authors close with suggestions for studying the wide variety of civil society arrangements under multiple regime types.

There is a certain romance about civil society and free associations. James Madison and Alexis d' Tocqueville idealized these features of American political life, and in Madison's famous Federalist no. 10, elevated them to near-constitutional status. Civil society and free associations lie between citizen and state. They conjure up images of yeomen, independent farmers, and informed citizens voting their conscience in New England town meetings. In this ideal world, free associations serve as checks on excessive governmental powers; they function as transmission belts by which public opinion and voter demands are

conveyed upward to the state and, in turn, are implemented and carried back downward to citizens.

Civil society is now ubiquitous in discussions of democracy, the sociology and political science literature, and even our foreign policy. In our democracy and nation-building abroad, most recently in Iraq and Afghanistan, civil society is considered essential, a recent addition to the prerequisites for democracy – however appropriate in all cultural and socio-political contexts. The romance with civil society has reached such a degree of unanimity that a recent conference took as its title, "Can Civil Society Save the World?" The question mark was purely to maintain the conference's academic respectability.

We tend to assume, going back to the development literature and maybe as far back as Durkheim and Marx, that all societies as they develop will come to resemble the United States and Western Europe. As Marx colorfully put it, the developed or capitalist world only shows to the underdeveloped, the mirror of its own future. Presumably, that future would be liberal, pluralist, democratic, socially-just, and characterized by free associationalism. It would look just like we do or at least how we imagine ourselves to be. Would it not be nice were this actually so?

B. Definitions

This chapter accepts and this section builds on the set of definitions offered in the Handbook Appendix. Specifically, we center on three closely related terms: voluntary associations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and civil society. The Appendix defines *civil society* as a "national society with a well-developed, free, and actually functioning nonprofit sector serving as a counterbalance to its government and business sector." Actually, we disagree with several aspects of this definition. We believe that civil society:

- is not a national society but a national *system of* social and political associations;
- includes organized business groups just as it includes organized labor. Business should not be seen as a *counterbalance* to civil society;
- operates in different types of regimes (authoritarian, corporatist, democratic) and not necessarily in free and democratic ways. Introducing the word *free* in the definition biases the discussion, preventing civil society from being used in a neutral, scientific way.

In addition, we need to define precisely the types of civil society discussed in this chapter.

Pluralism refers to a political system, generally a democracy, in which *all groups* are free to assemble, organize, and lobby within the system without need

for state licensing or regulation. We make no judgment here as to *good* or *bad* groups. Thus, our definition can include the Ku Klux Klan and the Communist Party as well as the League of Women Voters and the PTA.

Totalitarianism refers to a regime that exercises *total* (hence the term) control over *all* groups in society, as well as monopolizing political and economic power and controlling mass communication, education, propaganda, even private thought processes (brainwashing) (Friedrich and Brzezinski 1956). Few *total* regimes remain today (e.g., North Korea).

Authoritarianism is distinguished from totalitarianism, because control is less absolute, some areas of life (religion, family, economy) maintain a degree of autonomy, and the regime lacks the modern technology (this form occurs mainly in developing countries) necessary to guide thought. Historically, authoritarian regimes were far more common than any other kind, while today, democratic-pluralist regimes are as prevalent as authoritarian ones. China is generally regarded as evolving from totalitarianism to authoritarianism.

Corporatism is the newly rediscovered phenomenon. Associated in the 1930s and 1940s with authoritarianism, totalitarianism, and fascism, corporatism can in fact take a variety of forms: Christian-democratic, liberal, social-democratic, populist, and progressive (Wiarda 1997). Corporatism is often presented as a *third way* between totalitarianism *and* liberal-pluralism. Under corporatism, the state licenses, grants monopolies to, and regulates civil society and interests groups, though it neither totally controls them (totalitarianism) nor allows them complete autonomy (pluralism). The state limits the number of interest groups, forcing them to acquire state recognition (including the power to withhold recognition), and creating a system of officially-sanctioned interest associations favorable to the regime (Adams 2002). The early literature discussed two types of corporatism: (1) *state corporatism*, often identified with authoritarian regimes – for example, Franco's Spain, Mubarak's Egypt, and Latin American dictatorships, (2) *societal corporatism* usually associated with modern, European welfare states – for example, Austria and Sweden. In both types, the state licenses, grants monopolies to, and regulates major corporate groups, among them, business associations and trade unions. But, when differences are great, these two types fit poorly in the same *corporatist* category.

Recently scholars have signaled the rise of corporatism in liberal-pluralist regimes. When President Bill Clinton carried through his "Education 2000" reform, he told the states which interest groups (teachers' unions, NAACP) they should consult. When Barack Obama's healthcare reform was being formulated, the White House controlled the groups invited for consultation. When the Republicans are in power, business interests get a favorable hearing. Even in liberal democracy when the state begins designating which interest groups may be heard, this gives rise to corporatism – *creeping corporatism* as it is called in the literature.

Neo-syndicalism is the fifth regime type (Schmitter 1974). In the early corporatist literature, Italy, during the *hot summers* of the 1970s, seemed close to this arrangement. It was a regime with a weak state; power passed directly to the streets manifested in revolutionary trade unions, student groups, and red brigades. We might put in this category such countries as Venezuela under Hugo Chávez and Bolivia under Evo Morales; regimes in which the older elites (Church, Army, oligarchy) have been vanquished and newer forms of neo-syndicalism with direct, revolutionary action by different groups (workers, peasants, the indigenous) are encouraged.

C. Historical background

Throughout history, the *overwhelming majority* of societies have *not* been liberal, pluralist, free, and democratic. Instead, these societies and governments have nearly all been autocratic, top-down, authoritarian or totalitarian: empires, kingships, dukedoms, sheikdoms, chiefdoms, *caudillos*, and other forms. The Freedom House measures of democracy show that (1) democracy is not inevitable, (2) authoritarianism and corporatism may be more frequent globally than democracy even today, (3) cultural and socio-economic distinctions regarding democracy/authoritarianism characterize the world's regions, and (4) a number of countries (e.g., Russia) may be regressing from earlier democracy to authoritarianism.

These results have forced social scientists to reexamine their original assumptions. Is democracy both inevitable and universal? Is pluralist civil society as ubiquitous as thought? What about other systems of national organization? How about numerous mixed forms? What have been the policy consequences of our focus on building civil society?

This reconceptualization began in the late 1960s. First, it involved questioning and critiquing the prevailing literature on national development and modernization. It suggested that development on the Western model was neither universal nor inevitable, the experience and sequential stages of today's developing nations were substantially different from the earlier developers, *tradition* and *modernity* were misplaced bipolarities for most developing nations, and cultural as well as regional differences in development exist. Second, the literature suggested that there were many, varied routes to development, a trellis image rather than a single pole. This literature emerged from some other bodies of research from the 1960s. One approach focused on the persistence of authoritarianism in the modern world, its flexibility and adaptability, ability to hang onto power despite rising modernization, and distinction from earlier totalitarianism (Friedrich and Brzezinski 1956). Another body of literature focused on corporatism and patrimonialism, not as transitional features but as permanent institutional forms, with features and dynamics all their own – *alternatives* to

the prevailing development models. A third trend among emerging nations, which began later and came to fruition in the 1979 Iranian Revolution, was the rising sense that neither the Marxian nor the US-favored route to development was appropriate in their circumstances. They would have to develop their own Islamic, East Asian, African, or Latin American model of development. Or, as that sage social scientist Frank Sinatra put it, "We'll do it *our* way."

The result continuing to today was a broad reconsideration of our thinking about Third-World development. Along with the older, socio-economically based division of the world's political systems into First World (developed countries), Second World (developed but Communist nations), and Third World (developing countries), we now have a classificatory scheme based on structure and institutions. This classification includes four categories of regime: pluralist, totalitarian or authoritarian command, corporatist, and neo-syndicalist (Schmitter 1974; Wiarda 2012).

D. Key issues

1. Varieties of civil society

Most conceptualizations of civil society have been formed chiefly using the Anglo-American model. They rest on Lockean, Madisonian, Tocquevillian, Rooseveltian, and Rawlsian assumptions. Those assumptions call for a grassroots civil society, independent from the state, serving transmission-belt functions, and most recently, giving certain minority and underprivileged groups special advantages.

Even within the Western democracies, vast differences appear as to how civil society is organized. In France, the state is powerful, guiding and leading public policy. Meanwhile, civil society is generally weaker, subject to state regulation and guidance. Germany, going back to Bismarck and earlier, has a powerful legalistic and bureaucratic tradition in which civil society is considered part of the state, subservient to it, and lacking full autonomy. In Southern Europe (Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain), both the state and civil society have historically been weak and disorganized, giving rise to paroxysms of alternating centrist-corporatist authority and radical decentralization. In general, the Continental European tradition is more statist and corporatist than the liberal and pluralist Anglo-American tradition. The varieties of civil society and state–society relations become even more pronounced when considering the non-West (Beckman et al. 2001, Norton 2001). In East Asia, the state, in alliance with private sector groups, has generally led economic development. Here civil society remains weak, with its activities concentrated on *safe*, non-political activities: disaster relief, environmental concerns, beach cleaning, and the like. In Latin America, historically lacking strong infrastructure and institutions, the tradition has been one of strong states leading an anemic development process

while seeking corporatist-style control over civil society. Only recently has a more liberal and pluralist conception of civil society come to Latin America, and liberal-pluralism is often combined with older corporatism in a variety of private–public *partnerships*.

In the Arab Middle East, the tradition is similar: a history of weak and ineffective states, weak or nonexistent civil society, long periods of authoritarianism, sporadic explosions of violence, and (usually short-lived) episodes of freedom, with corporatist mechanisms of control over emerging civil groups. In Sub-Saharan Africa, we have weak states; weak, non-existent, or localized civil society; and usually only the beginnings of a more corporatist (often based on ethnicity) organization of society (Walker 1999).

In general, in the Third World or Global South, we can say the following:

(a) Both state and civil society tend to be weak.
(b) When growth begins, it is generally state-led.
(c) Civil society usually emerges under state control and direction and takes corporatist forms.
(d) Emerging states are often fearful of independent or free civil society and take steps to regulate it, subjecting it to state authority.
(e) There is usually, as in China, a long struggle between state authority and growing civil desires for freedom and autonomy.
(f) In many developing countries, we see ongoing conflict between state authority and state-created civil society, on the one hand, and a more independent and pluralist civil society, on the other.

We need to disaggregate the civil society concept, recognize regional and cultural differences, and employ at this still-early stage a number of approaches in seeking to understand it. There is a wide variety of civil societies (plural), not all of which conform to an Anglo-American liberal-pluralist model. In both our research and our policy, we need to realistically recognize these differences. Just as there are many globalizations, so there are many culturally and historically driven forms of civil society.

We also need to deal with such dynamic factors as change, modernization, globalization, and new technologies. Civil society and its relations to the state are not fixed or immutable; instead their relations are constantly undergoing renegotiation. The state seeks to control the process, private associations seek to break out of their chains, and meanwhile technology and globalization keep changing the givens. We saw this most recently in the so-called Arab Spring where social media were used to mobilize vast numbers of people to oppose authoritarianism and corporatism. It is unclear whether in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, and elsewhere this will result in greater freedom of association

or just new forms of corporatism. Yet, that a critical turning point was reached in these countries in 2011–2012 there is no doubt.

2. Corporatism in Europe

Corporatism in Europe began to develop into a modern political ideology as a potential *third way* between the conflicting ideologies of liberalism and socialism (and later communism) that were dominating European political and philosophical debates. Corporatist regimes would not emerge until the early 20th century, however, spurred by economic and political turmoil of the interwar era and the Great Depression (Berger 1981; Hancock 1989; Katzenstein 1984). Corporatism in practice developed two varieties.

State Corporatism emerged in Portugal, Greece, and Spain in the late 1910s and early 1920s. The first corporatist regime of significant longevity was that of Benito Mussolini in Italy (1922–1939). Mussolini utilized corporatist ideology and institutions to control Italy's economy, especially its volatile leftist unions, and to consolidate his authority. Corporatism was instrumental in ordering and controlling the elements of civil society to be redirected toward the new hyper-nationalistic goals of the fascist state. One notable element was the creation of mandatory syndicates to organize both workers and employers, which the state essentially played a commanding role in managing. In this conception of state–society relations, civil society organizations such as unions, interest groups, and free associations were not only distrusted but were also subordinated to the fascist state and its particularistic nationalist ends. Hence, we may say that the goal of corporatist states like Italy under Mussolini or Germany under Hitler was totalitarian in that they intended to abolish civil society in lieu of state-directed and organized institutions.

The Iberian Peninsula was home to state corporatist regimes that duplicated some elements of Mussolini's model of corporatism while rejecting others. Both Antonio de Oliveira Salazar's Portugal (1932–1974) and Francisco Franco's Spain (1936–1977) created corporatist units to manage the national economy and promote social order based strongly on late-19th-century Catholic political doctrine (unlike the secular version practiced in Nazi Germany or Italy that was nonetheless supported by the Catholic Church in the Italian case). The *Estado Novo* created under Salazar initially moved beyond authoritarian use of corporatist institutions as a method of control to allow some level of functional representation. The Falangist movement in Spain spearheaded the corporatist reorganization of the Spanish society and economy after the civil war of the 1930s. Whereas both systems justified their regimes in terms of Catholic political doctrine and the promotion of social order and economic growth, they nevertheless used corporatist institutions to suppress labor unions, opposition political parties, and other civil groups. During the interwar and World War II periods, state corporatist regimes were also instituted in several European

states, including Bulgaria, Poland, Albania, Greece, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Austria, and Romania. Nazi Germany and its occupied territories and puppet governments, as in Vichy France, Belgium, and Slovakia, also exhibited corporatist regimes and institutions, though many chiefly promoted dictatorial control rather than functional representation.

The model of state–society relations and the role of civil society in the state corporatism practiced in Europe in the early 20th century seem best described as not only state dominance but also perhaps even state authoritarianism. The correlation of state corporatism with authoritarianism, fascism, and totalitarianism was one that exhibited limited civil society and state-dominated state–society relations. Still, there were significant differences even within the state corporatist regimes of this era. In cases like Austria, Spain, and Portugal, conservative Catholic political doctrine viewed corporatist institutions and regimes as solutions to the *social problem* stemming from both liberalism and socialism. Although state corporatism in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Austria (1932–1934), Poland (1918–1922), and Greece (1936–1941) often morphed into façades for fascist, authoritarian, and totalitarian aspirations, it had unfortunately become the standard bearer of corporatism in practice.

The high correlation of corporatism with authoritarianism saddled the term with normative baggage that would dog the concept for decades (Linz 1964). Corporatism was a popular ideology for many early-20th-century regimes, but in light of the Nazi and fascist experiences and failures, it became discredited. Corporatism's other form, societal corporatism, often shared the negative shadow of the state corporatist regimes, despite sizable institutional, procedural, and normative differences.

Whereas Europeans avoided using the term, many states in interwar and post-war Europe were practicing a disguised form of democratic corporatism, usually distinguished as societal corporatism or neo-corporatism under such pseudonyms as communitarianism or *social partnership*. These processes were decidedly corporatist in shaping a formal or bureaucratic relationship between agricultural interests, organized labor, employers, professional associations, and the state. Organized interests and associations were codified and legally empowered with hierarchical authority and compulsory membership. The earliest of these relationships between the state, major economic interests, and civil society associations emerged in the early 20th century, notably in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden as well as Switzerland, Ireland, and the Netherlands. All were a response to the economic turmoil of the Great Depression and resulting political upheavals.

But even after the war, facing massive challenges of reconstruction and economic development, many states including Austria, Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Belgium, Ireland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and the United Kingdom, turned to or continued to embrace neo-corporatist institutions and

state-society regimes. In these cases of societal corporatism, the primary characteristics were a series of (often) formal relationships between the major organized economic interests, political parties, and state institutions. The most common were the tripartite relationships and institutions between business, labor, and the state. These corporatist institutions and procedures were intended to alleviate the cost of labor–capital disputes (e.g., general strikes) that debilitated national economies and produce consensus-driven policy-making and policy implementation involving the state and civil interests.

The state identified the interests permitted to participate in the interest representation and intermediation processes, yet contrary to state corporatism, civil actors and interests had autonomy in selecting their organizational leadership while exercising electoral and liberal democracy at the greater regime level. Typically, societal corporatist systems identified, created, or empowered key *peak associations* that would act as the social partners, along with the state, to both formulate and implement social and economic policy. Post-World War II Austria has long been considered one of the strongest examples of societal or neo-corporatism in Europe, precisely because of its highly monopolistic, legally enshrined, and empowered peak associations representing business, organized labor, and agricultural interests. The Austrian *Sozialpartnerschaft*, or social partnership, is characterized by relatively centralized, highly concentrated, quasi-monopolistic interest associations integrated into the political decision-making structure. They are not merely pressure groups, but have formal legal standing. In 2007, they were even explicitly constitutionally recognized for their role in policy-making.

The Austrian case demonstrates some of the key differences between state and societal corporatist models. It also shows how societal or neo-corporatism in practice structures state–society relations through the role of the largest civil society groups (Bischof and Pelinka 1996). Obviously, the neo-corporatist models in Europe are part of a larger democratic regime structure with all the trappings of liberal democracy: free and fair elections, entrenched individual and civil rights, limited government. Yet, these cases of societal corporatism vary in how state–society relations are structured. These neo-corporatist patterns would become central to the management of labor–capital–state relations in many post-war Scandinavian and Continental European countries. In Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, and others, the identification and monopolization of certain interests was designed to encourage consensus among the largest peak associations by having the state, along with the larger political parties and parliament, limit or contain the debates and disagreements between the actors.

While this was generally successful in the postwar period, it does present some critical problems in terms of inclusion versus exclusion of interest groups and civil associations. Because of the limits it placed on which interests and group activities could be included (such as political party donations,

compulsory membership, legal limits to certain labor or employer actions, and other regulations), it constrained the free associability and open access lobbying found in decidedly more pluralist systems. One criticism of neo-corporatist regimes is lack of change over time, wherein new interests, new civil society associations, and new social actors are substantially blocked from influence and lobbying by the entrenched actors in the system.

In Europe, state corporatism has essentially disappeared, though one can point to Russia as one in which the Putin government has used state corporatism-like elements in the reorganization of the economy and interest associations as part of the overall democratically deficient system that has developed since the late 1990s. But neo-corporatism in Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, and other European states has been eroded by trends over the past two decades. In Germany, membership in both unions and business associations has declined, even where it was legally compulsory. The two largest political parties, which helped steer the neo-corporatist model, have lost support from traditional interests. Moreover, the political system exhibits increasing pluralism in many policy areas once dominated by the social partners. Similar patterns in most societal corporatist systems suggest gradual erosion in the efficacy of neo-corporatist institutions leading to greater pluralism.

The globalization of European economies and growing strength of neoliberal economic models and policy in the 1990s and 2000s favored a more pluralist system of interest articulation. As firms become global, the neo-corporatist structure between state, labor, and capital is weakened, making it more difficult to separate domestic from foreign firms. The ability of states to achieve a macroeconomic policy is diminished as international trade takes on a greater share of state GNP, monetary policy becomes more internationalized, and capital becomes more mobile. Governments are losing many traditional levers of economic influence and management. The predominance of neo-liberalism has also undermined certain elements of neo-corporatism in practice. These include significant shrinkage of the welfare state, privatization of formerly state-run industries, and a trend towards smaller government. This trend is also exacerbated by changes within the socio-economic demographics of Europe, including the decline of trade unions and emergence of a post-industrial economy. The basis for neo-corporatism in Europe was primarily aimed at alleviating the tensions between industry and labor. But, as Europe has become less industrial, the importance of this relationship has come under pressure (Morck and Yeung 2010).

Another trend affecting societal corporatist institutions of Europe has been the integration of the European economy within the European Union (EU). As the EU takes on more bureaucratic and regulatory functions and as more economic and social policy is decided in Brussels, the supranational challenges

to neo-corporatism grow in significance. As traditionally neo-corporatist states become more deeply integrated in the EU, pressure will increase perhaps leading to an inevitable marginalization of national patterns of neo-corporatist governance. The governance patterns in Brussels itself have emerged as more pluralist than neo-corporatist, possibly increasingly marginalizing national patterns of social partnership. But neo-corporatist aspects of representation within the EU also exist, suggesting possible supranational cooperation.

3. Corporatism in Latin America

There has been an explosion of civil activity in Latin America since the democratic opening of the 1980s. This activity has helped maintain pressure on authoritarian regimes and generate democratic transitions. It might be viewed as the *arrival* of civil society in Latin America. Though civil society has come to be equated with the Anglo-American, pluralist conception, a well-developed body of thought on civil society has long existed in Latin America. Here societal groups have a different relationship with the state. In particular, corporatism has loomed large in the study of Latin American civil society. As earlier developmentalist political and economic assumptions were challenged, alternative conceptions of civil society emerged to occupy a prominent place in scholarly study of the area. Corporatism has thus become a fundamental theme in understanding civil society in Latin America and may well continue to shape our understanding of state–society relations.

Modern, manifestly corporatist mechanisms of interest representation made their appearance in Latin America as fascist and corporatist regimes rose to prominence in Europe. Especially for the more advanced Latin American economies that had recently begun the process of industrialization, codified corporatist relations became an especially attractive option. As industrialists and the labor movement grew in prominence, these new social actors were incorporated without threatening established patterns of organization. Given the post-independence dominance of republicanism in Latin America, corporatism could not have been as fully implemented as it was in fascist European regimes. Even the more explicit and identifiable cases of corporatist organization such as the *justicialismo* of Juan Perón and the Estado Nôvo of Vargas did not conform to the contours of an ideal-typical corporatist regime. A fully corporatist regime in which political parties would be replaced by functional organizations would have been inconceivable. Nonetheless, corporatist systems of labor representation became a common feature throughout Latin America, being adapted to a variety of regime types with diverse ideological underpinnings.

Though not fully fascist, corporatism in Latin America was statist and authoritarian. Thus, because of its association with fascism, corporatism after World War II fell under suspicion in the Western world and out of favor

in Latin America. Nevertheless, as the post-war democratic experiments in the 1960s and 1970s were replaced with military regimes in the majority of Latin American countries, realization followed that just as democracy was not necessarily inevitable, authoritarian corporatism had not disappeared, either.

Social scientists began to observe the persistence of corporatism as an alternative means of interest representation in the 1960s and 1970s (Chalmers 1988; Collier 1995; Pike and Stritch 1974; Wiarda 1997). Though the corporatist ideology that appeared to be the wave of the future in the 1930s was headed for oblivion, corporatism in Latin America continued to live in practice. Notably, the PRI regime in Mexico carried on with its sector-based party machine, while bureaucratic authoritarian regimes, primarily anti-communist but also the leftist *revolutionary* military regime of Peru, turned to corporatism as they attempted to reorganize and pacify chaotic polities. Even Venezuela – hailed as a bastion of liberal democracy in an era of authoritarianism – practiced its own distinctive, more democratic, form of corporatism.

Corporatism has thus loomed large over the study of Latin American politics as one of the signs that something was amiss in the democratic development literature and that alternative modes of societal representation might be more lasting than assumed. This renewal of interest in corporatism by Western scholars of Latin America helped open avenues of research in non-Western areas that did not fit the pluralist mold and that helped develop a more general corporatist framework for research.

Along with renewed attention from social scientists, the return of openly corporatist regimes in the 1960s and 1970s inevitably brought differing interpretations and even different definitions (Chalmers 1988; Collier 1995). One principal strand of thinking identified these systems as having been primarily a product of the 20th century and conditions peculiar to the times. These views on corporatism have tended to define it as a system of interest representation with no necessary connection to any ideology, culture, or system of values. Corporatism is seen as a response to the demands of industrialization and the need to coordinate conflicting interests during a period of economic and social change (Malloy 1977). Those taking this view argue that an advantage of this approach focusing on concrete institutional forms allows comparison of distinct systems that display similar corporatist outcomes despite wide variations in political institutions, economic practices, and cultures (e.g., Schmitter 1974).

The other principal interpretation of Latin American corporatism posits a continuous thread of corporatism underlying state–society relations stretching back through centuries of Iberian history. This perspective draws on political cultural views of Latin America's Iberian heritage which emphasized the centralist, statist, and monistic political traditions implanted in the New World during the colonial period and fostered top-down rule (e.g., Dealy 1974; Morse 1964). Scholars who see this tradition of corporatism define the concept not simply as

a mechanism by which states and interest groups interact. It is also a political philosophy with deep roots that normatively prescribes a group-centered and hierarchical organization of the polity consistent with its Catholic and scholastic foundations (Wiarda 1997, 2003). In this view, the corporatist tradition is visible beneath the surface of a multitude of formal regime types. Corporatism survived and adapted to infusions of different ideological and institutional currents.

Thus, when bureaucratic authoritarian regimes in the 1960s and 1970s began implementing corporatist mechanisms in their efforts to rein in politically active trade unions, they were simply *resurrecting* an older practice and reorganizing the functionally organized bodies predating that modernized form of authoritarianism (Newton 1970; Newton 1974). Though corporatism has taken a variety of forms and manifested itself in different regime types in different eras, an underlying propensity toward corporatist thought has made its adoption at certain junctures a natural choice.

These differing interpretations are not necessarily exclusive; *traditional* corporatism may well be granted while acknowledging the appropriateness of corporatist practices for the early phases of industrialization during the 20th century. Whichever view one adopts, an independent civil society has in few cases acted as the counterbalance to the state and engine of democracy envisioned in the pluralist conception; civil society is treated as subservient to the state. Contrary to the pluralist model, the state has traditionally possessed greater autonomy than civil society, guiding policy and granting legal personality to groups.

Since democracy has become the reigning political regime and economic neoliberalism has replaced the state-led development of earlier decades, corporatist arrangements have again lost their appeal and the term *corporatist* is derisive. In a period of globalization and increased economic integration, declining strength of labor unions, and growth of informal economic sectors, the presumption of the centrality of the state in directing society has come under assault and the potential payoffs of corporatism are less obvious.

Additionally, civil society may not be as easily cowed as before; societal groups have taken the lead in pressing for greater responsiveness from state institutions, respect for human rights, and clean elections. New social movements – for example, those of women, indigenous political groups – have in this context demanded entry into the system of interest representation, just as business and labor groups did in the 20th century.

Though economic neoliberalism and liberal democracy appear to have made a heavy hand of the state in the economy and society outmoded, it remains unclear that, with its long history of managing and directing societal groups, corporatism in Latin America has faded for good and unbridled pluralism will replace it. Indeed, forms of corporatism are still visible in labor codes, state

recognition of interest groups, and continuing presence of the state in some development efforts along with the private sector. Echoes of corporatism raise the possibility of a democratic or *societal* corporatism; a modified form of corporatism in which state and societal groups act in concert on a more equal standing. With little history of an independent, democratic civil society, such an outcome might seem improbable. The authoritarian variety of corporatism, which tightly controls societal activity, has been the norm in Latin America, reflecting an assumption that independent activity threatens disorder (Burt 2010). In fact, modern civil movements have at times provoked confrontations and paralyzed society through demonstrations and protests, contributing to the fall of both authoritarian governments and constitutionally elected ones. Concerns about the destabilizing effects of mass movements led in the 20th century to the overthrow of democratic governments and the resurgence of corporatism. Corporatism was declared dead before, only to make a dramatic resurgence.

Today, Latin America is in transition away from state autonomy toward increased pluralism, though with a long history of cooptation of societal groups. The outcome of this transition may not be either a clear case of pluralism or a renewal of outright corporatism, but a mixture of both. Latin American development may continue to defy neat categorization.

4. Corporatism in Asia

One important argument made in this chapter is that development in the Western model is neither universal nor inevitable. This argument is particularly valid for understanding political development in Asia. In Asia, though huge in size and socio-cultural variety, certain common patterns frame its political development. The prevalence of corporatism in Asian societies and histories stands out.

From the end of the World War II to the present, authoritarianism has been the most common regime type found in Asia. Providing strict but not total political control, authoritarianism was combined with corporatism. Indeed, corporatism may be perceived by the authoritarian rulers of Asia as a viable alternative to pluralism or to absolute totalitarian control of civil society.

Generally speaking, corporatism can be classified as authoritarian corporatism and democratic, or participatory, corporatism. While the former is also called state corporatism, the latter is commonly referred to as societal corporatism. Asian histories show how authoritarian corporatism dominated relations between the state and civil society. Until the 1990s, Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore, Japan, the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, India, and China all practiced corporatism, though in varied form and extent (Bakti 2000). The prevalence of corporatism in Asia is astonishing.

It is a common belief that corporatism has ideological roots in Asian culture, which explains its prevalence in the region. Scholars point out that Confucianism as an ideology and way of life has deeply influenced Asian countries, particularly East Asian countries like Taiwan, South Korea, Japan, and Singapore. Advancing ideas of communalism and social and political hierarchy, Confucian ideas have facilitated the acceptance of corporatism in these countries (Wiarda 1997). In other Asian countries where Confucianism has a less prominent place, other religions or traditions are at play and have similar facilitating effects. Thus, in countries such as Thailand, India, and Indonesia, where Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam have been dominant, respectively, corporatist policies and arrangements were found to have easily taken root.

Many Asian countries have since the World War II gone through periods of authoritarian rule, which facilitated corporatist rule. Corporatism is a preferred way to organize civil society, particularly when authoritarian regimes pursuing modernization and capitalistic development as well as selective and limited liberalization still hope that the society will remain firmly in control. One example is the Philippines under the New Society of Marcos. Corporatist structures were established to ensure the submission of social organizations under state sponsorship, coerce labor organizations into cooperating with the government and management for the sake of economic development, and make certain that national goals and values of unity, harmony, and growth become the new visions of the population (Stauffer 1977). Similarly notorious is the state corporatism in China following the economic reforms in the 1980s. It remains a dominant form of organizing Chinese society (Unger and Chan 1995; Hampton 2005).

Despite the many examples of corporatism in Asia and of state corporatism associated with authoritarian control, four variants exist based on their embedded ideologies. The first is the typical state corporatist regime. Examples include the Philippines under Marcos, Indonesia under the New Order of Suharto, Taiwan under the Kuomintang government, and during the martial law period, China in the 1980s and the 1990s (especially in the post-June 4th crackdown period), and South Korea in the 1970s and 1980s (Park 2010). As already shown by their counterparts in Latin America, these Asian corporatist regimes showed a strong tendency to exercise control for maintaining political submission and social order. In this form of corporatism, a singular peak, or comprehensive, association is formed in individual sectors, such as the governmentally sponsored Korean Federation of Trade Unions and the All China Women's Federation. Accompanying this is the state's strict top-down control of collective activities and interest groups, conducted within a hierarchical society and state-directed or inspired economy.

A number of Asian countries, including Thailand, Japan, and Malaysia, practiced a developmentalist variant of corporatism. Generally speaking, these

regimes aimed at achieving greater government control of the policy process (especially economic policy), by forging greater cooperation among selected stakeholders, mainly businesses, and between these stakeholders and the state. Compared with the state corporatism analyzed above, this developmentalist variant of corporatism is less coercive and controlled.

Thailand's liberal-corporatist structures were established between 1980 and 1988 under the rule of Prem. Instead of exercising comprehensive control, the Thai corporatist structures incorporated business interests into the policy process (Anek 1988; Maisrikrod 2008). In 1981, the Joint Public and Private Sector Consultative Committee was created to provide regular opportunities for exchange between business leaders and senior governmental officials. Subsequent to this government-business and industry-specific councils were established. These efforts were regarded as highly successful in reforming industrial and economic policies (Rock 2002).

Although a democracy, Japan's corporatist arrangements have earned it the name of *partial corporatism*. Japan's corporatism grew from the collaborative and institutionalized relationship between governmental and business sectors to promote rapid economic growth. The powerful Ministry of International Trade and Industry and associated business interests organized and dominated the coalition. Labor relations issues, if they arose, were settled with consensus and agreements made at the enterprise level. Formation of peak labor unions at the national level was discouraged. Without tripartite negotiations among labor, employers, and government, as seen in European corporatism, Japan's model may be called "corporatism without labour [sic]" (Kim 2008).

Malaysia's New Economic Policy, implemented under Razak in the 1970s, and again by Mahathir from the 1980s to the 1990s, is another developmentalist variant of corporatism. This example, however, is different from the previous ones in its absence of strong corporatist institutions and arrangements. During Razak's time, to achieve economic growth and greater inter-ethnic economic parity between the Malay Bumiputeras and the ethnic Chinese non-Bumiputeras, the New Economic Policy provided greater state intervention in resource allocation and an increase of state-owned enterprises and state control of private business enterprises. The Industrial Coordination Act introduced in 1977 required all manufacturing companies with an equity of RM250, 000 and above or 25 or more paid full-time employees to obtain a manufacturing license. This policy was considered unfavorable to the mainly family-based Chinese firms (Jomos N.d.).

Mahathir in the 1980s, however, reversed Razak's policy by advancing the "Malaysia Incorporated" slogan, modeled on the idea of "Japan Incorporated." During his rule, governmental intervention in the business sector was minimized to thereby improve relations between the two sectors (the latter was dominated by ethnic Chinese) and promote greater economic

dynamism and national unity. Labor organizations in Malaysia, compared with employer groups, had little opportunity to participate in policy making. The Malaysian Industrial Development Authority (MIDA) oversaw trade unions in pioneer industries watching for any unreasonable demands that might scare off investors. To restrict the right to strike, the discretionary power of the Registrar of Trade Unions was strengthened, and enterprise unionism, instead of national unionism, was encouraged. Nevertheless, traits of corporatist tripartism have gained ground in Malaysia since the mid-1990s with government attempting to co-opt labor into the negotiation process through the Congress of Unions of Employees in the Public and Civil Services (Jomos N.d.).

A third variant of Asian corporatism is natural corporatism. India, a democracy, is a typical example, given its Buddhist and Hindu communalist traditions. By definition, natural corporatism refers to a corporatist structure that has slowly evolved within or parallel to conventional political institutions. It includes secondary groups based on primary solidarities such as kinship, ethnicity, locality, and work-place that are formally organized and legally recognized. Rooted in a shared way of life, the corporatist groups remain effective unless and until the preconditions that made them viable are disrupted by social and economic changes (Newton 1974). Significant corporatist institutions in India include associations organized around caste, religion, region, ethnicity, and kinship, especially those having successfully evolved into formal interest groups. Since the 1960s, these corporatist groups have used the opportunities presented by India's democracy to significantly influence policy.

The last variant of Asian corporatism is ethnic corporatism, with Malaysia and Singapore as examples. In Singapore, a semi-democracy, a corporatist form of governance which depicts Singapore as a racially and religiously divided society and essentializes the traditional cultural traits of different ethnicities, has been practiced since the 1960s. Under this system, the state is exclusively responsible for maintaining harmony among groups and individuals as well as enfranchising their public participation. At birth, a Singaporean's race is determined along the paternal line as Chinese, Malay, Indian, or Other. In the celebration of "Racial Harmony Day" in Singapore's schools, students are made to dress, eat, and dance in the *traditional* manner of their ascribed racial culture. Politically, race is institutionalized in the multi-member constituency parliamentary election through the Group Representation Constituency system implemented in 1988. By this law, in each multi-member constituency, at least one candidate must come from a minority race, which results in reserving around 25% of the total number of parliamentary seats to the non-Chinese minority races. Economically, social assistance is distributed mainly by race-based organizations, such as the Council for the Education of Muslim Children for the Malays, established in 1982, and the Singaporean Indian Development

Association, established in 1991. Socially, citizens are encouraged to preserve their cultures (Vasu 2012).

Civil society is kept weak under authoritarian corporatism, organized as it is by the state to ensure that it is depoliticized and demobilized. Nonetheless, civil societies in Asian state corporatism, despite often being suppressed, were not exterminated. The People Power movements in the Philippines, student and labor activism in South Korea, and the rise of the opposition party Democratic Progressive Party in Taiwan have toppled their authoritarian corporatist regimes.

Another common view of Asian corporatism is its capacity to promote economic growth. The NIEs in Asia, including three of the Four Asian Tigers (Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan), provide examples of use of corporatism to promote economic development. Nevertheless, this observation is not necessarily valid beyond the East Asian region. For instance, the Philippines's economy had fluctuated, failing to show steady growth in GDP until the 2000s. Similarly, Thailand's economy fluctuated over the years until the end of the 1990s, with an average current account deficit of 5.4% per year recorded from the mid-1980s to mid-1990s. Indonesia demonstrated good GDP growth rates from the 1970s to the 1980s, but its economy was notorious for its weak and corrupt institutions and mismanagement of financial services. Reasons beyond corporatist governance may have facilitated or hindered economic growth in these Asian countries.

How have the Asian corporatist regimes fared? As more Asian countries democratize, state corporatism is becoming less prevalent. Today, citizens in the Asian democracies have numerous ways of making themselves heard. Whereas societal corporatism is yet to develop in Asia, remnants of previous corporatist governance exist. Japan, in promoting economic growth, has maintained corporatist governance without labor. Socially, citizen participation has surged since the late 1980s, but the societal regulatory framework remains strict. The incorporation of NGOs, for instance, is discouraged, for these organizations are required to obtain the status of legal persons. This involves complicated procedures and invites government supervision (Schwartz 2003).

In contrast, South Korea had exhibited signs of tripartite corporatism. In 1996, the government to settle labor disputes made use of the ad hoc Reform Committee for Labor-Management Relations. In 1998, following the structural adjustment conditioned by the IMF bailout, the government organized the Tripartite Commission. It consisted of the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions, Federation of Korean Trade Unions, Federation of Korean Industries, Korean Employers Federation, the government, and several political parties (Kim 2008).

Singapore has remained a semi-democracy based on an ethnic-corporatist framework in governance. Nevertheless a study conducted in 2001 indicated that Singaporean nationalism has grown, with 97% of respondents feeling

proud to be Singaporeans (Vasu 2012:746). Paralleling this is decreased public support for the dominant People's Action Party. Such developments have put to test the resilience of the Singaporean corporatist framework.

In India, political participation continues to thrive. Caste, kinship, regional, religious, and ethnic associations coexist with modern interest groups, while being sources of activism in Indian society. From the 1970s, social movements were organized to promote interests neglected by the state and political parties. The farmers' movement, one of the most powerful movements in India, had mobilized thousands of farmers to pressure government for higher prices on agricultural commodities and more investment in rural areas (Lowry 2008:69–70).

China's state corporatism will continue for years to come. This includes strict corporatist controls over human rights, including those of women, labor, youth, and religious groups (Spires 2011). China may be evolving away from totalitarian Marxism-Leninism, but it is still corporatist. Nevertheless, with rapid economic development, popular use of the Internet, and increased contact with the outside world, the system's legitimacy will gradually lose ground.

Hong Kong, which until 1997 was a pluralist colony under British rule, is now experiencing *creeping corporatism*. Chinese officials in Hong Kong have proactively and stealthily shaped the local political ecology and dynamism by, for instance, coordinating the pro-Beijing forces in local elections and incorporating social groups into the pro-Beijing network of interest associations.

In Asia, state–society relations have historically been weighted toward statism. The system is one of strong states with weak interest groups. As society has modernized and democratized, however, interest groups have tended to become better organized and society more pluralistic. Nevertheless, corporatism still prevails over liberalism.

E. Usable knowledge

This chapter has examined the many types of civil society and state–society relations, their links to regime type (pluralist, authoritarian, corporatist), and also links to dynamic factors such as modernization, globalization, technology, and development (Worboys 2006; Berrnhard and Karakoç 2007; Heurlin 2010). The implication of this analysis for civil society groups and policy-makers is that policy must be adjusted and adapted to the type of society with which we are dealing. There is no single formula and hence no one single cookie-cutter approach; what works in one country may not work in another. Rather, policy must be adapted to the local culture, the nature of its society, and the level of its development. For example, in weakly institutionalized countries at the lowest socio-economic levels with no civil society (Haiti, Afghanistan, and Congo), it

may make little sense to pursue advanced democratization. Instead, grassroots literacy campaigns, infrastructure projects, basic economic development, and local civil society projects seem more appropriate. Second, we must recognize cultural and regional differences. Civil society in the Islamic Middle East will surely look different and consist of different groups (army, bazaar, Ulama) than in East Asia or Latin America.

Third, there are matters of timing and sensitivity. Whereas 20 years ago Russia was open to Western efforts to try to democratize its society, create civil society, and privatize and rebuild its economy, today it is not. Russia under Vladimir Putin is much more nationalistic, anti-American, and disinclined to listen to outside advice. Russia has put severe restrictions on outside assistance to civil society groups, requiring NGOs and private aid agencies to register, provide membership information, and reveal funding sources. Though we might like to see greater democracy and freer civil society in Russia, this seems to be the wrong time for the West to push its democracy agenda there. If we want good results, we have to be flexible as to when to act, how, and at what level.

F. Future trends and needed research

The concept of civil society needs to be freed from its American and Western biases. Not all civil societies will be Lockean, Madisonian, or Tocquevillian. Nor will they be free, liberal, and pluralist. Instead, civil society can assume various forms in different cultural contexts, at distinct socio-economic levels, and through diverse types of regimes – authoritarian, corporatist, patrimonialist, neo-syndicalist, even totalitarian. If *civil society* is to be taken seriously as a neutral social science term, it must be liberated from the American political system as a model *and* from its role as an advocacy strategy for US foreign policy. It follows from this assessment that the agenda for future research is: (1) more case studies of civil society, associational life, and state–society relations in individual countries (Aarts and Cavatorta 2012); (2) regional studies of areas with common histories and/or cultures – East Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, Southeast Asia – where there may be similar structures of civil society; (3) global cross-cultural studies searching for commonalities across regions and countries; (4) theoretical, conceptual, and comparative work to see if a general model of associations and civil society is possible; and (5) deeper understanding at the policy level of where and under which circumstances civil society promotion is useful and feasible.

G. Cross-references

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47

Legal, Registration, and Taxation Issues of Associations

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A. Introduction

National and state/province laws regulate Membership Associations (MAs) and other nonprofit organizations (NPOs) in contemporary nations, although this is a very recent historical development (last century or two, usually). Legal treatment of MAs differs in *civil* law versus *common* law systems. In common law countries, MAs have much more freedom to form and operate, compared to civil law regimes, where the government seeks to control all NPOs. In either type of regime, Public Benefit Organizations (PBOs), seeking to foster the general welfare, usually receive special legal, registration/incorporation, and tax treatment, often including exemption from income taxes on net revenues. This chapter reviews the global legal situation of MAs regarding registration or incorporation as a *Legal Person,* freedom of and barriers to MA formation, obtaining public charity status, transparency, accountability, and dissolution.

Not-for-profit organizations or NPOs have existed roughly for ten millennia worldwide, beginning in preliterate societies in many parts of the world (Smith 1997; see also Handbook Chapter 1). In the beginning, and for many thousands of years thereafter, local, all-volunteer associations (termed Grassroots Associations; GAs) were the *only* type of NPOs in existence. In *preliterate societies* (previously termed *primitive societies*, but no longer), such GAs were part of the social order in settled horticultural villages (horticultural societies), but were absent in earlier hunting-gathering, nomadic bands, which were much smaller in size, for the prior 190,000 years of human existence (Nolan and Lenski 2006). The intended beneficiaries of MAs from their origins were the members themselves, not the larger society. Early GAs, as the original type of MAs, were mainly social clubs, and sometimes were religious associations or occupational guilds (Shafer 1991; Smith 1997).

Paid staff-based MAs arose much later, perhaps about 1,000 BC/BCE (Handbook Chapter 1). NPO agencies as PBOs with a paid staff who served

non-members, often for the public welfare/public benefit, arose much later still, in ancient societies with large-scale agriculture (Handbook Chapter 1; Nolan and Lenski 2006). The central focus of this chapter is on how laws and the legal system, usually based on a formal government system in more developed, industrial and post-industrial, societies, permit or constrain MAs to form, exist, and operate. Some attention will also be given to NPO agencies, especially PBOs, since charities and charity law have been key related concerns for many hundreds of years.

There are two main systems of law in contemporary countries of the world – common law and civil law. Common law systems came first historically, as the accumulation of decisions made by judges (or earlier, chiefs, kings, etc.) over long periods of time, centuries, or millennia. Civil law systems are more recent in origin and permit only those activities allowed in written laws, usually enacted by a parliament or equivalent. Common law systems are more permissive: any activity not prohibited by the common law is permitted, without that activity being specified in any law.

In civil law countries, the Roman civil code provided for associations (organizations of people) and foundations (organizations set up by people around a sum of money). The common law did not have those distinctions, but it did differentiate between charities or public benefit NPOs (PBOs) and regular NPOs. As described below, some countries in the common law system also developed public, national commissions (e.g., the Charity Commission for England & Wales; hereafter Charity Commission) for making the distinction between PBOs and NPOs (see generally, O'Halloran, McGregor-Lowndes, and Simon 2008). The commission concept has spread into civil law countries as well, with Japan having created a similar institution in the major reforms of 2006/2008. This development is interesting because once the Japanese accept such an idea, it may well be accepted in other countries in East Asia (Singapore already has a Charity Council; Charities Act 1994), and Hong Kong's legislative review commission is recommending such a step.

In other countries (e.g., the United States, Canada), it is the tax authorities that determine the PBO status of an organization. Forms in the United States are filed with the Internal Revenue Service, which has an Exempt Organizations Division. Like the Charity Commission, its principal function is to assist PBOs. Many other countries follow this format; and indeed in the United Kingdom, Inland Revenue must weigh in on the tax status of charities (OSCR 2008).

B. Definitions

The general definitions of the Handbook Appendix are accepted here. In addition, there are several terms special to this chapter that require definition.

Freedom of association

Freedom of association means the right to associate, whether in the form of an informal group or formal organization or not, freely with other people and/or entities. (See Handbook Chapter 45 for more on various civil liberties in relation to associations.) Under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), freedom of association is guaranteed in Article 22. An important caveat is found in art. 22 (2):

> No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of this right other than those which are prescribed by law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public order (*ordre public*, in French), the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others. This article shall not prevent the imposition of lawful restrictions on members of the armed forces and of the police in their exercise of this right.

What this means is that associational rights may be restricted for certain good reasons, but there should be no restrictions unless this test is met. (See generally, OSI Guidelines, 2004, and *Sidiropoulos and others v. Greece*, 1998.)

In 2010, the UN established the mandate of the Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Association and Peaceful Assembly. The person holding that post is distinguished Kenyan lawyer Maina Kiai, and his reports on these issues are useful and are included in the resources section. His latest report is quoted in the Conclusion.

Registration/Incorporation

While most associations in the world are informal, small, all-volunteer Grassroots Associations (GAs) – meaning they are not registered or incorporated – many formal associations exist also. (See Handbook Chapters 32–34 and 51.) In most countries, unregistered associations are permitted to exist (e.g., Germany permits an unregistered association in its civil code). But this is not true in some countries. For instance, Chinese law permits only government-registered associations to exist, but does not enforce this law for non-political GAs (Ma 2005; Smith with Zhao 2016; Teets 2014). In such situations, the law does not comport with international norms from the ICCPR.

Public benefit or charity status

Charity is a common law term, but *public benefit* is more generally applicable. There are usually PBOs whose beneficiaries are a general charitable class (not just one individual) and who work in the public interest (for the common good and general welfare), not just for the benefit of their members (e.g., Smith

1993). Civil law systems generally permit foundations to be set up for both private interests and public ones (e.g., Germany), but it has become quite common recently for countries to permit only public benefit foundations (e.g., in Japan). Denmark is a notable exception to this practice, since it permits the creation of industrial foundations (Thomsen 2013).

Tax-exempt status

Tax-exempt status may be obtained only by the NPO – not by the donors to it. This legal situation generally means exemption from the income tax for an association. In countries that have estate and gift taxes (China, for example, does not), tax-exemption also may mean exemption from those taxes. And there are a variety of other taxes for which there *may* be an exemption in a specific country: VAT, stamp duties, and so on. In a developing country, where much of the material used in relief work, for example, must be imported, it is also important that some NPOs are exempt from customs duties on such imports.

Tax deductions/credits

In some countries, the donor to a PBO may receive either a tax deduction or a tax credit for his/her donations. The situation is explained in more detail later.

Boards versus staff of PBOs/associations

It is important to distinguish, for governance reasons, between the board and the paid staff of a PBO agency, and also in associations, if paid staff are present. Staff members engage in day-to-day management; boards are for policy and fiduciary oversight and thus play a significant role in governance, in theory (see evidence of actual board activity flaws in Fishman 2007). In most associations, which are usually all-volunteer GAs, staff functions are performed by volunteers as elected or appointed leaders (see Handbook Chapter 36 on Leadership and Management). One key duty of the governing board is to hire and fire the CEO. This applies to both NPOs generally and PBOs. Another key duty is to ensure that the CEO, all paid staff, and even volunteers are complying with applicable laws, rules, and responsibilities (see Handbook Chapter 53 for a review of research on various forms of crime and misconduct in and by associations, by their top leaders [including policy boards and their members], by paid staff, and by their members/volunteers).

In some civil law countries, the law requires a two-tier oversight system for PBOs and large NPOs, with an accounting or audit committee in addition to the general oversight board. This is the system for foundations, for example, in Poland, and it is increasingly being adopted for PBOs in East Asia (foundations in Japan and China). There was a brief inclination toward such a system

in the United States, but in the end, only California adopted the changes for large PBOs.

Fiduciary responsibility

The first important issue for implementing oversight, transparency, and accountability of formal associations is establishing rules for fiduciary responsibility (the duties of care and loyalty). In a common law country (e.g., United Kingdom, United States, Ireland, and notably Hong Kong), fiduciary obligations arise from the common law courts of equity, which enforced such obligations from ancient times. Fiduciary responsibility requires legislation in a civil law country. So, for example, Germany passed what is known as the *Treuhandgesetz* (Gesetz zur Privatisierung und Reorganisation des volkseigenen Vermögens) setting out the concept and requiring that all board members and employees act with the best interests of the organization first and foremost in their minds. There are other aspects to fiduciary responsibility, but this is the most important.

Anti-conflict of interest rules

Consistent with the adoption of a legislative concept of fiduciary responsibility, the best practices set out by regulators or self-regulatory bodies should also require all NPOs/PBOs to adopt conflict of interest provisions as an organizational policy. It is standard practice to require this in the United States and the United Kingdom, and there are many valuable examples to be found on the websites of such organizations as Independent Sector (Principles 2009) and NCVO (UK; NCVO Code of Good Governance 2010).

One additional place to look for inspiration is the website of the Singapore Charity Council, which is modeled on the Charity Commission for England and Wales [http://www.charitycouncil.org/sg]. For example, the Singapore Charity Council summarizes good governance rules in terms of fiduciary responsibility and lack of conflicts of interest as follows:

Governing board members must:

- act in the best interest of the charity and be actively involved in the management and decision-making process, and jointly make decisions as a Board on policy matters;
- exercise strict control over financial matters of the charity:
- ensure the charity remains solvent;
- ensure charitable funds and assets are used reasonably, and only for the furtherance of the charity's objects; and
- avoid undertaking activities that will place charity funds, assets, and reputation at undue risk;

- ensure that the charity complies with the Charities Act and Regulations, and with the requirements of the Office of the Commissioner of Charities or Sector Administrators;
- stay true to the charitable purposes and objects, and abide by the rules set out in the charity's governing instrument;
- ensure proper management of the charity such that it is not opened to abuse and avoid conflict of interests; and
- comply with the other legislations, which govern the charity's activities such as the Trustees Act, Companies Act and Societies Act, if applicable. (Singapore Charity Council 2013).

In Malaysia, as another example, members of a board of directors must have their own constitution and establish internal rules and regulations. Malaysia also has the Trustee Holders Act of 1952 and the Trustee Berhad [Ltd.] Act of 1995 to monitor the trustees and help them conduct their business in a proper manner.

The not-for-profit sector in Ireland has recently developed its own governance code for NPOs, in response to the delayed implementation of the Charities Act 2009. Since its launch in 2012, 299 organizations have fully complied with the Code with a further 930 organizations on the journey toward compliance (Governance Code 2012).

C. Historical background

The presence of some laws, as a minimal legal system, in any society is a *human universal* (i.e., present in every human society ever studied; Brown 1991:138). However, judges, attorneys, courts, trials, juries, and other aspects of modern legal systems are very recent inventions in our 200,000-year-old species. Lowie (1948:chapter 7) describes, illustrates, and discusses laws, their origins, changes, and enforcement/administration in preliterate societies. Hoebel (2006) wrote the first book analyzing in detail the nature of law in preliterate societies, based on case studies of five such societies.

The law in general was subsequently extensively elaborated in ancient agrarian civilizations, such as ancient Greece and Rome from about 500 BCE/BC. Courts, judges, attorneys, and formal public trials arose (du Plessis 2014; Phillips 2013). During the Middle Ages in Europe, there was further expansion of the legal system and of legal philosophy and thought, including the formal development of the system of English Common Law (Hudson 1996) and juries of one's peers (Janin 2009). Such law was distinctive in being seen as applicable to both the rulers and the ruled, not solely to the latter, as in most prior times and places.

Merryman and Pérez-Perdomo (2007) gave a broad historical overview of the development of civil law systems in many nations, initially in Europe, but then spreading also to Latin America through conquest and colonization. More recently, civil law procedures have spread through institutional isomorphism and mimetic processes (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). Simon (2013) traces the historical development of the civil law system in China, from ancient times down to the present, drawing implications for the nonprofit sector and associations in the present day.

1. Common law systems

Unlike *civil* law systems, where laws are written and, in recent centuries, enacted by parliaments or legislatures, the *common* law has evolved through judge-made decisions in recent centuries. In earlier, less complex societies (Nolan and Lenski 2006), tribal chiefs or councils of elders created case law as they adjudicated disputes and grievances in preliterate tribes. Later, in ancient agrarian civilizations/societies, and then in medieval and pre-industrial societies, new elements of the legal system were invented or borrowed, and added, as suggested above.

The complexity of this historical case law, which falls outside the scope of this chapter (see O'Halloran, McGregor-Lowndes, and Simon 2008), greatly aggravated the development of the law of charity in England, Australia, Canada, and other countries that rely or relied on the common law *heads of charity* for determining PBO status. The United States escaped this through having the Internal Revenue Code list charitable purposes and allowing great leeway of interpretation to the IRS.

More recently an increasing number of common law jurisdictions (e.g., Ireland, the United Kingdom, Australia) are enacting laws that define what is *charitable* and expanding it beyond its common law origins. This can be seen as a salutary change.

Former British colonies in various parts of the world reflect British common law. In Pakistan, for example, references to the original common law are present in both state laws and federal law. India is the same, but significant tax legislation has, by and large, superseded common law definitions.

2. Civil law systems

The evolution of the civil law of Rome proceeded in two directions after Rome fell, and later, the Middle Ages ended. One direction is generally French and the other is German. While the two legal forms remained the same throughout the civil law world, there has been a diversity of approaches. The important distinction is that the Germanic systems were generally friendlier to the freedom of association, and the civil codes that reflect the German Civil Code of 1896 are better able to deal with associational life – they permit it quite freely.

In France, the French Revolution had a significant impact on this issue. An outgrowth of the Revolution was a general distrust of all forms of non-state-sponsored association (including foundations and the Roman Catholic Church). In fact, the precursor to all French-influenced civil codes, the Code Napoléon of 1804, did not even have a chapter on juristic persons. It was only after the famous Loi d'Association was passed in 1901 that freedom of association was recognized in France.

Francophone influence can be seen in former French colonies in Africa and also in Vietnam, where an association to this day cannot be established without permission. In some former French colonies in North Africa, for example, regimes for registration are quite limited. Others, like Morocco, have made much more progress (see the "NGO Law Monitor" of the International Center for Not-for-Profit Law; www.icnl.org).

Italy, which had come under the sway of French influence, has nonetheless been able to make it much easier to set up associations. On the other hand, Italy suffers from an increase in the number of legal forms (e.g., the ONLUS), with conflicting qualification standards, making it much more difficult to select a public benefit form.

One development in former or current socialist legal systems has been the development of a third legal form called this *institution* or in Chinese the *min-ban fei qiye danwei* (self-governing not-for-profit institution). The rationale for this new legal form is the *privatization* of former state functions into not-for-profit entities (e.g., fee for service providers of education and health care). While distinguished from pure associations (also called social organizations or, more generally, *minjian zuzhi*), these entities are like associations in that they have members.

Some countries (e.g., Afghanistan) have hybrid legal systems making regulation more complex. Afghanistan's legal system is based on both civil and Sharia law. Work done there by ICCSL (see http://www.iccsl.org/admin/object/gallery /AFGH_Report_AKDN_Final.pdf.) indicates the depth of the problems that can arise in a hybrid system. Now, however, a new law should help make the situation more systematized for all associations (ICNL, NGO Law Monitor).

South Africa also has a hybrid system that combines English and Dutch law, but the NPO and PBO registration regimes there are quite free and open.

Jordan's legal system is based on civil law (French code) and Sharia law (applied in certain cases). Until recently, civil society organizations (CSOs) were governed by the *Law on Societies and Social Bodies* (Law 33 of 1966), which allowed for pervasive government interference in the affairs of CSOs. In 2008, the *Law on Societies* (Law 51 of 2008) was enacted; although an improvement, the new law was met with criticism for not going far enough to remove restrictions on civic space. As a partial response to these criticisms, the 2008 *Law on Societies* was amended in 2009 by the *Law Amending the Law on Societies* (Law 22

of 2009; see the International Center for Not-for-Profit Law or ICNL, NGO Law Monitor).

D. Key issues

1. Association registration and/or incorporation as a legal person

The two terms, *incorporation* and *registration,* are used to signify the creation of an NPO in legal terms – registration in the civil law systems and incorporation in the common law systems. Registering or incorporating an NPO is done when a greater level of formality is desired, which has special legal and practical benefits. Unincorporated associations, for instance, do not enjoy the key benefits of those that are incorporated (e.g., limited personal liability for the board and staff).

Informal associations do not have *legal personality*. This means that they cannot sue or be sued in their own names; the boards of directors, founders, or managers are personally liable for all debts of the association. They cannot open bank accounts in their own names, and so on. Although they may be legally competent in the Netherlands (see below), they still suffer some restrictions on what they can do. Thus, for many associations (especially larger and wealthier ones, with significant numbers of paid staff), either incorporation or registration or both is desirable.

Upon formation, unincorporated or informal associations in Ireland, the United Kingdom, and the United States do not need to register with any government agency by virtue of their legal form. Thus, unlike companies (businesses), associations in Ireland and the United Kingdom do not need to register with the Companies Registration Office. In the United States, associations do not have to register or incorporate with the government at either the state or national level. If the association has charitable aims, however, it may be required to register with a charities regulator for charitable status and comply with its ordinances in the United Kingdom and Ireland. Thus, charitable associations in England and Wales are obliged to register with the Charity Commission for England and Wales (Charities Act 2011); those in Scotland will register with the Office of the Scottish Charity Regulator (Charities and Trustee Investment (Scotland) Act 2005); those in Northern Ireland with the Charity Commission for Northern Ireland (Charities Act (Northern Ireland) 2008). Irish charitable associations must register with the Charities Regulatory Authority (Charities Act 2009).

The law regarding registration of associations differs in European civil law countries (see Germany, mentioned above). If an association wishes to acquire legal personality in France, its establishment must be declared to the local prefecture and published within one month in the Official Journal (L. 1901, Art 5). Without legal personality, an association remains a simple act of contract lacking legal capacity and in this regard cannot "own property, contract, incur

liability, benefit from public generosity, receive subsidies from public authorities, represent the corporation's staff or go to court" (Hopt et al. 2010:274). An association may be formed in France by two or more persons for any legal activity, private or public, other than the purpose of *sharing profits* (L. 1901, Art 1). Where the purpose in question is a public purpose, an association will fall into one of two categories: (1) general interest or (2) public utility. Those associations that register and thus enjoy legal capacity are constrained in their ability to receive donations or make purchases (L. 1901, Art 6). Thus, associations wishing to act as charities are required to register as public utility associations. Under L. 1901, Art 11, public utility associations can receive donations freely although they must be declared to the prefét who can object to them on the basis that the association will be unable to use the donation in accordance with its purpose.

The establishment of an association (or *Verein*) under German law requires at least seven members to finalize the statutes of the association, followed by the holding of a general assembly meeting to appoint the first board of directors and the registration of the association with the competent court. An exception is made when a *Nichtrechts-Fähige Vereine* (an unincorporated association) is established, in which latter case no court registration is required. Although the governance structure of the Vereine and the Nichtrechts-Fähige Vereine are similar, the latter's lack of legal personality can create difficulties in terms of both legal capacity and asset ownership vis-à-vis members and directors. The existence in German law of this unincorporated association model is historical and was based upon the German Empire's desire to avoid incorporated associations and thereby better control political parties and trade unions (Hopt et al. 2010:203). Although political thinking has moved on from the 1900s, the law in this regard remains unreformed with §54 of the Civil Code providing that an association without legal personality shall be treated like a partnership.

In the Netherlands, there are two types of association: the association with limited legal competence (informal association) (Vereniging met Beperkte Rechtsbevoegdheid) and the association with full legal competence (Vereniging met Volledige Rechtsbevoegdheid) (Burger and Dekker 2004). Informal associations, which do not require written articles, enjoy legal personality upon establishment. However, such associations lack capacity to hold real estate or receive inheritances. Moreover, unless registered in the Commercial Register, the liability of an informal association will extend beyond the association itself to members of the management board for actions of the association. However, if the informal association is registered in the Commercial Register, then the members of its management board may only be sued for the association's debts if a creditor makes a plausible case that the association will not pay.

Section 27 of Book 2 of the Dutch Civil Code requires that formal associations must be established by notarial deed containing prescribed articles. Unless the formal association is entered in the commercial register, the members of the management board remain personally liable for the legal acts carried out in

the association's name. Registration with the Commercial Register is subject to an annual fee. Failure to pay coupled with an absence of required member registration details can lead the Dutch Chamber of Industry and Commerce to seek the dissolution of the association (Burger and Dekker 2004).

The Brazilian Civil Code (Law 10,406 of December 10, 2002) recognizes only two categories of private legal entities that can be considered NPOs under the UN Statistical Division parameters: Associations and Foundations. In Brazil, four types of institutions comprise the Third Sector: associations, foundations, cooperatives, and religious organizations. The Third Sector Law, n° 9.790, from 1999, provides for the qualification of legal persons, including associations, as not-for-profit Civil Society Organizations of Public Interest (Organizações da Sociedade Civil de Interesse Público, known as OSCIPs). The law also disciplines and establishes the partnerships to be formed with the State and private companies, among other matters.

India has a complex set of rules applicable to setting up NPOs/PBOs. Relative to associations, these include the following:

> The Societies Registration Act 1860 (a federal Act applicable generally to all states; however, some regions had already enacted their own laws, and others have made amendments or modifications to the Act, and other states have passed completely new laws to regulate societies leading to considerable variation across states); and

> The Companies Act 1956 (Section 25 of the Companies Act 1956 deals with non-profit companies. This is a federal Act and applies to non-profit companies operating in any state.)

In federal systems, such as the United States, Australia, India, and Pakistan, it is the state (or provincial) authorities that determine what associations are registered/incorporated. This is a ministerial task, meaning that if the proper documents are filed and the purposes are legal, the organization must be registered/incorporated. In Pakistan and India, the federal law is implemented through the provincial authorities. In Iraq, Kurdistan Province (which has a quasi-independent existence) has its own association law (different from the federal law).

2. To what extent is a nonprofit organization (NPO) permitted freely to come into existence?

Certain countries, such as Belarus, fail entirely to live up to international norms. (See ICNL, NGO Law Monitor.) In addition, Freedom House ranked Eritrea as entirely *not free* for 2013 and cited numerous instances of interventions into lawful NPO activities. (See Freedom House, Eritrea 2013.)

Among other countries, there are varying degrees of ease with which NPOs can be formed (i.e., in freedom of association). As to East Asia, in Japan, since

2008, a *general not-for-profit corporation* can be set up under notarial seal (without permission). In China, as the *direct registration* of NPOs becomes widely adopted at the provincial/municipal level across the country, it remains only for new national regulations permitting it to be adopted, but in Vietnam, on the other hand, permission is required to set up an NPO.

In Europe generally, setting up an NPO is easy, as it is in the United States.

In Russia, while establishment of an entity is easy, the recent controversy and legal changes over registering certain NPOs as *foreign agents* has led to difficulties and deregistration for many associations. As a result, many cases of NPOs are pending in Russian courts and will also be in the European Court of Human Rights, after the local jurisdictional issues are complied with. Human Rights Watch published an update on this law in December 2013, reporting that hundreds of NPOs had been affected (see HRW Report on Russian Foreign Agents Law).

3. What key impediments or barriers are there to forming an NPO?

It used to be that requiring a large number of members for an association was used as an impediment to formation of an NPO, and that having a large endowment requirement was used to impede the formation of foundations (see Simon and Hang Gao; OSI Guidelines). These issues have largely receded in most nations, and/or NPOs have found ways around these restrictions. In addition, as in China, prior authorization is receding as an issue; and it has entirely disappeared in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan.

In Pakistan, at a meeting held on November 21, 2013, the Economic Coordination Committee (ECC) approved the Draft Policy Framework for the Regulation of INGOs and NGOs. However, a Committee is still deliberating on the Regulation of Foreign Contribution Act (RFCA) 2013. The ECC has yet to finalize its recommendations on RFCA, which will be presented in the National Assembly for approval as a law (ICNL NGO Law Monitor).

In general, there need to be at least three members of an association or not-for-profit corporation. English *societies* laws have typically required seven members. Requirements for larger numbers often limit formation of NPO entities.

There are other possible impediments to allowing NPOs freely to be organized. These may include requiring an NPO representative to travel to the country's capital with completed forms for registration (at one time required in Ghana).

4. How does an NPO or association obtain Public Benefit Organization (PBO) or charity status?

There are generally two ways to obtain charity or PBO status with respect to delegation of authority to private bodies: via a special Commission or similar body; or via government Tax authorities.

(a) Commissions are generally patterned on the mother of all charity commissions – the Charity Commission for England and Wales. It is clear, however, that all parts of the UK do not follow such a model (e.g., Scotland). Northern Ireland also has a charity commission, and Australia established a new regulator, the Australian Charities and Not-for-Profit Commission in 2012. In the past decade, New Zealand established and disestablished its Charity Commission. Attributing the disestablishment to funding difficulties, the Department of Internal Affairs now regulates New Zealand charities. Charity Commissions in general follow essentially the same model. They are independent; commissioners come from government, academia, and the NPO sector; and they have professional staffs.

Ireland's new Charities Regulatory Authority was established in 2014. Among its functions are the establishment and maintenance of a register of charitable organizations; ensuring accountability to donors and the public; the carrying out of investigations when required under the 2009 Charities Act, and, ensuring compliance by charitable organizations with their own rules (Charities Act 2009, s.14).

One common law country, Singapore, had already adopted the *commission model* before the legal changes in Japan, and it looks fairly certain that Hong Kong will as well. The further spread of that model into Asia is important, as Japan's legal changes indicate. Whether other civil law countries will borrow the model remains to be seen. However, Shenzhen, a special economic zone in China, which borders on Hong Kong, is very influenced by it. There has been much discussion of a *certification* process for PBOs in Shenzhen.

In Kenya, the PBO Act, 2013, repeals the NGOs Co-ordination Act of 1990. Specifically, the law seeks to improve the regulatory environment for NPOs in Kenya, increase regulator efficiency and transparency, improve sector capacity and accountability, and develop dialogue between civil society and the government. The PBO Act is the product of extensive consultations involving stakeholders from relevant government agencies and NPOs involved in public benefit work. The process also benefited from consultations and borrowed good practice from various renowned PBO regulators such the Charity Commission of England and Wales and the Office of the Scottish Charity Regulator.

(b) Applying to the tax authorities for charitable status is prevalent in many countries. The United States, Canada, Germany, India follow this model. The form for acquiring charity status in the United States – Form 1023 – is long and detailed and appears very daunting to first-time applicants. Nonetheless, it is not all that complex for a brand new charity, and there is a lowered filing fee for small charities.

It is also important to note that most countries regulate the extent to which charitable associations can engage in economic activities. This regulation may be imposed from a charity law perspective so as to protect charitable assets from depletion by economic activity, thereby prohibiting or restricting such activity;

or it may be imposed by tax law so as to ensure a level playing field between for-profit entities and nonprofit entities competing in the commercial sphere, thereby taxing income on unrelated commercial activities per se or when it goes over a certain threshold. This is a complex subject, systems vary, and it needs elucidation by tax experts.

5. What does a PBO gain once it qualifies?

Tax benefits generally follow qualification as a PBO. No matter which system is used, the amount of tax-benefit is capped (50% of adjusted gross income in the United States for individuals, and 10% for for-profit corporations; in China 30% for individuals and 12% for corporations). Deductions are subtractions from income, and they have an upside down effect, which means that people in higher tax brackets benefit more from them. In Ireland, in the case of a corporate charitable donation, the donor company can claim a deduction as if it were a trading expense. Tax relief on donations above a threshold of €250 per annum made by all other individual taxpayers to eligible charities is allowed to the charity and not the donor. A qualifying donation is grossed up at 31% and the approved charity is deemed for the purposes of the relief to have received the grossed up amount net of tax deducted at the specified rate. The maximum qualifying donation amount for individuals in a year of assessment is €1m. One of the contentious deduction issues around the world has been donations of property, including publicly traded shares. In Ireland, the income tax relief scheme was extended to such share donations in 2006, but it is still under discussion in China.

Tax credits, unlike deductions, apply against the tax, not the amount of income. They are fairer, in that sense, but they are generally capped at a low level (1% or, at most, 10%) of the amount given. Singapore has a very generous double tax credit available for donations to certain charities, and following the Great East Japan Earthquake and Tsunami, Japan increased the credits it allows.

But there may be other benefits as well. Some countries have preferential bidding systems for public contracts that provide social services. Others allow the PBOs to publish not-for-profit magazines – even glossy ones such as National Geographic – if the money goes back into the coffers of the organization and the revenues are related to the exempt purposes of the organization. Others allow imports of certain items of educational materials, and so on, tax and duty free.

Some *Mostly Muslim Country* (MMC) governments provide substantial support as incentives for being loyal. For example, the Saudi government provides between SAR 50,000 to SAR 5 million funds, land for offices, technical support, reduced utility rates and in-kind donations to all registered associations. Oman provides the licensee *loyalty funds* and other monetary benefits for furnishing the office, or undertaking targeted activities (e.g. humanitarian services-related activities or a social or cultural project).

In Brazil, organizations with more than one year of existence can request the Ministry of Justice to be qualified as OSCIP (*Organização da Sociedade Civil de Interesse Público*). The qualification as OSCIP allows a PBO to establish a relationship with a government, giving it access to public resources, through a Partnership Agreement (Termo de Parceria).

A policy for cooperation between public authorities and NPOs was ratified by the Iraqi Kurdistan Region Parliament in June 2013 and signed by NPOs on September 4, 2013. It lays the basis for stronger and better partnership between public authorities and the civil society sector and will empower NPOs in the Kurdistan Region to express opinions and participate in the design and implementation of policies and laws (see ICNL, NGO Law Monitor).

6. How does an NPO or association qualify for tax benefits if there is no "charity commission" or other body to qualify it?

There are essentially two answers to this question. One includes tax authority decisions, as in the United States (as already discussed). The other relies on informal, non-governmental bodies, which have been delegated by government to set up regimes for authorization of PBO status. These include the Pakistan Centre for Philanthropy (PCP) and the Philippine Council for NGO Certification (PCNC).

In Pakistan, a large percentage (38%) of organizations are not registered under any law. Even those that are registered are not necessarily subject to monitoring and evaluation under the regulatory system. To address this problem, the PCP instituted a PBO certification regime for tax exemption and systems evaluation, which has been ongoing since 2003. Many commentators think it does not work well.

According to its website, the PCNC "provide[s] a mechanism of certification for NGOs which meet established minimum criteria for greater transparency and accountability." The Philippine government has respected its mandate. On the other hand, out of the thousands of NPOs in the Philippines only a few dozen have been certified, making the system largely ineffective.

7. What transparency and accountability rules apply to NPOs?

While the transparency and accountability rules that apply to PBOs are greater than that for NPOs, the latter still have rules they must follow. They must, for example, make the minutes of their board meetings easily available to all their members. Members should not be required to go to headquarters to view them, they should be accessible through emails and in electronic format.

8. What transparency and accountability rules apply especially to PBOs?

PBOs must follow a stricter regime of reporting to governmental bodies than NPOs more generally. In a federal system this means multiple governments,

and in the United States, the reporting has been simplified in two ways – by *piggybacking* on reporting to the IRS reports and by having a multistate format for charities operating across state lines. For the IRS forms, see Form 990 and Form 990PF for private foundations (on the IRS website).

In addition to reporting to government, many charities use their websites to put out their annual reports, and they register with charity reporting bodies such as Charity Navigator, to publish their reports more widely. These types of reporting bodies are cropping up all over and are not just limited to developed countries.

9. Are there ancillary issues that need to be considered (e.g., rules on foreign contributions)?

In India (and under consideration in Pakistan) the Foreign Contributions Registration Act (FCRA) regulates foreign contributions to domestic NPOs/PBOs. Registration under FCRA gives Indian charitable organizations the authorization to receive donations from foreign sources. Organizations are eligible for registration under FCRA if they have been in existence for at least three years. As per the new FCRA regulations (2010), organizations must renew their FCRA every five years. If an organization has been in existence for less than three years, they must receive *prior permission* to accept foreign contributions. Prior permission is given to charitable groups by the FCRA department in order for groups to accept foreign contribution on a case-by-case basis. Charitable organizations having political objects or involved in activities of a political nature could stand to lose their registration under FCRA.

In Venezuela, there has been consideration of the Ley de Cooperación Internacional (International Cooperation Law, or "ICL"). The ICL is constraining and ambiguous and was framed in a political context under Hugo Chavez that aims to restrict international cooperation as well as citizen's rights and liberties, and especially the right of freedom of association. This same assault on freedoms continues as a threat under the current government (see ICNL, NGO Law Monitor).

10. What role does self-regulation play in overall NPO and association governance?

There is no question that self-regulation plays a great role in helping NPOs/PBOs meet their obligations (see Handbook Chapter 41). There are many self-regulatory bodies, generally associations of NPOs/PBOs that are involved in standard-setting, and they help both associations and government in that fashion.

11. What happens upon dissolution of an NPO or association?

At common law, upon dissolution of an association, the distribution of rights will depend upon how they were held during the tenure of the association.

If the rights are held subject to contract, then they will be divided among the surviving membership upon dissolution, according to the terms of the contracts inter se or an implied term according to contribution (*Re Recher's Will Trusts* [1972] Ch 526]). If, as a result of this contract or statute, no member can claim, the rights will pass to the State as *bona vacantia*. If, however, the association dissolves because only one member remains, current legal thinking (Griffiths 2009) and case law in common law countries would point to the last member being entitled to the remaining rights over that of the State (*Hanchett Stamford v AG* [2009] Ch 173).

In all jurisdictions, both common law and civil law, if the association has charitable or public benefit status and thus enjoys consequent tax privileges, upon its dissolution, any remaining assets must be applied to another charitable purpose as near as possible to the purpose of the wound up charitable association. In common law jurisdictions, this doctrine is known as the doctrine of *cy près* (a term which derives from the French language).

E. Usable knowledge

There are many good online resources available that provide accurate and up-to-date information on the challenges facing NPOs including associations, the current state of NGO/NPO law, and recent legal developments in many countries. The Council on Foundations maintains the United States International Grant Making Project, a compilation of country notes explaining the legal framework for NPOs in over 70 countries, to assist grant-makers when undertaking tax equivalency determinations for foreign grantees. ICNL's NGO Law Monitor and Global Trends in NGO Law series synthesizes key developments relating to the legal and regulatory issues that affect NPOs. Two interdisciplinary associations of scholars/researchers on NPOs and voluntaristics more broadly, ARNOVA (www.arnova.org) and ISTR (www.istr.org), bring global NPO scholars together in annual or biennial conferences and also online to share information and experiences. CIVICUS (www.civicus.org), in partnership with the International Center for Not-for-Profit Law (ICNL), ARTICLE 19, and the world Movement for Democracy, is undertaking a three-year project aimed at protecting and expanding civic space by fostering an enabling legal environment for civil society and NPOs, including associations. The Civic Space Initiative (CSI) focuses on civil society legal initiatives at the global, regional, and national levels (see http://www.icnl.org/csi/index.html).

Specific online resources include the following:

CIVICUS: www.civicus.org

Council on Foundations US International Grant-Making Project: http://www
.cof.org/global-grantmaking/country-notesd#shash.KM3snlW0.dpuf

International Center for Civil Society Law/ICCSL (reports on various countries) available at www.iccsl.org

International Center for Not-for-Profit Law/ICNL, NGO Law Monitor (reports on various countries) available at http://www.icnl.org/research/monitor/

OSI guidelines, available at www.iccsl.org

UN Special Rapporteur on Freedoms of Association and Peaceful Assembly: http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/AssemblyAssociation/Pages/SRFreedom AssemblyAssociationIndex.aspx

F. Future trends and needed research

Legal and taxation research on MAs is likely to continue to grow rapidly, as has been the case in the past few decades. Government concerns with relevant laws and regulations affecting MAs will also likely continue to grow, as ever more national governments become increasingly aware of the size and importance of the nonprofit sector and MAs and volunteering within it (Smith 2017; see also Handbook Chapters 44, 49, 52, 53).

The first attempt to address the question of what good laws for *civil society* should contain and what they should abjure was the Open Society Institute's Handbook on Good Practices for Laws Affecting Civic Organizations, first published in 1998. The second edition, cited in the resource section is available at www.iccsl.org. The authors contend, as many have in their wake, that laws should protects NPOs, PBOs, and the freedom of association; they should not interfere with the ability of people to come together in association with others.

In the 2012 Report, *Defending Civil Society*, co-authors ICNL and the National Endowment for Democracy comment, however, that "a disturbingly large number of governments – principally, but not exclusively authoritarian or hybrid regimes – are using legal and regulatory measures to undermine and constrain civil society" (ICNL, NED 2012:14). According to the report these constraining measures take many forms, ranging from barriers to entry and operational activity, barriers to free speech, advocacy and communication, barriers to assembly and resources. This belief finds further support in the *First Report of the UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights to Freedom of Peaceful Assembly and of Association* (2012) in which Maina Kiai stated:

> Although the present report is related to best practices, the Special Rapporteur believes it is important to bear in mind that, in certain contexts, the rights of peaceful assembly and to freedom of association are totally or partially denied, as seen in many countries at the time of drafting the report.

In both this report and his second thematic report to the UN Human Rights Council (Maina Kiai 2013), the UN Special Rapporteur sets out a number

of specific recommendations relating to the right of association which if introduced would lessen the legal constraints currently experienced by many voluntary associations to varying degrees in many jurisdictions across the globe.

In particular, he calls upon States:

(a) To adopt a regime of notification for the formation of associations and to allow for the existence of unregistered associations;

(b) To ensure that associations – registered and unregistered – can seek, receive, and use funding and other resources from natural and legal persons, whether domestic, foreign, or international, without prior authorization or other undue impediments, including from individuals; associations, foundations or other civil society organizations; foreign Governments and aid agencies; the private sector; the United Nations and other entities;

(c) To recognize that undue restrictions to funding, including percentage limits, is a violation of the right to freedom of association and of other human rights instruments, including the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights;

(d) To recognize that regulatory measures which compel recipients of foreign funding to adopt negative labels constitute undue impediments on the right to seek, receive and use funding; and

(e) To adopt measures to protect individuals and associations against defamation, disparagement, undue audits and other attacks in relation to funding they allegedly received.

These recommendations provide a challenging research agenda for legal scholars and practitioners to identify the regimes that respect these standards or that could do better in their promotion. As this chapter has demonstrated, in some cases the enabling environment is getting better (e.g., Afghanistan, for some NPOs in China), while in others there is more repression (Russia, Venezuela). Thus, it seems important to do more effective research to see what is really going on in this regard in the world today.

What types of research are needed? Room exists for the ongoing development of better research frameworks. Hasan (2012, 2015a, 2015b) and colleagues, for example, have examined third sector organizations (TSOs) in Mainly Muslim Countries (MMCs). Gall (2013) has done an overarching study of environmental NPOs in China, comparing them as to effective strategies. Voluntary Action Network India (VANI) did a comparative study of India, Mauritius, the United States, Fiji, New Zealand, Nepal, Indonesia, Brazil, and France, which is available at http://www.ong-ngo.org/en/enabling-environment-for-voluntary-organizations-a-global-campaign/. While some of the answers to some of the questions are skewed (e.g., the question of whether French NPOs have legal

identity), this is a start. The emergence of new regional research networks JANPORA (Japan NPO Research Association) and ERNOP (European Research Network on Philanthropy) bring greater richness to this field and provide further opportunities for greater cross-regional and interdisciplinary research with existing network associations.

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Relationships and Collaboration among Associations

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A. Introduction

The collaboration among voluntary associations (VAs), as well as among non-profit agencies (NPAs), with different external organizations as actors is part of our social and institutional landscape (Smith 2015a, 2015b). This phenomenon is not new, but what has changed in recent decades is the growing presence of such collaboration all over the world. This chapter focuses on collaboration especially between and among larger paid-staff VAs, often national and other supra-local associations (see Handbook Chapter 33) and also by NPAs. There is little or no attention to collaboration involving smaller, local associations, especially to the vast majority of VAs that are all-volunteer grassroots associations (GAs; see Handbook Chapter 32). This approach results partly from the relative lack of research on collaboration at the level of GAs, but also from the specialized expertise of the authors.

As for every other complex social phenomenon, definitions, analytical frames, and interpretations are quite open and subject to debate in academia and among practitioners. In this chapter, we address and review the definitions of collaboration, its dynamics as well as the historical background leading to the present collaborative landscape. Further on, the chapter focuses on three key issues identified: seeing collaboration as a dynamic process, examining the kinds of leadership and managerial challenges involved, and discussing various organizational arrangements of the different kinds of actors involved. Finally, the chapter summarizes usable knowledge extracted from previous discussions and proposes future research needed on collaboration.

B. Definitions

This chapter accepts the set of definitions in the Handbook Appendix.

Several authors have defined the collaborative work of VAs and NPAs differently, but what is common in all of them is that they see the collaboration

as an exchange relationship between one VA or NPA and one or more other organizations of the same or a different societal sector (nonprofit, business, government). The collaboration between organizations could be formally established (e.g., through contracts) or not, with equal or unequal benefits (whether material or not) to all partners involved, and is usually seen as a process with graduated levels of collaborative activities (e.g., Klonglan et al. 1973:340). In this common work there can be can be some kind of division of labor, shared activities, or delegation.

The articulation between VAs/NPAs and other actors has been called *Collaboration* (Austin 2000; Guo and Acar 2005), *Partnerships* (Brinkerhoff & Brinkerhoff 2002, Brinkerhoff 2010), *Coalitions, Networks, Movements* (Fox 2010), *Strategic Alliances* (Yankey and Willem 2010), and so on. These different terms usually tend to overlap. The term *collaboration* has been used especially in the joint work between the nonprofit and business sector. For example, Mattessich et al. (2001:4) understand collaboration as the relationships involving two or more organizations from the business and nonprofit sectors to achieve their own objectives that are common to both of them. In this view, "collaborative relationships can be further categorized into relationships that are philanthropic, transactional, or integrative" (Austin and Ebrahim 2010:471).

Beyond the term used for exchange relationships among VAs/NPAs or between VAs/NPAs and organizations from other sectors, the focus here is not on the occasional relationship but on (at least some degree of) institutionalization of that collaborative articulation.

If the collaboration among several VAs/NPAs becomes institutionalized, it leads to the creation of some sort of *umbrella organization*, defined by Young (2001:290) as "nonprofit associations whose members are themselves nonprofit organizations." However, this broad definition needs a further focus, as Melville (2010:1577) suggests: "The most common terms used to describe umbrella organizations are *intermediaries, federations, advocacy coalitions, loose associations, ad hoc coalitions* and *resource organizations* [emphasis added]." In spite of this ambiguity, umbrella organizations usually take some form of public or external representation of their members on whatever issue or cause that the members decide to delegate to their umbrella. Young and Faulk (2010:660) define *federations* very much in the same way, taking the definition of Selsky (1998:286) as "associations in which the affiliates are organizations rather than individuals."

Then, as part of this *umbrella* universe, and according to Fox (2010:486), *coalitions* "involve collective action" and "collaboration between actors that remain distinct in some way." On the other hand, *networks* (ibid:487) "involve shared *goals* among their participants," but "they do not necessarily involve joint *action*." And finally, *movements* "imply a high degree of shared collective

identity, for example, yet neither networks nor coalitions necessarily involve significant horizontal exchange" (ibid:487).

Networks involve a set of actors or *clusters* of organizations that share common goals with interdependent but autonomous members. Overall, the group of entities within a network tends to promote collective action of some sort, as each one member alone cannot handle the task ahead. A distinction can be made analytically within networks, forums, and platforms. *Forums* can be understood as communities of organizations grouped together with the goal of creating a common space to reflect on shared issues and to exchange experiences, learning, and information. In turn, *platforms* are sometimes referred to as structures that serve to achieve some purpose with a program and collective action. In this sense platforms are sometimes called *coalitions*.

In addition, one form that institutionalized collaborative relationships can take is the *strategic alliance*. The term usually refers to regular, significant, and relevant exchange relationships between VAs/NPAs and private actors that create important benefits to the members. Such alliances are defined as "capacity building mechanisms that enable partnering entities to achieve results exceeding those that might be attained on the basis of each participant's individual resources" (Yankey and Willen 2005:257).

On the other hand, when the collaboration is referred to as joint work between VAs/NPAs and private or, especially, government actors, the term used frequently is *partnership*. A partnership can be defined as a

> relationship among diverse actors, based on mutually agreed objectives, pursued through a shared understanding of the most rational division of labor based on the respective comparative advantages of each partner. This relationship results in mutual influence, with a careful balance between synergy and respective autonomy, which incorporates mutual respect, equal participation in decisionmaking, mutual accountability, and transparency. (Brinkerhoff 2002:14)

More narrowly, a partnership can also be defined as an arrangement "between a public sector organization and any organization outside the public sector" (Bovaird 2004:200). Two key features have been noted in partnerships: they have *organizational identity* – a goal or outcome sought with the articulation and that does not yet exist in each of the organizations – and *mutuality* – a sense of perceived equality between the partners, despite their differences (Brinkerhoff 2010:1135).

As can be seen, there are two common dimensions in all the definitions: the first is the *why* of the collaborations among organizations and the answer tends to be teleological. Collaborations are processes that tend to structure a mechanism that better serves a set of goals that each organization cannot fulfill on

their own (e.g., to achieve their own objectives or objectives common to both of them; Mattessich et al 2001) or to "enable partnering entities to achieve results exceeding those that might be attained on the basis of each participant's individual resources" (Yankey and Willen 2005). Secondly, signaling *what it takes* to sustain the relationship, which in turn is broken down into two factors: one factor is *structural* – to generate mechanisms and conditions to sustain the collaboration (e.g., with "mutually agreed objectives, pursued through a shared understanding of the most rational division of labor based on the respective comparative advantages of each partner"; Brinkerhoff 2010:1135). The second factor is *intangible* – the generation of a common culture between the associates through the developing of a "shared collective identity" (Fox 2010), an "organizational identity" (Brinkerhoff 2002).

C. Historical background

Research on interorganizational relations (IOR), including collaboration, goes back only about six decades, not centuries. Scholars in organization studies in the United States only began to focus on IOR in the 1950s. For instance, Thompson and McEwen (1958) developed an IOR typology, with competition being common for the outputs of third parties, but also discerning three types of cooperative relationships: bargaining, cooptation, and coalition formation, with the latter being the focus of this chapter. Looked at more broadly, any given organization can usually be seen in the context of other similar organizations, sometimes referred to as the *organization-set* (Blau and Scott 1962:195–196; see also Caplow 1964:chapter 6; Evan 1966). The somewhat broader concept of the *interorganizational field* has received more attention and use subsequently (Warren 1967), referring to all organizations external to a given organization, as the organizational environment in which it is embedded.

The famous early monograph/text on organizations by March and Simon (1958:131–135) treated relationships with other organizations only very briefly, in the context of inter-organizational conflict. Lawrence and Lorsch (1967) wrote an influential early monograph on IOR. By the date of publication of the first edition of Hall's (1972) literature review/text book on organizations, the environment of organizations had become a standard chapter and topic in texts on organization studies. By the mid to late 1970s, review articles and monographs began to appear on IOR (Aldrich 1979; Aldrich and Pfeffer 1976; Meyer and Associates 1978; Pfeffer and Salancik 1978).

Researchers in organization studies *per se*, however, paid virtually no attention to VAs/NPAs then, as now (e.g., Hatch 2012; Tolbert and Hall 2008). But researchers interested specifically in VAs/NPAs began to study IOR at about the same time, in the 1960s. They were possibly influenced by the IOR theory being developed by organization studies researchers, but were clearly also influenced

by what they saw empirically in looking at VAs/NPAs and their actual IOR (e.g., Black and Kase 1963; Dynes and Quarantelli 1969; Levine, White, and Paul. 1963). Some early examples of research focused on IOR for VAs are Dillman (1966), Klonglan and Yep (1972), and Klonglan, Yep, Mulford, and Dillman (1973).

Turning to the history of the phenomena of organizational collaboration itself, since the last years of the 20th century there has been an ever-increasing trend of public, business, and nonprofit organizations working collaboratively. Organizations that used to embrace all their activities within their borders started to identify their core activity, and the rest of the process was outsourced in a network of providers, suppliers, and so on. The complexity of this environment forced organizations to focus on what they really had as a competitive advantage. In this sense, the collaborative work analyzed here is not an exclusive feature, issue, or strategy of VAs/NPAs: Collaboration has been a common response of organizations in all three sectors to environmental changes.

The standard paradigm of isolated large organizations was slowly abandoned in the 1970s, and *thin* organizations working collaboratively started to appear in the social, political and economic realms. The new, networked, organizational world was a result of radical technological changes that increased the speed of processing information, cheaper flows of exchanges and communication, changing habits of consumers and citizens, and so on. These structural forces propelled the collaboration processes among organizations, including VA. The complexity of the social arena led VAs/NPAs, business firms, and government agencies to rule out playing *solo*.

Amidst this trend of organizational outsourcing and networking in the 1970s, governments have relinquished some services and activities to businesses and VAs/NPAs. And in turn, businesses started to deepen their associations with VAs/NPAs in the process of handling their activities in the even more complex social realm, more attentive to the relationship between the firm and their stakeholders. Thus, the nonprofit sector started to witness an increasing role in the social services arena (Salamon 1994). As the literature indicates (Austin and Ebrahim 2010:469; Brinkerhoff 2010:1136), the density of relationships between VAs/NPAs and different organizational actors has risen particularly since 1990s.

In sum, the emphasis has shifted from control and centralization in one big, self-sufficient, organization to a greater effort of coordination among *thin* partners. The development of relationships between actors in the main societal sectors seems to be the norm for dealing with the complexity of the contemporary environment. Briefly, we face a *hybrid* organizational landscape in VA/NPA dynamics today, and

the lines delimiting the sector have frequently been subject to challenge and revision, as funds and responsibilities have shifted back and forth among business, nonprofit and government organizations. Reaching consensus on the very definition of nonprofit and voluntary sector is difficult because many of the core features and activities of nonprofits increasingly overlap and compete with those of business and government.

(Frumkin 2002:1)

The *blurring* boundaries among the sectors (Brandsen 2010:839), is an ever more present feature in the dynamics of the VA, and is both the cause and the consequence of the collaborative efforts (see Handbook Chapter 8).

D. Key issues

In this section we first consider the larger societal context of collaboration by VAs/NPAs, elaborating on the broad issues of pluralism-corporatism-authoritarianism in Handbook Chapter 46. Then we will analyze collaboration as a *dynamic process*. Later we will see how, all along this way, several *managerial challenges* arise and how they were treated under various *organizational arrangements*. Penultimately, we will examine how this dynamic process differs according to the *actors* involved in the collaborations.

And finally, we will focus briefly on collaboration in local, all-volunteer VAs, as grassroots associations (GAs), on which little research exists.

1. Broader societal context of VA/NPA collaboration

Comparative studies of new governance spaces "where governments invite non-governmental and private sector actors to participate" (Miller et al. 2009:75) have provided an opportunity to differentiate among and compare different regimes of civil society (see also Handbook Chapters 45–47). This relates to Salamon and Anheier's (1998) stress on the need to locate non-governmental action in the context of the wider political economy and social contexts: the degree of political centralization, government policies toward the non-governmental sector, the existence of a facilitative legal framework, and the degree of nation-state development.

The *strength* of any civil society or nonprofit sector, often measured by the level of associational activity, is connected to the depth of the democratic system and cultures that value and tolerate difference, acknowledge historical legacies from previous political regimes, and have an enabling legal and policy framework. Such theoretical considerations must be seen also in the larger context of societal regime structure in terms of pluralism, corporatism, and authoritarianism, as discussed in Handbook Chapter 7.

Other critical factors that optimize the nature of the nonprofit sector/ civil society and the relationships between it and the state or market include the following:

- A level of economic development sufficient to produce surpluses from
- which basic collective needs can be met and that ensure relative freedom from aid-dependent relationships.
- A political culture that places a high value on public goods and recognizes collective inter-dependencies.
- A state with sufficient capacity to fulfill its coordination function, while
- finding an acceptable balance between centralized and de-decentralized political systems.
- Multiple political parties with strong and competing value positions and a capacity to value divergent viewpoints.
- A clear distinction between formal political party organizations and other nonprofits/VAs/NPAs/CSOs (civil society organizations).
- An educated, urbanized, cosmopolitan, and autonomous middle class,
- comfortable in its relationships with authority and whose value is
- recognized by the state.
- Strong relationships between the different segments of the nonprofit sector/civil society, in which proactive labor union and other social movements can nourish and support non-governmental/nonprofit organizations, community-based organizations, and networks (Miller et al. 2009:84).

Following this argumentation, Miller et al. (2009) suggest a typology of civil society (CS) seen as a complex interplay between actors and between the different societies and the external social environment:

(a) A *contentious* CS, that emerges in fragile democratic states with a history of colonialism and authoritarianism and still subject to frequent, sometimes violent, regime change, in which the military continue to play a prominent role, matched by weak often corrupt political parties sometimes propped-up by foreign governments, high levels of poverty and inequality, with weak economies dependent on external loans and international agencies (Miller et al. 2009:86).

(b) A *manipulated* CS, characteristic for some post-totalitarian, *transitional* states that are taking steps to join the *global community* of democracies and are expected to demonstrate an active commitment to developing civil society. This is a CS that has not emerged organically, but rather has been created and shaped by the state and other external actors. Political parties in such contexts tend to be weak, unstable, and unreliable. The state continues to exert centralized control, [and] is likely to be ill-equipped to

respond to the contemporary challenges of social, economic, and political life. In its embrace of "democracy," [the state] must create the appearance of devolving power. As such, it is rather a defended state that resists the postmodern world, [still] seeking to preserve outmoded mechanisms of governing (Miller et al. 2009:87).

In manipulated CS, citizens tend to lack the confidence for self-organization and the creation of a sustainable politics. The CS lacks authenticity in political action and a secure inner-self, but rather possesses a distorted relationship to authority, the *knowing other* (Petrov 2009). This absence of authenticity produces a vulnerability to the agendas of others.

While previously the state was the coordinating agency in authoritarian regimes, it is now the economy that has acquired this function, with the appearance of an irresistible force for citizens long denied access to consumer goods. Yet the market economy usually remains weak and underdeveloped, unable to deliver the promised prosperity by acting as entrepreneurs or consumers. Although the state remains trapped in outmoded forms of politics, it is unable to respond to such economic expectations or to adopt a political model more appropriate to a market economy (Miller et al. 2009:87).

Nonprofits/VAs/NPAs/CSOs may proliferate to give the appearance of independence and autonomy, but are more likely to be either covert state bodies (GONGOs) or dependent on external bodies for funding and direction and thus largely ignored by the state. The subsequent emergence of new VAs/NPAs is closely monitored, and various strategies are deployed by the state to ensure that their behavior is compliant, such that they are as influential as they are allowed to be (Miller et al. 2009:88).

(c) A *disciplined* CS is considered to be a self-governing one, where one might expect to find a strong state and market economy with multiple, long-standing, broad-based political parties representing competing political perspectives, working within deeply embedded political, social, and cultural rules and institutions. This situation is usually found in *old* social democracies with established citizen, political, and social (civil) rights, a mature technologically advanced economy with high participation rates, well-established machinery for industrial relations, and producing enough surplus to provide a range of universal social-material goods and services to meet basic needs. The state is the primary agency of coordination, whilst citizens are well versed in self-organizing and VAs/NPAs are prevalent and widespread. Dissent is a feature of society, and is valued as such, but it is a dissent that is generally expressed "responsibly" (Miller et al. 2009:88).

(d) A *competitive* and interest oriented CS is one in which there is an abundant associational life but few shared goals, and only a weak sense of common identity. This "affiliative drive" is merely an extension of the pursuit of individualism in a more organized way. The market is the key agency of coordination and provider of the means to need satisfaction in which citizens compete as best they can (Miller et al. 2009:89).

(e) A *repressed* CS is a feature of powerful centralized states that continue to exercise a pervasive grip on economic, social, and political life, ensuring that only those loyal to the regime occupy key strategic positions of command and control.... There remains a strong and visible military presence loyal to the regime. Citizens have few rights and live under constant fear. Attempts to establish citizen-based organizations [VAs/NPAs] function at the clandestine level, often as informal networks rather than traditional organizations (Miller et al. 2009:90).

Such studies differentiate also a civil society *in-the-mind*, conceived as something to which civil society actors aspire and which influences the way they evaluate the civil societies they are part of.

Collaboration between CS/VA/NPA actors and the state in the context of the manipulated civil society would leave participants vulnerable (Petrov 2012) to their own un-authenticity, dependency, and mistrust of authority – their own, that of the government, and the other social actors. Some argue that a culture of de-authorization (Petrov 2012) has taken over large areas of the policy process of EU funded social transformation in such contexts (e.g., in Bulgaria).

2. Collaboration stages, motivations, and conditioning factors

When defining collaboration as a process, one can recognize a continuum of *closeness* between the participant organizations along a series of dimensions. Brinkerhoff (2010:1135–1136) uses a dimension in this process, ranging from *contracting* – when one organization purchases the skills, and so on of another organization – to *extension* – one organization directs and the other has some small room to maneuver – and finally *co-optation* and *gradual absorption* – "when organizations appear to mutually agree on ends and means, and/or an organization is convinced that it is in its interest to follow the dominant organization's lead" (Ibid.). This kind of relationship usually involves one of the actors taking a pre-eminent role.

In the same fashion, involving the relationships between government and VAs/NPAs, Najam (2000:375) also describes the articulation between partners in a similar way, proposing

a four-C framework based on institutional interests and preferences for policy ends and means: cooperation in the case of similar ends and similar

means, confrontation in the case of dissimilar ends and dissimilar means, complementarity in the case of similar ends but dissimilar means, and co-optation in the case of dissimilar ends but similar means.

This spectrum is also seen by other authors, but while reflecting on the articulation between a VA and a company: for example, Austin (2000:72) proposed a *Collaboration Continuum,* with three typical stages – philanthropic, transactional, and integrative. This framework has been also applied to study social alliances in Latin America (Austin et al. 2004) and collaborations between Vas and NPAs (Vernis et al. 2004).

Fox (2010:487) labels the stages in the articulation process of VA in terms of the organizational arrangements achieved as *networks, coalitions*, and *movements*. In turn, Bradach (2003) refers as well to the intensity of the collaboration as a result of the process of articulation in networks, differentiating in a more general sense between *tight* and *loose*.

Collaborative processes are not exempt from power negotiations or even conflict among the actors. Thus, when there is division of labor between actors, the resources wielded by those actors are an independent variable to consider, as those resources have an impact on the development of the relationship. As Tsasis (2009:5) points out,

> A balance of dependence and autonomy is needed for initiating interorganizational relationships. These relationships are stabilized at the interpersonal level through positive attributes (attitudes, perceptions, and trust) and interpersonal ties of individuals representing their organizations. Sources of conflict, such as value differences, divergent goals, and personality clashes, also influence the working relationships of these organizations.

Those differences in size, resources, or power indicate a crucial point usually overstated in the aforementioned *continua*: even if collaboration is deemed desirable, various problems arise later as a result of intrinsic features of the social relationships between actors: the differences in resources, the different organizational cultures of the actors involved, etc. Despite some normative tone in the literature that talks about mutuality, divergent points of view between the partners, or the different level of power among collaborators, can become major impediments in the collaboration process, generating a myriad of practical and managerial problems.

As mentioned above, VAs/NPAs work with diverse types of actors. The relationships can be collaborative, complementary, or adversarial (Austin and Ebrahim 2010), although most of the focus of the literature is put on the first two of these. Despite the names used to describe collaboration, the literature tends to view the drivers for collaboration as the interplay between internal

and external factors of maximizing players that see these exchanges as the best way to reach their goals. Thus, it is assumed that the actors decide consciously to act *collaboratively* as part of an *explicit* strategy. However, it is also plausible to consider collaboration as part of an *implicit* strategy, a situation not always adaptable to a thorough assessment of needs or capacities. In any case, the collaborative approach is generally accepted as a better way to reach organizational goals. Young and Faulk (2010) summarize the drivers in collaboration efforts as the search for economies of scope and scale, inter-organizational externalities, management of transaction costs, and principal-agent considerations.

In the view of organizations acting collaboratively as resource-maximizers, the analysis of Brinkerhoff (2010:1134 – our emphasis) points this out clearly: "a *logical* response to resource scarcity, problem complexity.... Through partnership, actors work across sectors and organizations to maximize available skills, expertise, resources, and representativeness based on respective comparative advantages." In this analysis, drivers for collaboration are grouped among the following reasons: enhancement of efficiency/effectiveness; gaining scale with a multi-actor approach, articulation of collective actions problems, and/or search of a more open decision-making process.

Some authors (e.g., Yankey and Willem 2001) suggest internal factors as drivers for collaborations, among them financial, managerial and programmatic factors. Associated with economies of scale, those internal drivers include (a) being in a better position in relation to clients, audiences, etc.; (b) gaining efficiency by avoiding duplication of activities between members, or through dividing the work of the associates allowing every partner to focus on their core activity; and (c) programmatically, by gaining public impact from the joint work of members aligned in a particular issue.

Bryson, Crosby, and Stone (2006:46) paid attention to environmental conditions as a determinant factor in the setting of the collaborative effort: "Cross-sector collaborations are more likely to form in turbulent environments. In particular, the formation and sustainability of cross-sector collaborations are affected by driving and constraining forces in the competitive and institutional environments." Once again, the organization is doing collaborative practices because *this is what it takes* to maximize its resources as a result of how the environment impacts its activities.

But the opposite approach could also be envisioned: in turbulent environments, *vertical integration* could be the strategy to follow. There is a risk in uncritically linking environmental turbulence with collaborative responses as part of this *taken for granted* or *best* managerial practices that might work in some cases. But collaboration cannot be taken as a universal response to diverse environmental or organizational conditions. Another rationale for collaboration is related to the recognition that no actor alone can solve a public problem: As Bryson puts it "cross-sector collaborations are most likely to create public

value when they build on individuals' and organizations' self-interests and each sector's characteristic strengths while finding ways to minimize, overcome, or compensate for each sector's characteristic weaknesses" (p. 51).

In sum, the literature usually considers collaboration as a result of an *explicit* rather than an *implicit* strategy of the VA/NPA, and the different actors involved (with few exceptions, like Bryson, Crosby, and Stone 2006:47–48). This, in turn, has led to some authors to have a "how to build and maintain a successful collaboration" approach, rather than to problematize the social reasons behind the occurrence/desirability of this phenomenon.

3. Managerial challenges and organizational arrangements

Collaboration arrangements face distinct managerial challenges. Common managerial-organizational issues appear on most collaborative relationships, such as leadership styles, managing conflict, structural design, strategy formulation and implementation, governance mechanisms, control and performance measurement, degree of institutionalization of the relationship, etc. (Austin 2000; Brinkerhoff 2010; Bryson, Crosby, and Stone 2006; La Piana and Kohm 2003; Yankey and Willen 2010).

In this sense, managerial challenges are not easy to resolve, as many of them seem to be intrinsic to the different natures of the actors involved. As Di Domenico et al. (2009:898–900) summarized, there are a series of managerial *contradictions* in the collaborative process between firms and VAs/NPAs: regarding *the goals and logic* (commercial versus social); *the ownership* (from the legal form of the organizations involved until what to do with the surplus if exist); *governance* (shareholders-directors versus stakeholders involved in the decision making); and accountability (vertical, to inform the decision making on behalf of the owners vs. horizontal, on behalf of several constituencies).

Generally speaking, as Kumar and Roberts (2010:793–794) sum up:

Governance within civil society organizations is, arguably, more complex and more challenging [than in private firms]...First, the right to control is contestable...Second, organizational effectiveness is also often contestable, and the goods produced are un-measurable...Third, internal governance within commercial firms is augmented by the external governance of the market...the absence of such structures places more emphasis on the internal governance of civil society organizations. Finally, civil society organizations can be more vulnerable than commercial firms to principal-agent dilemmas.

Governance challenges in collaborative settings are even more complex.

One of the key issues in any collaboration is about membership: (a) challenges appear because of the distances–whether geographical or

cultural – between the members, which in turn impact their communication and internal cohesion; (b) whether and eventually how to incorporate new members; (c) how much time each member devotes to the exchange and how much time to devote to the *business as usual* that every organization needs to accomplish; and (d) development of the collaborative skills of the members.

Given that defining the strategy to be pursued by the collaborators is always a difficult task, the literature is usually prescriptive. The advice generally tends to be that if the organizations have some degree of sharing or complementarity in vision, values, etc. then there is a paved way to set goals for the collaborative effort.

Structure follows strategy: accordingly, most of literature on this subject focuses on two broad dimensions after the strategy is set, regarding the *structure* and regarding the *dynamics* of collaborative arrangements. Usually, when the *structural* dimension is considered, these include type of articulation between members; reach, number and scale of operation of the collaboration; governance of the collaborative effort, and what resources will be allocated to it. Regarding the *dynamic* process, the issues are focused on the diverse history of its original members and of the collaborative setting; how the relationship evolved, how the division of labor, responsibilities and roles of the different organizations forming the collaborative setting changed; dynamics regarding accountability and conflict resolution among members, etc.

When collaborations involved several organizations there is a particular challenge to be attentive to: the tradeoff and balance between a more democratic process among each of the members who voluntarily engage and claims to have their voice heard, and the need to gain effectiveness through a more hierarchical decision making process. In other words, there is an ever- present debate between degrees of centralization-decentralization, control-autonomy, that appears with increased complexity within an inter-organizational arrangement. The balance in these three dimensions has implications in the design of governance structures and processes. As also happens with individual organizations (Bryson, Crosby, and Stone 2006), a third variable is related to the degree of formal (organizational charts, systems, procedures, etc.) versus informal forms of operating.

The need to understand the power asymmetries, cultural diversity and the different main drivers of the actors involved adds another set of complexities to the usual managerial views of the collaborative process identified in the literature. The tacit stance is that no matter the nature of the organizations involved, they are analyzed in a continuum that tend to overlap collaboration with identity (e.g., the most advanced degree of collaboration usually appear when two organizations seems to act as one or even merge) or desirability (e.g. considering that the most integrated degree of articulation add more social value).

However, as organizational ecology theory points out (e.g., Hannan and Freeman 1989), organizational *inertia* is a structural feature of every organization, and once one organization has found a way to deal with problems of collective actions, it turns out to be very difficult to leave aside its core assumptions, adapt and change. Most of the collaboration literature tends to ignore the power asymmetries that make more difficult the articulation with other organization, and focus on managerial issues, applying to collaborative efforts the logic of autonomous organizations. This approach tends to ignore that both cultural and structural reasons tend to erode the eventual success of an arrangement between two organizations.

Finally, the need for accountability in these collaborative settings has also been recognized as a management challenge. Brinkerhoff (2010:1138) remarks:

> Both the accountability and governance challenges highlight the need for more effective and comprehensive partnership evaluation. Too often, evaluation ... remains centered on program evaluation, rather than seeking to assess partnership's value-added ... partnership accountability, and governance implications... The perceived touchy- feely nature of partner relations along with conflict aversion, has further stymied concerted efforts to evaluate partnership effectiveness.

4. The structures and forms of collaborative processes

There are some collaboration structures and forms that are frequent among VAs/NPAs. One of them is the *federation*, "a network of local affiliates that share a mission, a brand, and a program model, but are legally independent of one another and of the national office" (O'Flanagan and Taliento 2004:113). Within the *federation model*, Young and Faulk (2010) identified three forms: (a) corporate organizations in which authority and control are centralized; (b) federal organizations featuring a balance between central authority and local affiliates; and (c) trade associations where sovereignty resides in organizational members. The key analytical dimension is the degree of autonomy of the actors within the arrangement.

Guo and Acar (2005) identify eight different forms of collaboration among VAs based on their levels of formality, and further collapse these forms into two major categories: informal collaboration (information sharing, referral of clients, sharing of office spaces, and management service organization), and formal collaboration (joint program, parent-subsidiary, joint venture, and merger). In the case of informal collaborations, individual VAs retain their autonomy over key management functions and do not make an ongoing commitment to the partnership. In the case of formal collaborations, however, participating VAs reduce their autonomy and become more interdependent in their services, resources, or programs.

Another frequent form of collaboration among VAs/NPAs appears when organizations try to *replicate* successful programs in order to gain scale with a more centralized scheme, creating a network, which can have more or less centralization:

> The key dimension driving the shape of the network is the degree to which the operating model can be standardized. The greater the standardization, the looser the network can be...Conversely, when culture is an important part of the model, a tighter network is likely to be required.
>
> (Bradach 2003:24)

Given that a critical requirement for replication is the set of elements that can be standardized, this creates a special challenge for VAs/NPAs, because the "critical knowledge is often tacit" (Ibid.). More recently, attention has been given to the form of the replication agreement between organizations, such as licensing and social franchising.

Other network types among VAs/NPAs appear when organizations share either a common theme or a shared territory of action and establish an institutional structure and processes to coordinate exchanges, cooperation or joint activities (e.g., Milofsky 2008). The key analytical factors in these cases are related to the balance of resources and power among organizations, the scope and depth of the articulation sought by the members, and level of formalization – loose versus tight- that are willing to develop for the coordination mechanisms (Berger et al. 2008).

A different set of challenges can be observed when VAs/NPAs articulate with governments. Young (2000:149) emphasizes that this relationship can be understood in one of the following ways: (a) operating independently as supplements, (b) working as complements, or (c) engaging government in an adversarial relationship of mutual accountability. More generally (Coston 1998) analyzes the phenomenon, developing a typology of VA and government relationship, using three dimensions: the degree of *government acceptance of institutional pluralism, the balance of power in the relationship, and the degree of formality and the level of government linkage*. This gives as a result a continuum ranging from *repression*, *rivalry*, *competition*, *contracting*, *third-party government*, and the final stages, *cooperation*, *complementarity* and finally *collaboration*. Accordingly, as we saw, Brinkerhoff (2002:22) uses a similar set of variables: *mutuality* (which can be linked to Coston's balance of power; 1998), and *organizational identity*.

Bryson, Crosby, and Stone (2006) conclude that cross-sector collaborations are more likely to succeed when they are able to create one or more linking mechanisms, such as powerful sponsors, general agreement on the problem, or existing networks are already in place at the time of their initial formation.

Even when it is possible to differentiate at an actor-agency level, the nature of the political context does matter when it comes to analyzing relationships between government and VA. The collaboration between governments and VAs/NPAs has grown considerably in the last four decades as a result of processes of retreat or redefinition of the *welfare state* (Salamon 1994; S. Smith in Anheier et al 2010; S. Smith and Lipsky 1993). In addition, collaboration is usually considered from a liberal point of view that the civil society is the locus of VA/NPA, and that locus is somewhere *in between* the state and the market.

Thus, even though most of the analysis of the relationships between governments and VA are based on democracies, there are approaches of how these relationships work when the political regime has a different nature. In this sense, Heurlin (2010:220) developed "a theory of non-governmental organizations (NGO)–state relations under dictatorship." The role of VA in the Socialist Bloc was considered critical in the turn of 1970s to 1980s to bring about the ending of those regimes. In the developing world, especially in Latin America, VAs/NPAs played new roles in social dynamics in the 1970s, as new organizations were created or existing ones broadened their scope to include human rights issues. The networks constructed between nascent local VA and established international VA supporting human rights work was critical in their subsistence. In the dawn of democratic regimes, those VAs/NPAs had an important role in helping to reconstruct democratic procedures, working to investigate crimes of the armed and police forces, as was the case in Argentina, Chile, etc.

On the other hand, collaboration between VAs/NPAs and businesses have been increasing steadily since 1990s due to at least two processes: (a) the greater recognition of the social responsibility of corporations and their role in supporting local communities and addressing social problems; and (b) the professionalization of larger VAs and of NPAs in the nonprofit sector and the search for new forms of cooperation and support from the private sector. Both of these processes are expressed in cultural changes and the recognition that VA and corporations have in many circumstances more to gain from working together than from confrontation, duplication of efforts or even indifference. Collaboration goes beyond one way flow of resources from companies to VA (e.g. cash donation) or the other way (e.g. connecting to local groups) and involved either two way exchanges or even creation of new shared value (Austin et al. 2004).

Collaboration by VAs/NPAs with businesses may occur in different kinds of arrangements, applying diverse instruments and methods: corporate volunteering, social marketing, cause-related marketing, technical assistance, joint initiatives and programs, sponsorships, licensing, etc. (Sagawa and Segal 2000). When analyzing these types of collaborations, key dimensions are the

kinds of resources involved, centrality of the initiative for each organization, frequency of interaction, leadership and staff participation, and value creation.

Another set of issues needs to be considered when the focus is on articulations involving international organizations. International collaboration is a universe formed by diverse actors, and among them are the International NGOs/INGOs (see Handbook Chapter 42). Globalization has been a factor widely recognized as an accelerator for VA involvement in international affairs (Brown et al. 2000; Martens 2010). This influence started to peak after the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989. In the context of globalization, multilateral institutions started to work *directly* with actors of the civil society. In this sense, VAs of the so-called developing world were recognized by multilateral institutions as legitimate recipients of technical assistance, networking, financial resources, and so on. Local partnerships between governmental institutions and VAs were encouraged to form, and to channel or supervise multilateral or international funds directed to promote pro-market reforms, increase the accountability or boost development policies.

This cooperative work between VAs and multilateral institutions is a clear example of a broader process, a triumph of what has been labeled pro-market policies. The multilateral institutions supported the networking and global joint work among those VA involved within their *Bretton Woods umbrella* and since then "The number of NGOs maintaining official relations with the UN has risen…in 1996, 1,226 NGOs were enrolled on the consultative status…and by October 2007, 3,051 NGOs had official relations with the UN" (Martens 2010:1042).

Collaboration between international agencies and VAs has not always been easy, and confrontation has increased as well. The anti-globalization social movement expressed itself violently in the streets of Seattle at the 2000 WTO Summit, and since then has become another example of the interaction between international organizations and VAs/civil society. As Martens puts it (2010:1041), "The extent and the intensity of participation on the part of NGOs in these events showed their capacity for mobility and networking across borders." Since then, a period has begun in which an important group of VAs (both national and International) have expressed their discontent with the governance of the globalization process. Not surprisingly, many VAs have also started to articulate themselves within global social networks to express their contestation (the *World Social Forum*, a countermovement of the *World Economic Forum* for instance). Regardless of the ideological position of VAs, whether *pro* or *anti* multilateral, and regardless of the degree of formalization of the arrangements, the development of new technologies of communication and the growing global interdependence have facilitated the global articulation of several VAs with the same set of interests.

5. Collaboration among all-volunteer, GAs

Some research shows that there is modest collaboration among GAs, but the specific conditions under which this occurs have not been well studied. Research on a few communities also shows that collaboration by GAs in the United States with either government agencies or businesses is infrequent, and only very rarely regular, rather than occasional (Smith 2000:163–164). However, collaboration of GAs with government is much more frequent in Europe and in other nations where GAs can obtain government subsidies (ibid.). Collaboration of GAs with businesses is rare everywhere, except that a few GAs occasionally receive gifts of food from local businesses for GA public events.

In general, all-volunteer GAs, especially ones with internal/member-benefit goals (Smith 1993), are much less likely to benefit from collaboration than will larger, paid-staff VAs with external/public benefit goals and most NPAs, which nearly all have external/public benefit goals. Research by Young and Larson (1965) in a small New York community found that the most important GAs (based on ratings by community members) originated more inter-organizational activity in the town. However, a study by Smith (1986) of outstanding GAs in eight Massachusetts towns and cities showed that although such GAs were more likely than a control set of GAs to be polymorphic, as part of a larger, state or national VA, contact and cooperation with other local GAs did not distinguish significantly between the two sets of GAs (pp. 28, 30).

E. Usable knowledge

The practical challenges in the collaborative processes can be summarized as follows:

a. defining the degree of formalization and institutionalization of the relationship;
b. organizing and conducting the work agreed;
c. measuring the joint performance;
d. managing relationships between the personnel of the organizations;
e. communication both externally and internally;
f. evaluating the collaborative dynamics.

However, with those limitations in mind, how can one address those challenges in order to make a sustainable collaboration? The leadership dimension, trust-building devices, flexible strategies, and power equalizing mechanisms are recognized as key issues to consider. Bryson, Crosby, and Stone (2006) sums up recommendations found in most of the existing literature on the subject:

- Look for committed sponsors and effective champions at many levels
- Establish – with both internal and external stakeholders – the legitimacy of collaboration as a form of organizing
- Manage trust-building activities
- Use resources and tactics to equalize power and manage conflict effectively
- Combine deliberate and emergent planning
- Use stakeholder analysis, emphasize responsiveness to key stakeholders, use the process to build trust and the capacity to manage conflict, and build on distinctive competencies of the collaborators.

As can be seen, usable knowledge from this discussion takes advantage of lessons from planned change processes and from multi-stakeholder negotiation practices.

F. Future trends and needed research

The likely future trend of *collaboration as an actual phenomenon* among VAs/NPAs and between VAs/NPAs and businesses or government agencies is for a gradual increase, as has been happening in the past couple of decades in the most modern nations. This trend will likely be most pronounced in developing nations that become industrialized, but especially in industrial nations that move toward service-information, post-industrial nations, as suggested by the research of Smith and Shen (2002) and by Schofer and Longhofer (2011). The general effectiveness of the collaboration process for larger, especially paid-staff VAs and for the usually paid-staff NPAs almost guarantees such an increase in collaborative activities by many VAs/NPAs. It is less clear what the future trend will be for smaller, local, all-volunteer VAs, as GAs, not reviewed in this chapter (see Handbook Chapter 32). However, some increase in collaboration is also likely for such GAs.

There are a number of issues deserving further research, and three emerge as most promising. First, the conditions, requirements, and relative benefits of different degrees of formalization and institutionalization of collaboration arrangements can shed light and provide guidance to inter-organization processes. Second, the comparative analysis of different collaboration arrangements, their structures, and the organizing mechanisms and procedures require more attention as there is overlapping and many times lack of differentiation in the literature among the different forms which are found. Finally, a deeper analysis is needed on governance structures, processes, the rules applied in collaboration settings, in order to get a better understanding of what are their consequences in terms both of the evolution of inter-organizational efforts and of their impact.

Further, recognizing the relevance and importance that collaborating efforts have, there is a need to learn more about how successful articulation initiatives address critical planning, organizing, and implementation challenges, and to extract lessons that can be considered in future efforts as organizations confront social, economic, and sustainability issues of increasing complexity.

Finally, the scarcity of research on collaboration among and by GAs and other all-volunteer VAs needs to be remedied. Much more research on collaboration by GAs is needed, both among GAs and between GAs and businesses or government agencies.

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49
Public Perceptions of and Trust in Associations and Volunteers

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A. Introduction

This chapter summarizes and categorizes findings from research on perceptions of volunteers and of membership associations (MAs) among actors in three types of positions vis-à-vis nonprofit organizations (NPOs): members of the general public, actors in government, and actors in the corporate world of business. A fairly stable core of these perceptions depends on individual characteristics of these stakeholders. Three failures of NPOs threaten perceptions of MAs: (1) amateurism, (2) over-exclusion, and (3) *asymmetry of information* – lack of transparency, the potential for fraud, and violations of the non-distribution constraint in NPOs. MAs and other NPOs can influence perceptions by changing their behavior in interactions with stakeholders and in their communication strategies. Finally, the chapter summarizes findings from research on perceptions of MAs in four specific world regions.

Throughout the chapter, the emphasis is on MAs as nonprofit *associations* (Smith 2015b), not on nonprofit *agencies* (Smith 2015c). Both constitute the major types of NPOs now existing, but this was not originally the case, with associations being dominant for many thousands of years (Smith 1997; see also Handbook Chapter 1).

How are volunteers and MAs perceived in society? We summarize and categorize findings from research on perceptions of volunteers and associations among actors at three types of positions vis-à-vis NPOs:

(1) members of the general public;
(2) actors in government; and
(3) actors in the corporate world of business.

Members of the general public are stakeholders in NPOs in various roles: they can be recipients targeted by the organization, clients of services provided by the organization, donors to the organization, volunteers (including active members), or members of nonprofit associations. Volunteers, members, and donors have some direct influence on the organization because they provide a part of the resources that the organization works with. Recipients typically have less influence because they are dependent on the resources of the organization.

The government's relationship with NPOs is complex. The government can be a partner, donor, client, competitor, and/or a regulatory body. These roles can also be combined, even within the same dyadic relationship. As a partner, it collaborates with NPOs in delivering services. As a donor, it funds and supports NPOs to implement programs. The government may also be a client or a competitor for funds and programs from international donors. Finally, the government can also take the responsibility of regulating the nonprofit sector (NPS), trying to monitor and evaluate nongovernmental organization (NGO) or NPO (synonym) activities or even to control, limit, or eliminate them. See Handbook Chapter 47 for a discussion of this relationship.

B. Definitions

The general definitions in the Handbook Appendix are used in this chapter. For the sake of simplicity, we label as *insiders* those who belong to an association as active volunteers or inactive members, and contrast them with *outsiders*, people who do not belong to a specific association or any association.

C. Historical background

Perceptions of volunteers and associations have been studied since Sills' (1957) seminal research on volunteers for the "March of Dimes." The literature on perceptions of NPOs versus for-profit service providers (e.g., in the health sector) originates from economic theories on market failure (Hansmann 1980; Weisbrod 1977). Snape (2015) examined British perspectives on voluntary action and leisure for the period 1830–1939 finding that leisure was perceived more positively.

Eventually, perceptions of voluntary action and volunteering became more positive when seen as part of leisure. Survey research on public opinion toward volunteers and associations in the United States was spurred by the collection of comparative data in Almond and Verba's (1963) five-nation study of the civic culture.

D. Key issues

1. Perceptions of volunteers

Research on perceptions of volunteers departs from definitions of volunteer work as unpaid voluntary work for others through a NPO. Public perceptions of *who is a volunteer* depend on the degree of choice, remuneration, the level of formal organization, and the relationship with the recipients of service or output (Cnaan, Handy, and Wadsworth 1996). Citizens who have more choice, are rewarded less, are active through organizations, and have less personal relations with beneficiaries are more likely to be perceived as volunteers. One could argue that the net costs of volunteering are highest in these cases. Volunteer work that is more demanding, involves higher opportunity costs, and is less likely to yield explicit personal benefits is more likely to be perceived as volunteering (Handy et al. 2000). To the best of our knowledge, no research to date has examined how these perceptions vary between insiders and outsiders or between business and government stakeholders.

2. Interdependence theory

Research on perceptions of associations is largely atheoretical. We suggest that perceptions of associations may be analyzed from the theory of interdependence in social dilemmas (Van Lange, Joireman, Parks, and Van Dijk 2013). We sketch the theory here and encourage researchers to apply it to NPOs in the future.

A social dilemma occurs when the pursuit of individual interests leads to a collectively suboptimal outcome. Classic examples of social dilemmas are situations in which common pool resources can be used by individuals in a way that threatens the quality or even the future existence of the common pool (Ostrom 1990). This theory has been developed to explain collective outcomes from strategies of individuals. Interdependence involves trust: shared objectives are more easily achieved when interaction partners assume they will not behave opportunistically.

The starting point of our analysis in this chapter is that NPOs are goal-directed actors. This is not to say that they are acting as one homogeneous entity or to deny internal conflicts; obviously, there are always differences of opinion among insiders. At the same time, however, a collectively shared mission is the soul of each association. Given the mission and the objectives of the association, these objectives can be achieved in a variety of ways. Protest movements may self-define as being in opposition to the powers that be.

As NPOs are trying to achieve their missions, they have to communicate and collaborate successfully with the general public, government, and for-profit actors. These actors provide support to NPOs as volunteers, donors, sponsors, and grant makers.

Perceptions of NPOs are shaped by the goal that the relationship with the association should serve. Classifications of relations with NPOs have been developed for government actors (Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff 2002): Young (2000) discerns *supplementary, complementary*, and *adversarial* relationships; Najam (2000) discerns cooperative, confrontational, complementary, and co-optational relationships; and Coston (1998) classifies eight types of relationships from *repression* to *collaboration*. Relations of NPOs with other actors than government have less often been studied; research on business perceptions of NGOs and business sector relations is underdeveloped (Austin 1998; Austin and Seitanidi 2012; Harris 2012).

Generally speaking, for outsiders the relationship with the association could represent different strategies. In research on social interactions among individuals (Messick and McClintock 1968; Van Lange, Otten, De Bruin, and Joireman 1997), the three most common strategies are as follows:

(a) Cooperation, or maximization of joint outcomes: the association is a partner in a joint effort to achieve collectively shared aims and objectives
(b) Competition, or maximization of inequality of outcomes: the association is a competitor in an individual effort to achieve an aim that cannot be simultaneously achieved by multiple parties
(c) Individualism, or maximization of own outcomes: the association is an independent actor in an individual effort to achieve its own aims and objectives

Cooperative relations between NPOs and government exist when both parties share some collective goal and try to achieve this by working together. Examples include local organizations that offer social services, food banks, and shelters, cooperatives providing social housing, sports clubs, and recreational groups. The activities of organizations in this category serve goals that are also valued by local governments. At the national level, health charity organizations that raise funds for medical research and patient support, Alcoholics Anonymous, and other self-help groups are examples of organizations with activities that contribute to outcomes desired by the government. Cooperative relations between NPOs and for-profit corporations are visible in CSR programs of corporations that involve NPOs. Sponsoring of NPOs by corporations, employee-volunteering programs, payroll-giving schemes, and matching programs are examples of such cooperative relations.

Competitive relations exist when both parties have conflicting interests. In terms of government relations, many cash-strapped local governments in the United States are challenging the tax-exempt status of larger nonprofits, such as universities, and asking for payments in lieu of taxes, commonly referred to as PILOTs (Longoria 2014). In many contexts, nonprofits challenge governments

in terms of their transparency in the use of public resources and seek to expose corruption, as Transparency International does. Examples from the corporate world are action groups protesting against infrastructure projects and environmental damage by corporations, or nature conservation groups, animal rights activists, and squatters. More recently, some corporations have complained of unfair competition from the NPS, when the latter are exempt from the payment of taxes and offer goods and services to the public. However, this complaint goes back decades (e.g., Bennett and DiLorenzo 1989).

Individualistic strategies reflect mutual ignorance: each actor strives to achieve its objectives, but the actions of others are not deemed relevant for the outcome. Objectives can be shared between NPOs and other actors, but if they are unaware of each other's efforts and/or do not communicate and adapt to each other's behavior, the strategy is still individualistic.

Social dilemmas can be solved by changing actors' expectations about others' behavior. These expectations are influenced by fairly stable characteristics of individuals, as well as by interaction experiences (Van Lange, Joireman, Parks, and Van Dijk 2013). While the former are beyond the control of NPOs, they can try to influence the experiences of stakeholders in interaction with the organization.

3. Three failures theory

While the non-distribution constraint generally favors perceptions of NPOs as more trustworthy than for-profit organizations (Drevs, Tscheulin, and Lindenmeier 2014; Handy et al. 2010; Hansmann 1980; Schlesinger, Mitchell, and Gray 2004), collaborative relationships with other actors can be endangered by failures, as identified in *three failures theory* (Steinberg 2006; Weisbrod 1977). Government, business, and the general public often lament (1) amateurism, (2) over-exclusion, and (3) *asymmetry of information* – lack of transparency, the potential for fraud, and violations of the non-distribution constraint, in NPOs.

(a) Amateurism. The voluntary nature of philanthropic initiatives creates the danger of amateurism. NPOs have limited instruments available to them for the management of volunteers (Pearce 1993). To some extent, volunteer workers and their managers (whether paid or unpaid) share a commitment to the mission of the organization: "We all want the best for our clients!" Yet, the volunteer may refuse to carry out tasks that he or she thinks are not helpful in achieving this mission, threatening to quit. This can slow down decision-making in NPOs working with volunteers, a particular disadvantage of the sector lamented by businesspeople (Austin 1998). Donors offer voluntary monetary contributions; however, they may stop donating when they disagree with the organization's activities. These tendencies may make voluntary associations inefficient.

(b) Over-exclusion. To the extent that markets do produce collective goods, they often limit access to consumers who are willing and able to pay for them (e.g., museums, university education). This is the problem of *overexclusion*. Services provided by an NPO are often directed at the social group that founded the organization, such as a specific ethnic, religious, or professional group. In these cases, the social identity of the organization is linked to the founding group. The services provided by such organizations are colored or guided by the group's cultural tradition, values, ideology, or worldview. Even when the services are available for the general public, they may be less open and attractive to members from other social groups with a different culture.

(c) Asymmetry of information. It is often difficult, if not impossible, to determine the quality of public goods, regardless of whether they are provided by the government or by NPOs when the services are patient care and prevention of diseases, scholarships for high-quality students or artists, awareness and advocacy campaigns for groups that are discriminated against, and literacy or poverty reduction programs in developing countries. Consumers may have an interest in these services without being or knowing a recipient. However, consumers have little interest in gathering information on the quality of these services. Because trust is such a fundamental feature of the relationship between consumers and producers in the philanthropic sector, the damage potential for violations of the public's trust is high.

4. Factors affecting negative perceptions

When there are widespread (not necessarily prevailing or majority) negative public perceptions of associations (Light 2002, 2008), NPOs, and/or the NPS, there are many possible, underlying causes. One set of such causes is significant mass media attention to the flaws, failings, *scandals*, or *dark side* of these phenomena (see Handbook Chapter 54). Many members of the public may also form negative perceptions of associations, NPOs, and the NPS because of their own or kin's and peers' personal experiences or knowledge of such instances of harmful or negative outcomes of one or more of these groups (Schlesinger, Mitchell, and Gray 2004).

At the *darkest* extreme, there are many fundamentally deviant nonprofit associations in nearly every contemporary society (Smith 2017a, 2017b). But even various conventional nonprofits, including foundations and trusts, occasionally engage in crimes and lesser deviance (Freemont-Smith 2004; Johnston 2005; Smith 2011; Smith, with Eng and Albertson 2016; Stern 2013; Wagner 2000; White 2006; Zack 2003; see also Handbook Chapter 54). More *gray* and common kinds of dark side phenomena are dysfunctions, inefficiency, and ineffectiveness in associations and other NPOs (Bennett and DiLorenzo 1989, 1994; Block 2004; Rauch 1995; Stern 2013; White 2006:chapter 1; see also Handbook Chapter 54).

The title of Chapter 1 in White (2006) sums up nicely the general situation for NPOs: "Big Promises, Small Outcomes." Wagner (2000: v) refers to the NPS as the *sanctified sector*, not deserving of its widely positive reputation in America. These views fit better with paid-staff charitable agencies than all-volunteer associations, but also fit many national and international associations that do high-intensity marketing for donors and members (Smith et al. 2016). Paid-staff NPOs, including large national or international associations, have received negative publicity and perceptions remarking on their overemphasizing *excess revenues* (the technical term for the profits or nonprofits) in their collection of donations, grants and contracts, and revenues from fees and other sources (Bennett and DiLorenzo 1989; Weisbrod 1998). Other critics point to their excessive compensation of executives and/or high administrative expenses relative to program expenditures (Frumkin 2002; P. Smith and Richmond 2007).

Media reports of abuse, waste, or inefficient spending of funds by charities are often disastrous for donations to these specific organizations, but not necessarily so for other charities (Bekkers 2010). Providing donors or clients with factual information about the way NPOs work does not necessarily reduce negative perceptions: such information is often interpreted in line with previous opinions. Schlesinger, Mitchell, and Gray (2004) found that explaining the nonprofit status of hospitals in a survey experiment made perceptions even more negative. Bekkers (2003) found that awareness of an accreditation system regulating accounting and governance practices of NPOs was associated with higher giving among more trusting donors, but not so among those with less trust.

5. Factors affecting positive perceptions

As with negative perceptions, positive public perceptions can also come from exposure to the mass media and/or from one's personal experiences or similar experiences by close people, among other factors. Research by Sagawa and Jospin (2009) makes it clear that both NPO leaders and the general public often have fairly consistent perceptions of certain high-impact, trusted, national or international associations and other NPOs. There is similar evidence for consistent positive perceptions of certain associations in municipalities (Smith 1986).

The underlying reasons for such positive net perceptions can often be traced to various causes, including (a) perceived high positive impact or effectiveness of associations or NPOs generally or of specific organizations (Crutchfield and Grant 2008; Sagawa and Jospin 2009; Smith 1986); (b) media coverage and endorsements of trusted ambassadors, such as celebrities (Kim and Walker 2013; Kelly et al. 2014); (c) high socio-economic status or wealth/income of the members/leaders of the relevant associations or NPOs (Smith 1986); and (d) other demographic, personality, and attitudinal variables (Brooks 2006:chapter 8).

When such positive perceptions are cumulated across a whole nation/society over a long time period, because of perceived high positive impact and/or high status of members/leaders, the result is often national or state/provincial government tax breaks for the NPOs involved (Weisbrod 1992; White 2007:chapter 18). Some institutional isomorphism of national government taxation agencies may also play a role (Dimaggio and Powell 1983). Pallotta (2008) argues at length that the US government does not go far enough in facilitating NPOs, imposing unreasonable restraints on their activities. Stern (2013:54–57) discusses the historical development of a positive image for the NPS and NPOs/associations in America, where the initial perceptions were quite negative in the mid-1700s to the mid-1800s. More recently, perceptions of the effectiveness of NPOs have become less positive in the United States (O'Neill 2009), as well as in the Netherlands (Bekkers and De Wit 2013).

6. Measures of relationship perceptions

Perceptions of relationships with volunteers and NPOs are typically measured in surveys with questions that ask respondents for an evaluation of NPOs in general, or in some specific respect. A common question in surveys is to ask respondents to report the level of trust they have in NPOs (Bekkers 2003; O'Neill 2009). In general household surveys such as the General Social Survey, the World Values Survey, or the European Social Survey, questions on trust in NPOs are typically included in a battery of questions on institutions. This enables a comparison of the level of trust in NPOs relative to the level of trust in other institutions such as government, parliament, the police, and corporations.

A problem of such questions is that trust is not defined. As a result, the validity of the responses is unclear. Trust exists in a relationship when actor A is confident that actor B, who may influence the outcome for actor A, will not do so opportunistically (Coleman 1990). For example, if two persons who conspired to commit a crime are captured and questioned separately, they may engage in a deal offered by the authorities to the person who confesses. In such a prisoner's dilemma, the person who does not trust his conspirer will confess because this may reduce his sentence. If both confess, their joint outcome is the worst-case scenario of maximum imprisonment for the crime committed. Trust in the relationship between donors/volunteers and NPOs is different from trust among prisoners because it involves a third party (actor C): the recipients of services provided by the NPOs. Donors and volunteers of NPOs care about the outcome of the activities of NPOs. Low trust reflects doubt about the effectiveness and efficacy of the activities of NPOs. The presence of a third actor in the relationship makes trust in public service organizations different from trust in corporations.

A more positive response to the question "how much do you trust A" is a measure of the general attitude toward A. This attitude depends on awareness of the activity of NPOs (McDougle 2014), as well as on the general tendency to trust others, or *generalized social trust* (Bekkers 2003, 2006; Uslaner 2002): the belief that A is trustworthy and resources provided will not be abused. Trustworthiness has several dimensions. Mayer, Davis, and Schoorman (1995) distinguish ability, benevolence, and integrity as factors of perceived trustworthiness. Research on trust in charitable organizations – also called charitable confidence – has distinguished judgment, service quality, motives, role competence (Sargeant and Lee 2002), ethical behavior, and humane treatment of clients (Schlesinger, Mitchell, and Gray 2004) and forbearance from opportunism (Sargeant and Lee 2004) as characteristics of organizations that donors perceive to be trustworthy.

7. Macro-level correlates

McDougle and Lam (2013) examined correlates of confidence in NPOs in San Diego County, finding no significant variation across zip codes in the area. No studies to date have investigated correlates of perceptions of NPOs in a comparative cross-national design. Legal requirements imposed on NPOs are likely to play a role (Fleischman 1999; Mead 2008), but data on a sizeable number of countries are not yet available. A new analysis of data on almost 50 countries from the World Values Survey (2005–2008; see supplementary materials posted at the Handbook website) shows that countries in which citizens have higher levels of trust in "charitable and humanitarian organizations" are countries in which citizens have a higher level of trust in government ($r = .57$). Charitable confidence also shows positive – albeit much weaker – relations with generalized trust ($r = .20$) and the proportion of the population that is an active member in voluntary associations (.14). Political preferences are hardly related to charitable confidence ("In political matters, people talk of 'the left' and 'the right.' How would you place your views on this scale, generally speaking?": .03; "Incomes should be made more equal" vs. "We need larger income differences as incentives for individual effort": –.10; "The government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for" vs. "People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves": –.08). Across countries, charitable confidence is unrelated to the proportion of the population that is volunteering (–.03) or the country rank on the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) of Transparency International (.00).

8. Micro-level mobilization and socialization

In cross-section, insiders naturally have more positive perceptions of NPOs, government, and people in general than outsiders (Bekkers and Bowman 2009; Bowman 2004; McDougle and Lam 2013). The World Values Survey data show

that members and especially active members of voluntary associations have more charitable confidence, in part because they have more trust in people in general (see supplementary materials at website). The positive relationship between charitable confidence and trust in government that we saw at the macro level also appears at the individual level. The US may be an exception to this rule, as some studies do not find this relation, depending on the covariates included in the analysis (Brooks and Lewis 2001).

Over time, selective mobilization and organizational socialization are both likely to contribute to the difference in charitable confidence between insiders and outsiders (Bekkers and Bowman 2009). Future insiders are likely to have – on average – more positive perceptions of NPOs even before they start participating than those who will remain outsiders. Positive perceptions enhance the likelihood that individuals find participation attractive. In the absence of a request from others to start participating in the organization, individuals with more positive perceptions are likely to enter the organization.

The more common pathway to participation in associations, however, is via a request to participate. Dutch evidence shows that only 15% of volunteers started volunteering without a direct request from another person (Bekkers 2005). Musick and Wilson (2008:290) found exactly the same proportion in the United States. Furthermore, in both countries effective solicitations are more likely to come from individuals who are already participating in the organization. Because participants will selectively target their requests for participation toward individuals who can be expected to comply with the request, individuals with more positive perceptions will be more likely to receive requests to participate. In addition, positive perceptions of NPOs will also enhance the likelihood that individuals will comply with the request. Once individuals are participating, positive perceptions are likely to be strengthened as participation is sustained. In addition, a process of selective attrition contributes to the maintenance of a difference between insiders and outsiders: those who have less positive perceptions at the onset of participation are more likely to become less positive. Research on blood donation has shown that over time blood donors self-identify more strongly as a blood donor (Callero, Howard, and Piliavin 1987).

9. National and world region research

(a) Russia

Results from a 2011 nationwide representative survey in Russia on "Citizens' Attitudes to and Expertise in Civil Society Practices," conducted as part of the National Research University – Higher School of Economics' Centre for Studies of Civil Society and the NPS's monitoring research, showed that there is little trust in NPOs (Mersiyanova and Korneeva 2011). Respondents who claimed

to know or have heard of local NPOs (76%) were asked the question, "Which public associations and other nonprofit organizations and civil initiatives do you trust?" Twenty-one percent of them said none, while another 18% did not give an answer. Considering that 24% of respondents did not answer the original question about knowing any NPOs, this means that only 37% of the Russian population trusts any NPO. Respondents that claimed to trust a specific organization most frequently referred to consumer rights organizations, veterans' organizations, gardening associations, trade unions, and disability groups. Respondents had less trust in professional associations or creative unions, territorial self-governing societies, local initiatives to protect property, housing and consumer rights groups, groups to protect the interest of local citizens, ethnic groups, political youth groups/informal networks, and national patriotic movements.

There was no significant difference based on gender or income level in answers to the question "Which public associations and other nonprofit organizations or public initiatives do you trust the most?" The difference by age group was also small. Trust in NPOs increases as education level rises. There is also a statistical difference based on two occupational groups: students and entrepreneurs (self-employed people). Entrepreneurs showed above average trust in consumer rights organizations. Students were more likely than others to trust school and student governing organizations, as well as sport, travel, hunting and automobile clubs and organizations. They were also more trusting of political youth groups. These findings are consistent with the hypothesis that participants in associations have higher trust in the specific associations they participate in.

The level of trust among those who participate in at least one NPO in other public associations, NPOs and civil initiatives was notably higher than the national average. The variety of forms of participation in Russian NPOs in tackling social issues is extensive (Mersiyanova and Yakobson 2011). Responding to a question about quality of services offered by NPOs, only a quarter of NPO leaders (26%) consider the contribution of civil and other NGOS and NPOs to solving social issues in the country to be *good*. Among the federal elite and the population overall, these figures are 1% and 4%, respectively. Representatives of the federal elite hold a relatively negative view of the contribution of NPOs in solving social issues: more than half of those surveyed (53%) gave it a grade of *bad*, and only a third (30%) said it was *satisfactory* or *good*. Representatives of executive powers gave a more balanced response – 44% *satisfactory* or *good* and 44% *bad* – while lawmakers were more critical – 18% *good* or *satisfactory* and 61% *bad*.

The overall population had a similar breakdown of *good* and *satisfactory* answers as the representatives of the federal elite. This low opinion of NPOs' activities, along with a large share of respondents that did not answer, may be

due to a lack of awareness among the population about the useful things that NPOs do and a lack of awareness in society about the importance of what they do. Those that they help – children, the elderly, disabled people, and other vulnerable groups – are not in a position to inform the general public about the activities of NPOs via the mass media in order to increase their reach. The organizations themselves, especially the small ones (and the vast majority are small), are also unable to spread information about the results and projects.

(b) South Asia/India

In South Asia, members of the general public report mixed perceptions of NPOs and the voluntary sector. On the positive side, people in Nepal report that NPOs contributed to changes in education, agriculture, social awareness, sanitation, and drinking water (Roka 2012). They were further recognized for their support for school buildings, micro-finance, vegetable farming, and supplying medicines in rural areas. Similar perceptions were reported from other countries in the region. De Souza (2010) reports that the media in India view NPOs as pioneers, creative, novel for programs on the empowerment of women. In Sri Lanka, NPOs are praised for their work in the aftermath of the tsunami (Fritz Institute 2005). Likewise, NPOs are highly regarded for their role in helping poor women through their micro-finance programs in Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan (Roka 2012; Sultana and Islam 2009). In Bangladesh, female participants said NPOs open their eyes to think rationally about social norms and values (Sultana and Islam 2009).

Despite these positive perceptions, the people of South Asia also express strongly negative feelings toward NPOs. In a survey by Transparency International in 2005, NPOs were identified as being more corrupt than religious bodies, military, and the media (Hardoon and Heinrich 2011). In South Asia, the highest rates of respondents who regarded NPOs as corrupt were found in Pakistan (50.8%), followed by India (36.5 %), the Maldives (26.1%), Nepal (25.1%), Sri Lanka (16.2%), and Bangladesh (15.6%). To fight corruption, the majority of the respondents trusted the government. Only 8% trusted NPOs to fight corruption. The general public in India had more trust in NPOs to fight corruption than in other South Asian nations.

In another survey, conducted by IDRC, policy makers and the public expressed concerns with the quality of research by NPOs (Cottle 2011). The respondents reported that in South Asia think tanks were the only institutions providing top-rated research information that could be used for policy formation. In addition to the above concerns, people in the region were critical about sustainability, transparency, accountability, effectiveness, and implementation. While scholars have identified similar weaknesses within the NPS, we discuss only topics directly identified by the public in the region.

Financial transparency is one of the major concerns with NPOs working in the region. For example, in Nepal, people complained that NPOs did not reveal how much money they had received from donors, what the budget for the project was, how much they spent for their staff, and how much was spent in the field. As a result, local people have become distrustful: they suspect NPOs make profits from their programs (Roka 2012). People in Bangladesh expressed similar concerns, where they believed NPOs mostly working on micro-finance were making profit from their projects (Safa 2006). In India, respondents reported how NPOs cook up projects to get funding from donors (Baroi and Rabbani 2011; Kapoor 2006). In Pakistan, the public, government, and even staff of NPOs said that educated people established NPOs for personal gain (Bano 2008). In Sri Lanka, NPOs are criticized for making profit from the peace building process during the insurgency (Devotta 2006). These concerns question the nonprofit aspect of the NPOs that are managed as a family enterprise using paid staff earning more than government staff. Financial misuse within the NPS is a threat for the future of voluntary and collective actions in the region.

Another major concern among the public in South Asia concerns accountability of NPOs. The general public does not agree with claims by NPOs of downward accountability toward communities. They are criticized for addressing only concerns of donors. People are also concerned about them claiming to represent local communities. For example, Forbes (1999) studied protest against a hydroelectric project in Nepal and found that local people were mostly unaware of activities of NPOs that were occurring in Kathmandu or Washington DC to garner support to stop the project. Devotta (2006) reported how the public in Sri Lanka criticized NPOs as dancing to the tune of donors. Similarly, in Nepal, rural people indicate that NPOs show little concern with solving community issues and focus on delivering what their donors tell them.

Effectiveness of projects of NPOs is also of concern to the public in South Asia. People dislike claims by NPOs of doing this and that but putting little on the ground. For example, NPOs report micro-finance as a major success in India and Bangladesh in uplifting women from poverty and empowering them. However, in a survey by World Bank it was found that the people in the two countries were negative about the program (Narayan et al. 2000). They complained that the loan from NPOs was too small for any productive activity and the program succeeded because staff terrorize, insult, and lock up defaulters. In another study, Narayan et al. (2009) reported that only 0.3% of the respondents in India indicated NPOs had helped them reduce household poverty. Even the activity of NPOs immediately after a disaster was little compared to the government. For example, after the tsunami it was found NPOs contributed only 14% support in the first 24 hours in Sri Lanka and only 9.4% in India. Only 13% of the shelter was provided by NPOs in Sri Lanka (Fritz Institute 2005).

In addition to the above concerns, people are critical of the working modality of NPOs. In Bangladesh, they criticized NPOs' tight program strategy and bureaucratic structure (Safa 2006). In Nepal, rural people are dissatisfied with voluntary labor for projects of NPOs (Roka 2012).

(c) Mexico

Survey results in Mexico (Layton and Moreno 2013) echo the generally negative perception of nonprofits in South Asia, with some interesting twists. In a question in the National Survey of Philanthropy and Civil Society on levels of institutional trust, generic non-governmental or social organizations garner trust from only 25% of respondents, while another 25% express little trust and 44% have no trust at all: this places nonprofits somewhat below the three levels of government and a bit above big business, unions, political parties, and the national legislature. The Red Cross, however, comes in a virtual tie with the most trusted organization, the church, with two-thirds of respondents expressing confidence in this major institution. The Red Cross plays a unique role in responding not only to natural disasters but in providing emergency care throughout Mexico. In another question measuring trust specifically in ten national fund-raising campaigns, six of the campaigns were trusted by a majority of respondents, while the remaining four had relatively high levels of "Don't know/no answer": those with higher levels of trust have a greater presence in the media, and those that lagged behind have a lower media profile. This lack of trust has a direct and detrimental impact on nonprofit fund-raising: When asked why they do not donate to nonprofits, the single most important response was that respondents did not trust organizations (17%), and when asked how they prefer to donate, 82% of Mexicans preferred to give directly to the needy and only 10% preferred to donate to organizations (Layton and Moreno 2013).

(d) Arab Countries

For Arab countries, including the Gulf region, the Levant, and the Maghreb, results from the recently completed sixth wave of the World Values Survey (Abu Rumman 2014) provide the first evidence on perceptions of NPOs (see Figure 49.1). There is considerable variance in confidence between Arab countries. In Qatar, Kuwait, and Iraq, respondents expressed a relatively high level of confidence (*a great deal* or *quite a lot*) in charitable and humanitarian organizations in general (86%, 62% and 60%, respectively). Confidence levels were lower in Morocco, Libya, and Egypt, hovering around 55%; considerably lower in Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, Algeria, and Yemen (around 40%), and lowest in Tunisia (31.5%). Unfortunately, the WVS does not include data for Saudi Arabia.
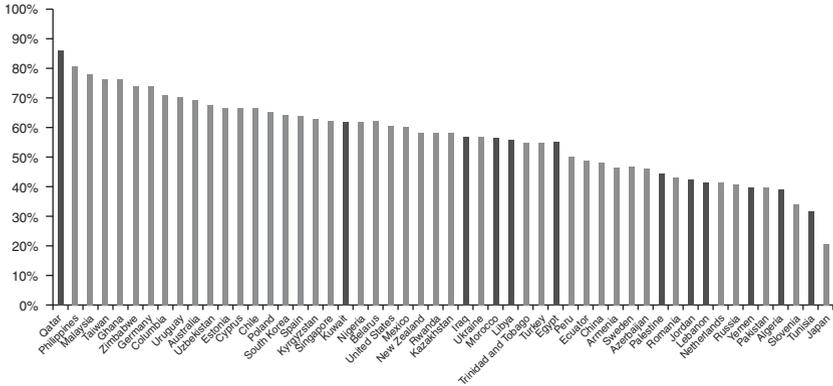
Figure 49.1 Arab confidence compared to other parts of the world

(e) Lithuania

The Lithuanian case exemplifies the dynamics of voluntary activity in the post-Soviet society. Here, the development of voluntary sector during the last two decades went through different stages from the post-communist legacy of *compulsory volunteering* (with emphasis on the state compulsion, so the voluntary nature was not present, and the *volunteering* label was a lie) with no positive connotations (as it could not become a form for individual self-expression or common leisure activity) through the outburst of registered NGOs right after the collapse of the system (not paralleled, however, with an increase in the number of people actively taking part in their activities) to the stabilization phase (Juknevičius and Savicka 2003; Savicka 2005).

After the downfall of the Soviet regime, the voluntary sector in Lithuania had to be built upon the unfavorable post-communist legacy, where it used to be fully controlled by the state and was based neither on the essential principle of voluntary choice of an individual nor on the civic networks of trust and reciprocity, as social capital. This social context has not been favorable to fostering an atmosphere of trust in voluntary associations in the society; it discourages association members from active participation in their activities.

The deepest survey of Lithuanian attitudes toward NGOs was conducted by SIC Market Research in 2002 at the request of Lithuanian Non-Governmental Organizations Information and Support Centre (2012). The survey addressed the issues of general knowledge of NGOs and support for them, as well as attitudes toward their activities. Some 46% of the participants in this survey were not able to name even one voluntary organization. The best-known NGO was Caritas, which was mentioned by 12% of all respondents (or 23% of the ones who named at least one NGO).

In order to understand attitudes toward NGOs and voluntary activity, the respondents were asked whether they strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with each of the following statements:

- NGOs have very good prospects and are going to become an integral part of Lithuanian society.
- NGOs can be important partners of government in providing social services and representing the interests of social groups.
- NGOs are really a cover for individuals who seek to increase their profits by avoiding taxes.
- The state should transfer such functions as care for neglected children, the elderly, the handicapped, and so on to NGOs by partly financing their activities.
- The NGOs that I know about work very professionally.
- The NGOs that I know about are managed poorly and work unprofessionally.
- NGOs are not important because social services should be provided only by the state.
- NGOs are unreliable.
- Most Lithuanians have negative attitude toward voluntary work and social activism.
- Lithuanian law does not encourage the activities of NGOs.

Among these statements, the first, second, fourth, and fifth describe positive attitudes toward NGOs, and the third, sixth, seventh, and eighth describe negative ones, while the ninth and tenth describe attitudes not toward NGOs themselves but toward the environment in which they operate. Generally, Lithuanians have a positive view of NGOs and perceive them as a promising factor in Lithuanian society (46%) and an important partner of government (63%); there is also a public feeling that NGOs work professionally (31%) and are reliable (42%). Negative statements about NGOs found less support: 24% of population feel NGOs are means to avoid taxes, 7% – that they are managed poorly, 24% – that they are not important, and 20% – that they are unreliable. Despite the dominance of positive evaluations, almost half of the respondents (48%) expressed the feeling that people in Lithuania have a negative attitude toward voluntary work and social activism. This response means that despite their own positive perceptions of NGOs, people feel that such attitudes are not characteristic of the society as a whole. Also, they are convinced that Lithuanian law does not promote voluntary activity.

As more recent (2012) survey data show, not much has changed in the public attitudes during the last decade. According to the data of the representative survey conducted by public opinion research center Vilmorus,

again at the request of Lithuanian Non-Governmental Organizations Information and Support Centre in 2012 (Lithuanian Non-Governmental Organizations Information and Support Centre 2012), the majority of Lithuanians (54%) were not able to answer the question about whether they trust NGOs, but 32% gave positive answers and the rest 14% gave negative answers. With these results, NGOs in Lithuania are trusted less than the president, the army, the church, the police but more than banks, the courts, government, the Parliament, or political parties. The high proportion of people having no opinion if NGOs could be trusted can be explained by the fact that absolute majority of people (69%) acknowledged they had no live contact with NGOs. Among different social groups, more trust in NGOs was expressed by the youth and more educated people. As survey data show, these people are also more inclined to join voluntary activities. To sum up, most Lithuanians do not understand the role of NGOs in society, nor do they fully appreciate the potential of voluntary organizations to effectively solve grievous social problems. Therefore, there is a lack of contact with voluntary organizations and of most forms of involvement in their activities.

E. Usable knowledge

Perceptions of NPOs influence the way actors approach and deal with them. Positive attitudes toward NPOs depend to a large extent on personality and socio-demographic characteristics of actors, which cannot be influenced by NPOs. Still NPOs can alter perceptions among stakeholders through their own interventions. As perceptions depend on live contacts with citizens and media coverage of NPOs, it is important for managers of NPOs to invest time and effort in relationships with citizens, journalists, opinion leaders, and celebrities. In addition, public image management and branding should obviously be based on substance. Integrity, honesty, and transparency of the work that NPOs do is a fundamental prerequisite to changing these perceptions. NPOs should signal these qualities to stakeholders, keeping in mind that previously crystallized perceptions are not easily corrected.

F. Future trends and needed research

We expect ever-increasing future research attention to perceptions of volunteering, associations (Smith 2015b), nonprofit agencies (Smith 2015c) and the nonprofit sector (NPS) more generally. In many nations, the NPS and its organizations, both associations and agencies, are being subject to increasing scrutiny and criticism in terms of corruption and waste, and often of foreign influence, which may also be seen as a kind of *corruption by foreigners*. We encourage

research on the general attitudes and perceptions of volunteering, associations, nonprofit agencies, and the whole NPS, with special attention to the sources of these attitudes and perceptions in the mass media, personal-social media, and personal experiences. Very little is known specifically about the latter issue of underlying determinants of NPS attitudes and perceptions, even though research clearly shows such attitudes and perceptions are important determinants of volunteering, charitable giving, and related pro-social behavior (e.g., Smith 2015a; see also Handbook Chapters 30 and 31).

The growing use and availability of information through the Internet facilitates the instant mobilization of volunteers for specific projects. Online social media such as Twitter and online platforms enable the incidental donation of time (crowdsourcing and micro-volunteering) and money (crowd-funding and micro-lending). The success of such forms of episodic pro-social behaviors depends in part on perceptions of these projects as effective and *fun to be part of*. These perceptions can be highly dynamic and short lived, but still productive in mobilizing volunteers. We encourage research on the formation, dynamics, and consequences of perceptions of volunteer opportunities for specific projects.

We also encourage research on the formation, dynamics, and consequences of trust in NPOs, including associations as well as nonprofit agencies. Earlier in the chapter we provided a theoretical framework for this new field of research. As perceptions of NPOs clearly depend on generalized trust, it is important to know where trust comes from and how to increase it. An intriguing finding is that trust appears to have virtually no genetic basis (Van Lange, Vinkuyzen, and Posthuma 2014) and is rooted entirely in unique environmental factors. Thus far, however, no study has been able to establish how generalized trust develops in social interactions. A society's level of economic inequality seems to be a detrimental macro-level factor for generalized social trust (Leigh 2006). It is likely that perceptions of NPOs are also affected by economic inequality. Future research should test this hypothesis as well as hypotheses on other macro-level context factors (see Handbook Chapter 26 for a review of the influence of macro-context on volunteering rates). Interdependence theory suggests that interactions of stakeholders with volunteers and NPOs affect perceptions. We encourage research on meso- and micro-level characteristics of stakeholders as predictors of such interactions. In addition, we encourage experimental research on perceptions of NPOs. Following the example of Schlesinger, Mitchell, and Gray (2004), survey experiments (Mutz 2011) are perfectly suited to examine how perceptions are affected by characteristics and behavior NPOs in conjunction with individual characteristics of stakeholders.

G. Cross-references

Chapters 41, 47, 48, and 54.

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Prevalence Rates of Associations across Territories

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A. Introduction

This chapter reviews research on incidence–prevalence–exit (demise) rates of membership associations (MAs) across sets of geographic territories of varying scope, with a main focus on explaining MA *prevalence* rates (frequencies of associations in a territory). Basic changes in the economic structure/system of societies explain the four, global, associational revolutions in human history over the past 10 millennia (Smith 2016b). The determinants of prevalence vary across levels of analysis, but sheer population size is always a major determinant of greater absolute MA prevalence. Other important influences on MA prevalence at the level of nations include gross domestic product (GDP) per capita, average level of formal education, extent of civil liberties, government expenditures per capita, MA density in prior time period, prevalence of association-support infrastructure organizations, and experience with democracy (Schofer and Longhofer 2011; Smith and Shen 2002).

B. Definitions

The standard definition of an association is used from the Handbook Appendix, and the set of definitions from that Appendix are accepted generally in this chapter. In addition, the following special definitions for this chapter are stated.

The *incidence rate* of MAs is the number being formed in a given time period, usually a year or set of years.

The *prevalence rate* of MAs is the number existing/alive in a given time period, usually a year or set of years.

The *death/exit rate* of MAs is the number dying or ceasing to function in a given time period, usually a year or set of years.

In addition, such rates can be defined and measured in absolute or relative terms. The *absolute* definition and measurement of any of the three rates simply means counting the total number of associations being formed (absolute

incidence rate), currently in existence (absolute prevalence rate), or that have died/exited (absolute exit/death rate) in a specific territory for some short period of time, usually a calendar year. The *relative* definition and measurement expresses the rate as the actual number of associations divided by some version of the population size in the geographic territory of interest.

Most common is the association prevalence rate per 1,000 population, but relative rates per capita (per individual), per 100 population or per 10,000 population, are also sometimes used. Any of these can easily be transformed into any of the others by moving the decimal point. Sometimes death rates or exit rates for associations have also been studied, although very rarely. In terms of reliability and validity of the data, it is far easier to document the present existence of an association than its birth date or date of death/exit.

C. Historical background

1. Historical roots of research on the prevalence of associations

There have been vague, qualitative estimates of the absolute prevalence rates of associations by historians for hundreds of years, reaching back two millennia to Roman *collegia* as occupational associations (Waltzing 1895). These estimates have usually been based on incomplete lists of the associations in a territory. Ross (1976) wrote the first book examining the prevalence of associations in different types of human societies, going back to preliterate societies and forward through ancient agrarian civilizations, medieval societies, preindustrial societies, and then industrial societies. Smith (1997a) wrote a qualitative historical and bibliographic essay on the prevalence of associations from preliterate societies down to about 1995.

Earlier, Boulding (1953) wrote a seminal book showing that the Industrial Revolution circa 1800+ also brought with it an *Organizational Revolution* for all kinds of organizations. Smith (1972) was the first to show that an associational revolution was part of this more general organizational revolution, demonstrating with quantitative data that more modern, industrial nations had a greater prevalence of associations.

Quantitative prevalence rates have usually been estimated/calculated only in the past century. In the beginning of such research, prevalence rates were calculated just for single geographic territories, often for particular cities or towns (Lynd and Lynd 1929; Warner and Lunt 1941). *Comparative* studies of the prevalence rates across a larger set of territories only date back about 40 years (e.g., Lincoln 1977; Smith 1973b). Comparative studies of *incidence* or *exit* rates across many similar territories have been very rare indeed (Stretesky et al. 2011).

2. Four global associational revolutions, not just the current one

[The following paragraphs are quoted with permission from an article by Smith (2016b)].

"Boulding (1953) was the first scholar to suggest the concept (but not the term) of *associational revolution* in recent human history, although few scholars in the field of voluntaristics (Smith 2013b) seem aware of this fact. Boulding's seminal book discussed the global *organizational revolution* that accompanied and followed the global Industrial Revolution in specific countries undergoing industrialization. Other integral aspects of modernization also occurred as sequelae, such as mass education, urbanization, mass transportation systems, mass communication network development, a trend toward democracies, and changes toward a modern, modal personality (Inkeles 1998; Inkeles and Smith 1974). Boulding did not dwell at length on the associational aspect of the organizational revolution, but this special and rapid growth of voluntary associations was implicit and occasionally explicit in his book.

Similarly, *without* using the term explicitly, *the associational revolution* concept and process was first discussed in detail and empirically demonstrated by Smith (1972, 2000b [1973]). Using archival data, he showed the strong correlation of six modernization measures with association activity, explaining 74% of the variance in rated 'interest articulation by associational groups.' The modernization measures used dealt with urbanization, low agricultural population, higher GDP per capita, higher economic development status (a rating), higher literacy, and a larger percentage of the labor force working in industry (p. 53). When Salamon (1994, 1995) first suggested the term *associational revolution*, he either ignored or was unaware of the earlier relevant theory and empirical data presented both by Boulding (1953) and by Smith (1972).

In his paper on the international history of grassroots associations, or GAs, Smith (1997a) noted and discussed a much earlier associational revolution – the first or *original associational revolution* (a term or label used for the first time here by Smith), beginning in horticultural villages about 10,000 years ago and earlier (Anderson 1973). After perhaps 190,000 years of living as nomadic, hunting-gathering tribes, some human societies in various places on earth settled down in semi-permanent horticultural (gardening) villages to raise domesticated animals (chickens, pigs, goats, etc.) and to grow crops (especially grains and root vegetables) for food, instead of doing the nomadic hunting and gathering done previously.

Only at this period of human societal evolution did voluntary associations make any sense, because now village societies had 500–1,500 members, instead of the much smaller, nomadic, tribal societies of 30–70 members (Anderson 1973; Bradfield 1973; Smith 1997a). This original associational revolution was hugely significant because, for the first time in human

existence, associations arose as a totally new form of human group, based on common interests, not on kinship/ family, work, or governance issues. *This was the actual origin phase of the voluntary nonprofit sector (VNPS), with common interest associations being the first kind of nonprofit organization/NPO (or more accurately, nonprofit group/NPG, because informal) to come into existence.*

Contrary to the erroneous suggestion or implication of Salamon (1994, 1995; echoed by Casey, 2016:10) that the first global associational revolution is under way now, happening in the past 30–60 years, the *original* global associational revolution thus began 10 millennia earlier. And contrary to him and other scholars, *there have been at least four distinct, global, associational revolutions in human history that need to be noted, studied separately, and understood.* Each of these global associational revolutions was precipitated by a fundamental change in the economic structure of human societies. Portrayals of the global associational revolution as occurring *only* because of the Industrial Revolution or *only* because of the current Service-Information-Technology Revolution are simply false, because they are too myopic. Those associational revolutions are real, but they are collectively multiple, not singular, and stretch over the past ten millennia."

Here is the correct historical sequence of the four global associational revolutions. See Smith (2016b) for more on the underlying sea change in the economic system that precipitated each revolution of interest.

(a) The Original-Horticultural (O-H) Associational Revolution (about 10,000 years ago; Smith 1997a);
(b) The Agrarian and Urban (A-U) Associational Revolution (about 5,000 years ago, *c*. 3000 BC/BCE; Smith 1997a);
(c) The Industrialization-Modernization (I-M) Associational Revolution (about 1800 AD/CE; Smith 1972);
(d) The Service-Information-Technology (SIT) Associational Revolution (about 1950 AD/CE; Salamon 1994, 1995; Smith 2016b).

D. Key issues

1. Appropriate methods for studying the incidence–prevalence–exit of associations

Obtaining reliable and valid, let alone complete, data on associations in any territory is inherently problematic. This is especially true for local, all-volunteer associations termed *grassroots associations* or *GAs* (Dale 1993; Grønbjerg and Clerkin 2005; Grønbjerg and Nelson 1998; Smith 1997b, 2000a:chapter 2; Toepler 2003). Because they are by definition small, often informal, and usually

ephemeral, GAs are very difficult to identify and count completely in any territory. Smith (2000: Appendix B) presents a comprehensive methodological approach to identifying and listing all of the associations in a municipality or county. Grønbjerg and Clerkin (2005) also have useful suggestions about how and where to search for GAs, as do Soteri-Proctor and Alcock (2012). Hypernetwork sampling (McPherson 1982) is likely to give the most accurate estimates.

The use of directories, whether state sanctioned, such as Charity Commission listings in England, or privately created, such as a commercially published national directory of associations or a local telephone directory, forces researchers to ask several questions: (1) What is the purpose of the directory? (2) What are the criteria for being in the directory? (3) How does an organization exit from the directory? Without probing these questions, an understanding of incidence–prevalence–exit rates is potentially flawed.

In the context of Western Europe, state-derived directories exist to track the allocation of state benefits to organizations. Directories can also be used as systems of control (Appe 2012). While being included on an official directory can result in benefits, it can also focus state attention on organizations. Coercion can result.

In the United States, Canada, England, and Wales, nonprofit or charity directories partition organizations that are afforded tax benefits from those that are not. What this means is that organizations that are afforded benefits for other reasons, such as being religious congregations, are systematically dropped from the list. GAs, where the key asset is the time of volunteers, often do not find it in their interest to be in a tax-exempt directory as there are no physical or financial assets to exempt.

Much as in statistical methods, there are two means used to assess the incidence–prevalence–exit rates of organizations: descriptive and inferential methods. In the United States, the National Center for Charitable Statistics uses the descriptive method, listing the entire universe of nonprofit charities that have filed IRS 990 tax returns. As detailed in Smith (2000a:chapter 2) and in several chapters of this Handbook, that approach results in only a small part of the universe of associations being identified.

Grønbjerg (2002) developed a descriptive method based in triangulation of three different data sources: Secretary of State corporation listings, IRS 990 Tax Returns, and telephone directories. While creating the census, Grønbjerg discovered that each data source had little overlap with the others, meaning that relying on any single source results in biased maps of the sector. Grønbjerg and her colleagues have been in the forefront of studying the methodological difficulties involved in enumerating all of the NPOs of any kind in a geographic territory (Grønbjerg and Nelson 1998; Grønbjerg and Paarlberg 2001, 2002; Grønbjerg et al. 2010).

Smith has been an architect of the inferential method, which involves developing assumptions about the scope of the universe of associations and then applying that to the known universe. His maps of the American VNPS projects up to 90% of NPOs, especially GAs, not being included in IRS 990 Returns (Smith 1997b, 2000:chapter 2, appendix B). Likewise, Salamon and Anheier (1998) have turned to inferential methods to project the scope of sectors around the globe.

2. Existing data on the prevalence of associations in the United States

The existence of data on association prevalence varies widely across the United States. In the American context, two official data sources result in divergent pictures of associational life. As noted above, IRS Form 990 Tax Returns are filed by public charities with annual revenues above USD 50,000, with a shorter form required by charities with revenues less than this threshold but above USD 5,000 per year. Both the National Center for Charitable Statistics at the Urban Institute and GuideStar allow for access to these financial documents. Secondly, each US state Attorney General permits incorporation of any organization (for-profit or nonprofit); the availability and reliability of state lists/directories of incorporated nonprofits varies widely across the states. In the Canadian context, the Canada Revenue Agency keeps the Charities Listing. Likewise, researchers can access Forms T3010 for full financial information for charities. Similarly, the United Kingdom has three separate Charities Registers (England/Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland).

Given that all of these state government directories are tied directly to an association's tax benefits, one can assume that there is a financial pressure for organizations to keep the information current and accurate. But, given the culling of 275,000 IRS tax-exempt charities in 2011, it appears that such state/government directories can have significant flaws.

Sometimes, commercial directories of national associations are relatively complete and reliable, after a time lag of a few years (Baumgartner 2005). Bevan, Baumgartner, Johnson, and McCarthy (2013) carefully analyzed the *Encyclopedia of Associations* directory and database in the United States over many years. The authors conclude that this directory/database is fairly accurate for research on national associations, once two systematic biases are taken into account. On average, it takes about four years for a new association to enter the database. Also, the database "systematically under represents small, understaffed, or ephemeral associations" (p. 1761). Similar research on national association directories in other nations would be useful.

When considering GAs, where tax-exempt status is not beneficial due to assets being tied to voluntary labor, national IRS and US state-incorporated nonprofit entities directories are deeply flawed. The true *dark matter* of associational life escapes these types of directories (Smith 1997b, 2000:chapter 2). Special

fieldwork methods are required to identify most or all of the GAs in a territory, as described in Smith (2000: Appendix B). The most general and accurate method is *hypernetwork sampling* (McPherson 1982).

As Appe (2012) articulates, directories can also be used as a means of control. In the developing world, being included on an official listing could mean that an association is officially sanctioned by the state, but this can also mean that the association can be the target of coercion. The experience of Russian associations, and their relationship to President Putin, has called into question what types of Russian associational life exists outside of official rolls.

3. Existing data on the prevalence of associations and other nonprofits in the United Kingdom

The territorial distribution of voluntary organizations is of interest for several reasons. Some scholars view the distribution of charitable and nonprofit organizations as an index of social capital (Putnam 2000; Rupasingha, Goetz, and Freshwater 2006; Scheffler et al. 2008) or, alternatively, as the outcome of variations in the level of social capital between communities (Saxton and Benson 2005). Less abstractly, the degree of correspondence between voluntary resources and social needs has attracted attention. Salamon (1987) argues that philanthropic effort is insufficient to meet the human service needs of complex societies and that this insufficiency is most marked in disadvantaged communities. However, there is no legal requirement on charitable organizations to allocate resources in relation to need. Instead, donors' priorities and tastes have a considerable part to play in determining where philanthropic funds go (Breeze 2011). Given this, what can be said about the distribution of voluntary organizations and their resources?

There is historical and contemporary evidence that voluntary resources are distributed unevenly. Consider the case of the pre-NHS voluntary hospitals in England. Despite the considerable effort that went into establishing and supporting over 1000 institutions (Gorsky, Mohan, and Powell 1999, 2002), access to services was highly uneven. Services were indeed distributed unsystematically with respect to need, so that the chances of obtaining hospital treatment varied by a factor of over 5 between communities, and variations in the resources available to institutions were considerable and persistent (Mohan 2003). What normative interpretation should be attached to this? If we see these distributions as reflecting community preferences, we cannot say that unevenness is only to be deplored. But if we are expecting voluntary organizations to play a major role in meeting social needs, then we must consider the relationship between the pattern of need and the distribution of organizations.

This finding in turn raises challenges, because it is not straightforward to determine which needs are being met, in which communities, by which voluntary organizations. In the United Kingdom, some rather one-dimensional

analyses have suggested that community-level variations in the distribution of registered charitable organizations betoken the existence of *charity deserts* – areas where there is little or no pro-social action by individuals or communities (Centre for Social Justice 2014). Since such comments carry judgmental overtones about the predispositions of individual residents in such communities, what does the evidence suggest? In fact, there are a number of challenges in mapping the distribution of voluntary resources.

The following comments draw on research undertaken in the United Kingdom, but several of the points made will be of relevance to scholars operating elsewhere. The first point to make concerns the availability of suitable source data. As Grønbjerg and Clerkin, (2005:232) suggest: What you find depends on where you look. In many British studies, this methodological and epistemological fact has led to results of doubtful value, because of reliance on local listings of voluntary organizations, which provide only a partial picture of the local voluntary sector (Mohan 2012b; Smith 2000:chapter 2 and appendix B). The best place to start, in countries that possess them, is with national or regional registers of nonprofit organizations generated by a process backed by statutory authority (e.g., the requirement to file returns in order to qualify for tax privileges). However, such registries have been shown to be invariably incomplete, often markedly so (Grønbjerg and Clerkin 2005; Grønbjerg, Liu, and Pollak 2009; Smith 2000:chapter 2). But intensive local case studies of voluntary action (e.g., Marshall 1997) are always subject to the idiosyncrasies of local sources. So no data source is truly and consistently accurate regarding voluntary organizations, especially for local associations (Mohan 2012a).

Regulatory/government data sources will usually provide basic information on the characteristics of larger, especially paid-staff-based nonprofit sector organizations, but the difficulty to be overcome is that of working out which organizations provide benefits to which communities. Administrative addresses are imperfect guides to where an organization is active, but whether this matters depends on what we wish to measure and the scale at which we wish to measure it. In England and Wales, many charities are bound by the *area of benefit* specified in their founding documents, and they must operate within that area, even if it is no longer in existence (e.g., charities founded some centuries ago which must operate within the boundaries of administrative units long since abolished). Some have very broad geographical scope – the Royal National Lifeboat Institution operates sea rescue services up to 100 miles from the coast of the United Kingdom, a vast area. Others provide benefits to a narrowly defined group or community: the pupils of a particular school, perhaps, or even an individual historic property or piece of land that attracts local community support.

For the great majority of charities (the median annual income of a UK charity is some GBP 13,000), it is a reasonable supposition that, when making

comparisons between the principal local government areas (which in the United Kingdom contain between 80,000 and 1 million people), we are justified in assigning a charity geographically to the local authority within which it is based. However, that assumption is less justified when we are considering more local studies, within individual jurisdictions, and when we are considering the activities of larger charities, operating regionally or nationally. Furthermore, comparisons should take account of the economic weight of organizations, as well as the numbers of their members.

Information about the geographical scope of activity is relevant here. There are two sources within the United Kingdom for such information. Charity Commission returns, in England and Wales, ask organizations to provide information about whether they operate within a particular local authority and to name up to ten geographic/government authorities in which they are active. Comparisons between local authorities can therefore be restricted only to those organizations that declare they are active in a particular local authority and can be refined by considering the median expenditures of charities. Mohan (2014) cross-classifies the ratios of charities to population with median expenditures by charities to provide a more complex and nuanced picture of geographical variation than otherwise available to date. Such analyses can be refined further, because comparisons of ratios of all charities to the population neglect the complexities of the mix of charities within communities: self-evidently, a community with an elderly population and few schools will have fewer charities dedicated to the support of schools. It might be more appropriate to narrow the focus down to particular subsectors or types of organization – PTAs, as Reich (2010) did for California, for example.

Survey data allows us to drill down further into the local distribution of voluntary organizations. In England, the 2008 National Survey of Third Sector Organisations (NSTSO), probably the largest single survey of voluntary organizations ever conducted, asked responding organizations to identify their scale of operation, offering choices that began at the neighborhood level rising up to the international level. Clifford (2012) and Mohan (2015) have used this survey data to map the distribution of neighborhood-level organizations. The survey data include information about the local authority within which each respondent is located, as well as the Index of Multiple Deprivation (a composite socio-economic measure) for the immediate neighborhood. Combining these, it is possible to calculate ratios of the distribution of organizations relative to the population. Results show that there are approximately three times as many neighborhood-level organizations (mainly associations) in the most prosperous areas of England as in the most disadvantaged areas. There are also strong gradients in terms of the income sources, with only about 25% of organizations in the most prosperous areas receiving public funding, compared to over 50% in the most deprived areas.

When we compare the characteristics of the charities in more detail, we find that the neighborhood-level organizations are largely devoted to providing social and cultural facilities, particularly arts and leisure opportunities, for the residents of the less deprived areas. Relatively few neighborhood-level organizations take on the needs of socially excluded or disadvantaged (e.g., mental health, drug rehabilitation, asylum seekers), suggesting limits to the ability of voluntarism to meet various dimensions of disadvantage. There are strong similarities between these patterns and the distribution of engaged volunteers (see Handbook Chapter 32), although the analysis of the relationship between the two distributions is worthy of much fuller investigation.

Even if we can conduct informed analyses of the distribution of voluntary organizations, further elephant traps lie in wait. Leaving aside the question of the relationship between regulated and non-regulated third-sector organizations – or, in Smith's words (1997), the lack of consideration given to the *dark matter* of the nonprofit sector, we have limited information about many nonprofit sector organizations, which, while undoubtedly large and formalized, are as yet invisible in regulatory datasets. In England and Wales, there are many charitable organizations that, for largely historical reasons, are not required to report to the Charity Commission, so assessing their scope is almost impossible. For example, until recently, the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge Universities, which are very substantial charitable organizations, were not required to register as charities. A large number of religious charitable organizations are also being brought under the Commissions regulatory gaze. These developments will provide a more complete picture, in due course.

The focus in this section so far has been on tracking numbers of organizations, but tracking patterns of spending brings its own challenges. In the United Kingdom, the identification of flows of funds across regional or local boundaries is a particular challenge. There are numerous large, national voluntary organizations that are known to operate in many areas of England and Wales, but we know relatively little about precisely where. A full assessment of the distributional effects of voluntary activity requires further work on such flows. And if the geographic pattern of organizations is not easy to interpret, the same can also be said about flows of funding. Charitable funding does not just flow in proportion to need – some of the largest flows of funds in the United Kingdom are allocated by competition, in the form of grants for scientific research. In some regions of England, such grants constitute the largest single flow of charitable money (Mohan et al. 2011). We also know that the funding mix of individual organizations varies greatly, but determining which third-sector organizations receive funding from which source is also at a relatively early stage. The growing advocacy of open data – as a means of promoting transparency by funders – will have an impact here.

Survey data have been used (Clifford, Geyne Rajme, and Mohan 2013) to consider the funding mix of voluntary organizations operating in different communities in England. This has shown that there is a much greater likelihood of drawing on government (statutory) income sources in disadvantaged areas. However, the source is unable to throw light on the amounts of funding received by organizations.

All of these points suggest that researchers need to specify carefully what it is that they are analyzing. Whether it is numbers and types of organization or types of funding flows, the landscape of voluntary activity is full of traps for the unwary and requires careful navigation. As ancient cartographers were wont to say, in relation to locations for which they had limited information: "Here be dragons!"

4. Existing data on the prevalence of associations in France

In France, there are two types of voluntary associations in terms of their legal status: *undeclared* associations and *declared* (government-registered) associations (Archambault 1997). In other nations, declared associations are termed *registered* associations (see Handbook Chapter 52). A 1901 national law governs declared associations.

Declared associations probably represent the overwhelming majority of all associations, but lacking hypernetwork sampling research on French associations, we cannot be sure. It is practically impossible to make an inventory of undeclared associations, although their numbers could be estimated using hypernetwork sampling (Kalleberg, Knoke, Marsden, and Spaeth 1996:25; Mcpherson 1982). Ethnographic fieldwork in rural areas, small towns, and cities could also yield less systematic estimates.

The declared association status offers several advantages for associations and their leaders. In particular, being legally declared gives an association legal personality (*incorporated* status, in other nations; see Handbook Chapter 47), legal capacity to apply for grants and government subsidies, the right to take legal action, and the capacity to make binding legal contracts. Declaration is not subject to authorization from public authorities. Consequently, the formation of an association is not subject to a prior control, except in the départements of Haut-Rhin, Bas-Rhin, and Moselle, which are subject to a specific legal regime inherited from the German period 1870–1918.

Declaration of a new association is made at the Préfecture or Sous-Préfecture. The Préfecture is a level of government administration that is under the supervision of Ministry of Interior. There is one Préfecture in each *Département*, which is a territorial administrative subdivision similar to a state or province in other nations. The Préfecture is headed by a Prefect (Préfet in French), who is the local representative of the central government.

Any new association must ask for the publication of its declaration in the *Journal Officiel des Associations*. Consequently, public authorities have at their

disposal directories concerning the founding of associations. For a long time, these directories were compartmentalized (at the Département level) and paper based. During the 1980s, computerization led to an automation of new declarations, but these directories were left compartmentalized. From the beginning of the 2000s, public authorities have undertaken to develop a national directory of associations. In 2010, this process resulted in the *Répertoire National des Associations – RNA* (National Association Directory). This is a nearly exhaustive directory that includes all declared associations since 1901 (Archambault, Accardo, and Laouisset 2010).

For the moment, it is not possible to calculate prevalence rates from this RNA directory, because only a small part of association exits (deaths) are known and indicated. Consequently, there are many inactive or dissolved (dead) associations still listed in this directory. However, INSEE, the French National Statistical Institute, is currently conducting an association survey by using this directory as sampling frame. Therefore, it should be soon possible to estimate the proportion of the listed associations that are active.

This national directory is important and promising for future research, but it is currently not accessible to scholars for thorough investigations. There is another directory of French associations that may be used, but it is more partial. The SIRENE (Système Informatique pour le Répertoire des Entreprises et des Etablissements; in English, Computerizd Directory for Businesses and Establishments) directory of INSEE, which lists all organizations (including associations) that pay employees, are subject to tax obligations, or, lastly, receive grant or subsidies from public authorities. However, the smaller associations are missing.

The few existing investigations on the subject suggest that, in relative terms, the *incidence* rate of associations is generally higher in Southern France than in Northern France (Le Vaillant 2013). For example, in the period from 1997 to 2012, the annual association formation rate per 10,000 inhabitants varied from 15 to 18 in the Regions "Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur" and "Languedoc Roussillon" and from 12 to 13 in the Regions "Rhônes-Alpes" and "Aquitaine," located in Southern France. On the other hand, the Regions "Haute-Normandie," "Picardie," "Champagne-Ardenne," and "Nord-Pas-de-Calais" (all in Northern France) fall below the national average incidence rate (10.2). The problem remains how to explain such variations. For this purpose, it is necessary to examine the existence of possible correlations between the incidence rates and the socio-demographic and economic characteristics of each local area at a sufficiently disaggregated level. Such work is yet to be done.

5. Data on the members of associations per thousand of population

For the Scandinavian countries, available information does not make it possible to distinguish monomorphic local associations (with no links to a higher geographical-level parent association) from associations with a more hierarchical structure (i.e., polymorphic associations, related/linked to regional,

Table 50.1 The relative density of civil society associations (GAs)

	Number of groups mapped	Number of inhabitants	Organizations per inhabitants	Relative density (no. of organizations per 1,000 inhabitants)
Aalborg	2,031	161,661	1 per 80	12.6
Aberdeen	1,907	212,650	1 per 112	8.9
Bern	1,198	122,537	1 per 102	9.7
Enschede	1,658	150,499	1 per 91	11.0
Mannheim	5,002	319,444	1 per 61	15.6
Sabadell	1,129	185,270	1 per 164	6.1

provincial/state/district, or national parent associations). In fact it is a characteristic feature of Scandinavia that small, informal groups, if they survive, adopt a formal structure of organization, for instance a written constitution, a yearly assembly, an elected board, and so on. This seems also to apply for other European countries (Torpe and Ferrer-Fons 2007). An obvious reason in Denmark is that every association is entitled to public grants, for example a place to meet, as soon as they can present a written constitution, where the purpose of the association is stated and from which it appears that the association is democratically structured.

Table 50.1 shows the density of civil society taken from a six-city investigation of local associations in six European nations (Maloney and Rossteutscher 2007:41).

It is no surprise that there is a relative high density in Aalborg (Denmark) and Enschede (the Netherlands) and a relative low density in Sabadell (Spain). What is surprising is the relative high density in Mannheim (Germany). There are, however, some special circumstances that may explain this (Maloney and Rossteutscher 2007). First and foremost, there is an overcapacity of church-based organizations in Mannheim as the population is evenly split between Protestants and Catholics.

The density in Aalborg is presumably representative for other Danish cities. A newer study from another region shows a similar result. This study also shows that the density is higher at the countryside than in the cities (Ibsen 2006). In smaller municipalities, there are twice as many associations per 1000 inhabitants than in cities such as Aalborg.

6. Factors influencing association prevalence rates

Research on voluntary association prevalence determinants has been performed for sets of territories at various levels of geographic scope – municipalities (Lincoln 1977; Smith 2011, 2013a; Soteri-Proctor and Alcock 2012; Walker and McCarthy 2010), counties (Grønbjerg and Paarlberg 2001; Rupasingha, Goetz,

and Freshwater 2006), US states (Gray and Lowery 2001; Lowery and Gray 1993, 1995; Smith and Baldwin 1990, 1983), and nations (Curtis, Baer, and Grabb 2001; Lecy 2010; Longhofer and Schofer 2010; Schofer and Longhofer 2011; Smith and Shen 2002). Putnam (1993, 2000) used measures of associational membership, which is not synonymous with associational prevalence, but does give a general national understanding of the strength of a country's associational life (see also Handbook Chapter 26).

Smith (1997a) discussed the incidence and prevalence of GAs over millennia, beginning with hunter-gatherer societies. He holds that increases in societal complexity over time have given rise to the need for associations to represent the wishes and desires of individuals. The process of urbanization, with the concomitant increases in education and communication–transportation systems, has allowed for a rapid expansion of GAs in the period after 1800. Whereas Putnam (2000) was unsure of the effects of the Internet on the ability of individuals to meaningfully associate, Smith sees great potential for further representation of individual needs.

Recently, Smith (2016b) has noted that the most important changes in global association prevalence can be described as four global associational revolutions (see above, Section B). Each of these revolutions has constituted marked increases in the numbers and prevalence of associations in the world and in specific societies, later in nations. The most basic causes of each associational revolution were substantial changes in the societal economic system. Hence, these four associational revolutions and the fundamental economic system changes that caused them have been the main determinants of, or influences on, association prevalence in the past 10 millennia of human history. Other factors affecting association prevalence have had their impacts within the context of these four global economic and associational revolutions.

Focusing on some of the lesser influences on association prevalence, while continuing to focus on the key economic system changes identified above, Smith has advanced and tested some alternative theoretical models of the determinants of association prevalence over the past four decades (Smith 1973, 2011, 2013a, 2015; Smith and Baldwin 1983, 1990; Smith and Shen 2002). The general model argued initially that association prevalence was a result of several factors, but Smith's (1973) first empirical test could only obtain national data on modernization variables, such as industrialization, urbanization, formal education, and mass communication systems. In keeping with Boulding's thesis about the organizational revolution accompanying the Industrial Revolution, Smith predicted and found that all of these interrelated modernization variables were positively correlated with a larger size of the associational sector in nations of the world. Publishing more recently the results of a study conducted in the 1960s, Smith (2013a) computed a series of bivariate correlations to test municipality-level versions of each of these factors, finding support

for all variables except a measure of municipal socio-economic status. Two studies with Baldwin (Smith and Baldwin 1983, 1990) using data on the 50 US states further tested Smith's developing model on all nonprofits and separately on a transnational-understanding associations' prevalence, also finding support for the model. The most recent model (Smith and Shen 2002), tested on many nations of the world, is described below. Casey (2016:chapters 2–4, 9) has recently discussed *the rise of the nonprofit sector*, mistakenly believing that rise to be recent, suggesting various factors causing the recent, rapid, global growth.

It would be incorrect to say that there is an unstoppable movement toward an associational *end of history* (Fukuyama 1992). While Fukuyama, using the Hegelian model of dialectic societal progress, envisioned forward progress toward liberal democracy worldwide, current events indicate that at best this process is halting. Scholars have shown that the associational life of China under Mao was significantly constrained as compared to the subsequent periods of reform since Mao's death in 1976 (Pei 1998; Smith with Zhao 2016; M. Wang 2011; S. Wang and He 2004). At the same time, one could argue that a vibrant associational subsector provides for contestation and representation of interests that can lead to the downfall of authoritarian regimes. It is unclear whether prevalence of associations leads to liberalism, or if liberalism leads to associations. In China today, an authoritarian Party-State dominates the national level of associations, but there is substantial (if incomplete) freedom of association at the local level, providing that GAs avoid challenging the Party-State (Hildebrandt 2013; Ma 2005; Smith with Zhao 2016; Teets 2014).

A separate literature that considers organization incidence–prevalence–exit is the set of organizational ecological theories, and in particular, the population ecology of organizations (e.g., Hannan and Carroll 1992; Hannan and Freeman 1986, 1987, 1993). Instead of seeking to explain variations in prevalence of associations across territories at a given time, such research and theory tries to explain variations in the numbers of associations (absolute prevalence) through time in a specific locality, often a nation or a state/province. These theories are constructed around the concept of biological systems: organisms exist to the extent that they have a source of sustenance in their local environments. Translated to associations, the latter exist where there are the financial, institutional, and human resources necessary for their sustenance (Baum and Oliver 1992). Models of population ecology help to identify fertile situations for organizational existence, as well as those situations that can lead to organizational demise.

Ecological models have been generally applied to American NPOs (Twombley 2003; Chambré and Fatt 2002), as well as to GAs (Maton, Leventhal, Madara, and Julien, 1989) and supra-local associations (Hannan and Freeman 1987). One outstanding example of such research was done by Bevan (2013), who

studied the survival of national associations in the United States from 1974 to 1999. He found that national association survival was fostered by a greater density (absolute prevalence) of associations existing just previously, by greater association group-level resources, by certain other group-level factors, and by more government attention to the group.

Curtis, Baer, and Grabb (2001) used multinational survey data of the World Values Survey for 33 democratic nations to explain association membership levels. They found four variables to be significant predictors in multivariate analyses, with various demographic variables controlled: the log of GDP, years of democracy, Protestant or Mixed Christian religion, and social or liberal democracy (as contrasted with Eastern European nations). This confirmed the earlier Smith hypothesis and added new variables. Such research fits better in Handbook Chapter 26, where volunteering or membership rates are the DV.

Smith and Shen (2002) used archival data on two larger panels of nations in 1977 (84 nations) and 1994 (107 nations), with the dependent variable being number of international association memberships of a nation. In both panels, they used Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression to explain 89% of the variance with seven variables (adjusted for statistical degrees of freedom). Two of the explanatory variables were the same as for the prior study by Curtis, Baer, and Grabb (2001), GDP and years of democracy. In addition, Smith and Shen found significant impacts on association prevalence of the population size, formal education as another modernization measure, permissive political control (civil liberties), the non-associational organizational field (number of intergovernmental organizations the nation belonged to), and aggregate resource mobilization (number of international association secretariats located in the nation). These additional variables had been added to the theory over the 25-year period since Smith's original research noted above, with empirical testing on other sets of territories.

The variable of social or liberal democracy in the Curtis, Baer, and Grabb (2001) study can be seen alternatively as tapping *permissive political control*, a significant variable in Smith and Shen (2002). That variable in the Curtis et al. study involved contrasting Western democracies with Eastern European nations that were recently and barely emerging from communist totalitarian systems (data collected in 1991–1993). Seen in this way, three of the four variables of the Curtis, Baer, and Grabb (2001) study were tested independently by Smith and Shen (2002), with similar positive and significant results. The Curtis et al. results also suggest that *the Smith model tested by Smith and Shen (2002) likely applies to association membership rates and volunteering rates, as well as to association and nonprofit organization prevalence*. In this sense, the Smith theory can be viewed as a general theory of nonprofit sector development or strength, but supplemented by a few new explanatory variables successfully added by Schofer and Longhofer (2011).

Schofer and Longhofer (2011) largely replicated the Smith and Shen (2002) multinational study of national association prevalence, but used better association data as a dependent variable (DV), and time series statistical analysis. Their association prevalence data came from a US directory of large, usually national, associations for 140+ contemporary nations. The multiple regression result explained about 73% of the variance in prevalence, confirming Smith and Shen's findings of the significance of GDP, education, civil liberties (measured as democracy), and time since independence. These authors also added some other variables, including the strength of the central government, which was also a statistically significant predictor of association prevalence.

7. Fostering future research on incidence, prevalence, and exit

The study of association incidence–prevalence–exit can be difficult, particularly for GAs that nearly always *fly under the radar* of typical directories as discussed above, as unnoticed (see Handbook Chapter 32). In addition to the problems of birth/origins, where groups often must grow and mature sufficiently to be counted, there is the problem of exit or death. In terms of formal organizations, particularly those with assets, typically there is a process for dissolving *dead* organizations and distributing the remaining assets. But, associations that are even captured in directories may disappear from those lists but not effectively be dead. Many associations exist with malleable, flexible structures that can change over time: names change, addresses change, and leadership changes. Each change can create problems of trying to capture whether a new association has been created or one has died. When GAs die, it is even more difficult to be sure of this.

Even if challenging, understanding the factors that drive the lifecycles of associations is essential (see Handbook Chapter 37). This is especially true for understanding what influences association incidence-prevalence-exit/death rates, which involve collective life cycles, in a sense. By developing models that are appropriate for the cultural and historical contexts that are so important to the modernization theory of association prevalence, scholars can begin to diagnose the factors that catalyze the growth of associational sub-sectors (purposive or analytical types of associations; see Handbook Chapter 3). The practical implication is that associations do not simply exist randomly, but are influenced by the environmental context that surrounds them. Diagnosing environmental structures/variations can lead to the policies and resources necessary for growing entire associational sectors or sub-sectors, particularly in parts of the world where they have previously been underdeveloped.

E. Usable knowledge

Where governments at any territorial level, but especially national governments, wish to foster greater associational prevalence, the findings of

this chapter have great relevance. National governments can usually promote greater association prevalence

- by fostering more formal education for more citizens,
- by increasing their GDP per capita,
- by increasing their population size,
- by expanding and protecting/enforcing civil liberties (especially freedoms of association and assembly; see Handbook Chapter 45),
- by funding a variety of decentralized infrastructure-support organizations to help associations get founded and grow strong (e.g., research centers at universities, training centers, certificate and degree programs at universities, and free or low-cost consulting centers),
- by providing buildings open to all kinds of association meetings at low or no cost all over the country,
- by eliminating any registration requirements for GAs, unless they become very large (e.g., 500+ dues-paying members, or annual revenues in excess of USD 25,000), and
- by providing small grant support to a wide variety of GAs, including grants to support routine operations of the group.

F. Future trends and needed research

The research reviewed in this chapter, plus global information regarding recent and projected future trends in the determinants of MA prevalence, clearly suggest that MA prevalence will gradually increase in future decades. The decline in association prevalence in the United States noted by Putnam (2000) has not been found in most other nations, according to many studies reviewed by Smith and Robinson (2017).

Much future research is thus needed on association incidence and exit rates, as contrasted with association prevalence rates across territories, for there is very little research on the former. For prevalence rates, the two key theories noted for studying national variations need to be adapted and tested at lower territorial levels more systematically – for states/provinces, municipalities, counties, and neighborhoods. Prior association prevalence research at all these levels of territorial scope needs to be inventoried systematically to see which predictors are consistently important at the various levels of scope. It may be possible to develop a general theory of association prevalence that works at all territorial levels of scope.

The fact that one theory can explain 89% of the variance among nations (Smith and Shen 2002) for many nations in 1977 and 1994 suggests that we are close to understanding rather completely prevalence rate variations among contemporary nations, but that study needs further replication with better association prevalence measures and more recent data. The Schofer and Longhofer

(2011) study, which found about 73% of the variance in association prevalence was explained (omitting the time-lagged dependent variable as a predictor), further confirms that conclusion with several variables from the Smith and Shen study and using a much better measure of association prevalence. However, the latter research needs to be extended to include other variables used by Smith and Shen. For even greater association prevalence variance to be explained, all the predictors in both studies need to be combined as a new, more comprehensive theory in a future study. We also need to know whether these models can also explain volunteering and charitable giving rates and the prevalence of nonprofit organizations more generally.

G. Cross-references

Chapters 26, 37, and 51

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Part VIII

Scope and Impacts of Volunteering and Associations

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Scope and Trends of Volunteering and Associations

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A. Introduction

This chapter has two themes: (1) the *scope* of formal and informal volunteering and of nonprofit, voluntary, membership associations (MAs) in the world, by which we mean the quantitative magnitudes of these phenomena at or near the present time, and (2) the long-term and recent (past few decades) *trends* in these magnitudes. Global data are used, when available, but we also report data for world regions and for specific nations when feasible. Besides such data, we also report on estimated magnitudes of association wealth and income, the economic value of volunteering, internal structures and processes of associations, participation rates in associations, and issues regarding computer mapping of data such as that presented in this chapter. Usable knowledge, future trends, and needed research are discussed.

The chapter presents an overview of the quantitative magnitudes (statistics) regarding the voluntary nonprofit sector (VNPS) in the world, with some attention to world regions and to specific nations, especially the various nations represented by the co-authors. The central foci are numbers of nonprofit, voluntary, MAs, and numbers of volunteers in associations and, to a lesser extent, in Volunteer Service Programs (VSPs). We attempt to give a current (or recent) picture, as well as quantitative trends where data permit. The chapter draws on various research documents, including some unpublished research reports, as well as estimates by the authors, based on extensive prior research. Global, world region, and national statistics on *nonprofit agencies* (Smith 2015b), as

contrasted with nonprofit associations (Smith 2015a), have been reported elsewhere (e.g., Heinrich 2007; Heinrich and Fioramonti 2008; Salamon et al. 1999; Salamon et al. 2004).

B. Definitions

The definitions of the Handbook Appendix are accepted here. We add that by *scope* we refer to the range of quantitative magnitudes of associations and volunteering in the nations of the world, world regions, and globally. By trends we mean long-term changes (over years or decades) in these quantitative magnitudes of associations and volunteering. The most crucial distinction to recall regarding volunteers is that between *informal volunteers* (INVs), who are active outside of any organized context or role (i.e., outside of any group, voluntary association, or VSP context), and *formal volunteers*.

Note that this chapter seeks mainly to *describe* both scope and trends, *not to explain* either. Handbook Chapter 26, by contrast, seeks to explain how macro-contexts, such as nations, affect volunteering. Handbook Chapter 50, also by contrast, seeks to *explain variations* in scope and trends of associations *across territories* (e.g., nations, states/provinces, counties, cities) at the same time and over time.

C. Historical background

The history of associations and volunteering is covered in Handbook Chapter 1, with the phenomena reaching back many millennia (e.g., Smith 1997b). Quantitative research on these phenomena is, by contrast, very recent, going back only to about the 1940s in the United States (cf. bibliographies in Layton 1987; Pugliesi 1986; C. Smith and Freedman 1972). See Handbook Chapter 50 for a review of the prevalence of associations in various levels of territories, both past and present. Handbook Chapters 32–34 also have many references to prior research on associations at the local, national, and transnational or international levels of territorial scope, often going back decades or more.

Regarding global trends in the scope/magnitude of nonprofit associations, by far the most important aspects are the *four global associational revolutions in human history* recently identified as such by Smith (2016). While evidence for all of these revolutions has existed for about 60 years, a coherent view of their nature, origin dates, and root causes has only been clear recently. Handbook Chapter 1 reviews relevant historical evidence, but only Handbook Chapter 50 (Section C, #2), on association prevalence, collates and states succinctly that evidence, based on Smith (2016). As noted in Handbook Chapter 50, the four associational revolutions can be indicated briefly as follows (quoted with permission from Smith 2016):

(a) The Original-Horticultural (O-H) Associational Revolution (about 10,000 years ago; Smith 1997b)

(b) The Agrarian and Urban (A-U) Associational Revolution (about 5,000 years ago, c. 3000 BC/BCE; Smith 1997b)

(c) The Industrialization-Modernization (I-M) Associational Revolution (about 1800 AD/CE; Smith 1972)

(d) The Service-Information-Technology (SIT) Associational Revolution (about 1950 AD/CE; Salamon 1994, 1995; Smith 2016).

D. Key issues

1. How many MAs as nonprofit groups now exist in the United States?

No one knows accurately how many nonprofit organizations (NPOs; also called *NGOs* or *voluntary organizations*) and nonprofit groups (NPGs) more generally exist currently in the world. *NPGs* is the broadest and most inclusive term, because it includes *informal* nonprofit groups (nearly all being grassroots associations (GAs); Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:117) as well as formalized NPOs, which by definition are *formal* groups, called *organizations* (Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:164–165). Small, local grassroots associations (GAs) are everywhere the most frequent examples of informal NPGs, but can also be formal groups (organizations), hence NPOs. Most people incorrectly use the term *NPOs* to include both formal and informal nonprofit groups, but we will follow the correct usage here, employing the term *Nonprofit Groups*, abbreviated as *NPGs*.

Many nations have registries to keep track of NPGs, but no study has collated all this data (much of which may not be shared publicly by the nations involved). At the very least, there are probably many tens of millions of NPGs in the world (Smith 2014). However, NPGs, especially as listed in national registries, are usually just a minority of all NPGs. This results from the fact that most NPGs are small, informal GAs. Such GAs rarely appear in national NPG registries, which mainly list the more formalized NPOs. (See sub-section 3 for *global* estimates of the numbers of associations and volunteers.)

Sometimes, commercial directories of national associations are relatively complete and reliable, after a time lag of a few years (Baumgartner 2005). Bevan, Baumgartner, Johnson, and McCarthy (2013) carefully analyzed the *Encyclopedia of Associations* directory and database in the United States over many years. The authors conclude that this directory/database is fairly accurate for research on national associations, once two systematic biases are taken into account. On average, it takes about four years for a new association to enter the database. Also, the database "systematically under represents small, understaffed, or ephemeral associations" (p. 1761). Similar research on national association directories in other nations would be useful.

Smith (2000:chapter 2) has shown that in the United States the more informal, usually small, often all-volunteer-operated/led GAs are likely to be five to ten times as frequent as the more formal, paid-staff NPOs (PSNPOs). Grønbjerg's research has confirmed this generally, as has other research (Grønbjerg and Paarlberg 2002; Grønbjerg et al. 2010; Toepler 2003). It is likely, but not clearly confirmed by adequate research, that other national registries of NPOs are similarly deficient and incomplete to varying degrees.

US NPOs not *have* to register with the US government Internal Revenue Service (IRS) if (a) they have an annual revenue of less than USD 5,000 at present (lower income thresholds existed in earlier time periods), (b) if they are religious in their goals, or (c) if they are polymorphic affiliates of some larger tax-exempt (state, regional, or national) entity that has a US tax exemption. Therefore, most GAs are unlikely even to register with the IRS at all (even though *some* GAs seem to be registered). Also, many GAs with annual revenues in excess of USD 5,000 are unaware that they are required to register with the IRS. The magnitude of this invisible, *dark matter* (Smith 1997c) of small, unknown GAs is probably far greater than what Hodgkinson et al. (1992:185) suggest. They do not mention all the non-charitable, IRS-registered nonprofits, nor the millions of GAs that are mainly *un*registered with the IRS and that constitute the core *dark matter* (unseen, uncounted, unlisted, and unregistered NPGs). An alternative term for them is *below the radar* NPGs (see Handbook Chapter 32).

Clark (1937:12) noted long ago that statistics on the numbers of small and GA churches or new religions were probably inaccurate undercounts as kept by organizations interested in an overview of American religions. Much more recently, Bowen et al. (1994:chapter 1) concluded that many smaller nonprofits are unlisted with the IRS in America or may have dissolved while still on the IRS list. These authors ignore the potentially large numbers of new GAs that may have formed in the meantime, perhaps more than replacing losses of GA numbers through dissolution. GAs tend to have brief life spans, and new GA generations tend to come into existence quickly, thus keeping this *GA form* alive in all contemporary societies.

Further, it is extremely important for *round earth mapping* (suggested by Smith 2000:chapter 10) that some scholars have shown recently that the US IRS nonprofit records are very incomplete even for paid-staff nonprofits (PSNPOs). Grønbjerg's (1994) article on NTEE problems discusses the *in*adequacy of the IRS nonprofits list as a map of the NPS in the Chicago metropolitan area as one important example. Focusing mainly on PSNPOs, she compared IRS listings with the composite list from her own census, based mainly on overlapping metropolitan and state lists. Some 57% of her final census list of Chicago area PSNPOs was *missing* from the IRS listing of nonprofits. Dale (1993:187) reports on a study of nonprofits in New York City that finds similarly large

discrepancies between the IRS listing of nonprofits and independently derived listings from comparison of local, metropolitan, and state lists.

There are various reasons for these IRS list omissions, but most significant is Grønbjerg's (1994:312) statement that *non*-IRS-listed organizations tend to be "operated by churches and therefore not required to file independently; ... too small to meet the minimum revenue criteria for registering or filing; or they are too new [thus young] to have filed the necessary paperwork." The overall result is that her work (see also Grønbjerg 1989; Grønbjerg et al. 2010) and that of a few other scholars even call seriously into question the IRS data regarding PSNPOs, GA omissions aside. If the IRS cannot even list fairly completely the larger *bright* or visible entities in the VNPS, namely the paid-staff NPOs, we cannot reasonably expect accuracy regarding the core *dark matter*, the mainly unregistered GAs.

This failure of the IRS to list NPGs completely mainly results from the IRS' basic purposes, which make it more interested in larger organizations with more revenues to keep track of and, at times, to tax. Nonprofit listings by the IRS are a very tiny sidelight in the total scope of IRS activities. It is far more interested in knowing about households or businesses, because their revenues or profits tend to be taxable. With NPGs, which are nearly all tax exempt to one degree or another, the IRS interest is almost *academic* at best. Therefore, no scholar or societal leader should ever trust these IRS figures as being complete, unless and until the IRS makes major changes in its NPG data collection methods. Paid-staff nonprofit data are perhaps 50% complete, as noted above, and GA data are likely only 10%–15% complete in the IRS listings (see Smith 2000: Chapter 2). For more complete data on all NPGs, we must gather better data by direct sampling of communities and their resident organizations, using methods such as those suggested by Smith (2000: Appendix 1) and by Grønbjerg (1989, 1994) and Dale (1993).

A further implication is that even the paid-staff NPG maps that previously came out of Independent Sector in the *Nonprofit Almanac* (e.g., Hodgkinson and Weitzman 1996; Hodgkinson et al. 1992) and that now come out of the Urban Institute (Wing et al. 2008) are thus seriously misleading, omitting large chunks of the paid-staff nonprofits in those metropolitan areas that have been more carefully studied and probably in most of the United States (which is about 3/4 urban). These documents are not only *flat earth maps* of the VNPS by lacking most GAs, but they even leave out half of the PSNPOs of the *flatland*. The paid-staff NPG maps that exist are thus a biased sample even of these larger, more visible NPGs let alone of the whole VNPS. Some scholars, such as Bowen et al. (1994:16), have defined *charitable nonprofits* so narrowly that they end up studying only about 10% of the IRS-listed nonprofits, or 1% of the total of US nonprofits (given IRS undercounting noted above). This is like a flat earth

physical map of one *county* in England 500 years ago being presented as a good overview of the *known world*.

How can we fix this mapping problem, creating a *round earth map* of the VNPS? In addition to the implications of the research of Dale (1993), Grønbjerg (1989, 1994), and Toepler (2003), community research by Smith (2011, 2013a) suggests that IRS listings include at most 10%–20% of GAs. In the book *Grassroots Associations* (Smith 2000:chapter 2), there were four initial estimates of the circa-1990 numbers of all GAs in America. Each approach is independent of the others, being based on separate computations and data. All point to several millions of GAs in the United States, likely at least 10 million at present.

Studying eight towns and cities in Massachusetts in the late 1960s, Smith (2011, 2013a) directed the performance of a census of GAs for each one from a variety of sources, including fieldwork and using local newspapers as sources. The communities varied by purposive sampling in terms of GA prevalence, socio-economic status, and population size, although all were under 100,000 in population. The final census of GAs was about 500% greater than the picture given by the statehouse records of incorporated associations, eliminating non-associations (i.e., nonprofit agencies) as coder judgments. Thus, only about 17% of the GAs actually found to exist in the eight communities were formally incorporated, hence in the Massachusetts statehouse nonprofit corporation records. IRS records are even less inclusive, since few GAs are required to register with the IRS. Hence, 17% may be taken tentatively as a rough upper limit estimate of GAs present in IRS records.

In the United States, there were about 30 GAs per 1000 population circa 1990, according to the research of Smith (2000:43) and many other studies cited there. At an estimated population of about 310,000,000 circa 2010, there were likely about 9,300,000 GAs in the *United States*. In addition, there were likely to be an additional 15% of this latter number that were NPOs with paid staff, mainly nonprofit agencies (voluntary agencies, or *VolAgs*; Smith 2015b) and larger supra-local associations. Hence, there were an estimated 10.7 million NPGs in total in the United States circa 2010, with only a small proportion registered with the IRS.

2. Snapshots of MA frequencies and trends in other countries and regions

(a) Armenia

The Armenian nonprofit sector came into existence during the last years of Soviet Union and grew rapidly after its breakup. Two trends in the accumulation of data regarding voluntary associations can be observed since then: data collected by the state agencies and data accumulated by the donor community. Voluntary associations (called *public organizations* in Armenian) are required to register with the Ministry of Justice, and, subsequently, with the tax authorities and the State Social Fund. These state registration data are the main official

source of information on Armenian NPOs; however, it is very unreliable. Many NPGs and most of GAs operate without formal registration. On the other hand, since there are no follow-up procedures to the official registration with the Ministry of Justice, registered associations that cease to operate often remain on the state registry list for many years (Aslanyan et al. 2007; Babajanian 2008; Ishkanian 2003).

Blue et al. (2004) estimated that 500 formal and 200 informal associations were operating in Armenia in 2001. In 2011 there were 3,749 officially registered public associations, of which only 20% are estimated to be active (USAID 2012). If we assume that the ratio of formal to informal associations remains the same as in 2001, we can estimate that there are 300 informal associations in addition to a total of about 1000 NPGs active in the country of some three million population. Thus, the ratio of NPG per thousand population is 0.3 (much lower than the numbers for the United States or China reported above), assuming the foregoing estimates are accurate.

In Armenia, 22% of the population reported "doing volunteer work without expecting compensation during the past six months." The numbers are similar for Azerbaijan (18%) and Georgia (17%) (Caucasus Research Resource Centers 2011).

(b) Bhutan

There are few (or perhaps no) quantitative data on associations or volunteering in Bhutan, the mainly agricultural, high-altitude, small nation in the Himalayas north of India. Our co-author from there reports from her personal experience and knowledge that formal volunteering and also MAs are quite under-developed and infrequent there. While there are some well-known non-profit agencies, there are few well-known national associations. One of the latter is RENEW – Respect Empower Nurture Educate Women.

(c) Bulgaria

With a recent population size of 6,924,716 (2014), GDP per capita (PPP) of USD 14,400, and a Human Development Index of 57, Bulgaria has almost 38,000 civil society organizations (CSOs, including associations), most of which are active in the areas of social services, education, and culture (USAID 2014). The number of advocacy CSOs in Bulgaria is comparatively insignificant: 2% to 3%, going up to 5% of the sector. Only around 4,000–5,000 of the CSOs are considered somewhat active, with 1,000 estimated to be permanently engaged in activity (Kabakchieva and Kurzydlowski 2012).

CSOs register in courts in a relatively easy and affordable manner. They are exempt from taxation on their income from nonprofit activities. Corporate donors can deduct up to 10% of their profits for donations to public benefit organizations, while individuals can deduct up to 5% of their annual incomes for such donations. The profit from CSOs' economic activity is taxed at the

same rate as that of businesses. CSOs can compete for public procurements, but only some organizations representing disabled people receive special incentives or preferences in the tender process (USAID 2014).

Bulgarian society is considered as fragmented, with very low trust to the others as well as to the institutions: 81.5% of the population has not participated in any organization, and 86.9% has not participated in any voluntary activities. As a whole, CSOs are considered as not embedded, closely related to the state, project oriented, and donor driven (Kabakchieva and Kurzydlowski 2012). However, a growing number of people (68%) are willing to volunteer in Bulgaria recently (USAID 2014).

(d) China

China presents a similar picture to the United States in terms of the sheer numbers of GAs, though not in the density of GAs per thousand of population, which is much lower in China (Smith with Zhao 2016). There are estimated to be many *millions* of unregistered *grassroots* NPOs now in China (Chen and Du 2011; Wang and Liu 2009:13, 29; Wang and Sun 2010:156, 173; Yu 2008). For instance, Yu (2008:19) estimated that there were at least 8,000,000 NPOs in China in the year 2007, most of them being unregistered GAs, termed *unregistered social organizations*. Z. Wang (2011) estimated there were at least 10,000,000 NPOs in China in 2011, again most of them unregistered. Such NPOs may usefully be termed *Unofficial Social Organizations* or *USOs*, following Zhao (2001:133). These USOs are the unseen *dark matter* of the VNPS in China, analogous to the unseen dark matter of the astrophysical universe that is far more massive than the stars, planets, and other bright matter that is visible to unaided human eyes and via telescopes (Panek 2011:xv; Smith 2000:12, who invented this metaphor). The estimate by M. Wang and Liu (2009:29) of about 90% unregistered USOs in China is nearly the same as the estimate by Smith of unregistered GAs for the United States in about 1990 (2000:42).

In sum, although the estimates are much less reliable than for the United States, China now probably has the second-largest VNPS in the world in terms of numbers of NPGs, mostly GAs – about 8,000,000 to 10,000,000 NPGs (say, 9 million), including about 460,000 registered NPOs (Smith with Zhao 2016). Taking a current population estimate of 1.34 billion in China, there seem to be about 6.7 NPGs per thousand of population in China (roughly 7 per thousand, using a 9 million estimated total of NPGs), as contrasted with about 30 NPGs per thousand of population in the United States.

(e) Czech Republic

The Czech Republic, similar to the experience of other Eastern European countries transitioning to democracy, has experienced a tremendous growth of associations (Vajdová 2005). Mass mobilization occurred in 1989, which led

to the creation of a new set of civil-society associations (e.g., Civic Forum and Public Against Violence in Czechoslovakia). Legislation allowing freedom of association was among the first to be adopted or changed (in Hungary and Poland already at the end of 1980s, in Czechoslovakia in 1990), providing for a boom of associations in all Visegrad countries (Vajdová 2005:36). Although the number of associations rocketed, the number of memberships declined (Howard 2003). According to Fric et al. (1998), there were in Czechoslovakia 19 million memberships reported in a country of 15 million in 1984; in contemporary surveys, about 47% of Czech citizens over 18 years old claim membership in NPOs, half of them in more than one organization (Vajdová 2005).

There is a similar number of NPOs in both the Czech Republic and Hungary: 74,860 in 2009 in Hungary; 75,175 in 2007 in the Czech Republic (Skovajsa et al. 2010:115). But the share of associations as an incorporated legal entity is very different: 54% in Hungary and 88% in the Czech Republic. Zimmer (2004) discusses civil society and NPOs more generally in Central and Eastern Europe.

(f) Denmark

For the Scandinavian countries it is difficult to distinguish monomorphic GAs (unique, single, unrelated groups) from polymorphic associations with a linkage to a high-level parent association (Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006). Monomorphic GAs are rare; thus, most GAs are polymorphic. In fact, it is a characteristic feature of Scandinavia that small informal groups, if they survive as GAs, adopt a formal structure of organization, for instance a written constitution, a yearly assembly, an elected board, and so on. This seems also to apply for other European countries (Torpe and Ferrer-Fons 2007). An obvious reason in Denmark is that every association is entitled to public grants, for example a place to meet, as soon as they can present a written constitution, where the purpose of the association is stated and from which it appears that the association is democratically structured.

(g) Fiji Islands (Republic of Fiji)

The missionary and colonial encounter shaped the emergence and development of formal (especially religious and welfare) organizations in Fiji (Khan et al. 2007). Today, there are many formal and informal NPOs in Fiji that largely reflect the multi-ethnic and racial composition of the country. The *iTaukei* (indigenous Fijians), Indo-Fijians, Chinese-Fijians, European-Fijians, and other significant racial/ethnic/national minorities have associations to serve their needs. The predominant nonprofit associations are religious-based, trade unions, educational groups (over 99% of primary and secondary schools are NPOs), and sports organizations (Khan et al. 2007).

But no study has so far quantified the number of NPOs in Fiji. Even the Fiji Bureau of Statistics, tasked with collecting such data regularly through the Statistics on Non-Profit Organizations survey to feed into national accounts since 2008, does not have the data. Secondly, registration regimes in Fiji fall under several Acts of parliament or decrees – Charitable Trust Act (Cap 67); Religious Bodies Registration Act. (Cap 68); Business Licensing Act (Cap 204); Friendly Societies Act (Cap 253); Registration of Clubs Act (Cap 194); Co-operative Societies Act (Cap 250); and Social Justice Act (2001). The lack of a one-stop source of data for registered NPOs makes record keeping and retrieval a daunting task. Further, while all formal NPOs are required to register with the Fiji Revenue and Customs Authority (under the Income Tax Act), especially if their operations have annual revenues of beyond FJD 100,000, such data, as observed in the US case above, miss many NPOs, most of which are small, GAs, and operating under the radar of revenue authorities.

With regard to density of membership and citizen participation in associations, a CIVICUS-led study estimated that 50% of adult Fijians are members of an association (mainly religious), while a further 66% were involved in voluntary work of some sort (Khan et al. 2007). While most volunteering is informal, as in nearly all nations, a new trend of formal volunteering has been growing in strength, aided by corporate sponsorships and the establishment of the Fiji Council of Social Services-run National Volunteer Center in 2009. This trend has provided opportunities, especially for young Fijians, to participate more in formal volunteer schemes (Vakaoti 2012). Nonetheless, trends in associations and volunteering in Fiji are highly under-researched.

(h) Kuwait and other Arab nations

Abu-Rumman (2014) was involved in the World Values Survey (WVS), Wave 6, with specific responsibility for the WVS survey in Kuwait. The WVS general interview item about association participation presented a list of eight types of associations to the respondent and asked the latter to indicate any in which he or she was a member and whether participation was active or not. For all 13 Arab nations studied in Wave 6 of the WVS except Bahrain, less than 20% of respondents were members (the Bahrainis were at 25%). Nine of the 13 nations had membership levels at 11% or less, and five were below 5% (see Figure 51.1).

Bahrain also had the highest percentage of active members of associations, followed by Lebanon, Qatar, and Kuwait. The percentages of active members for these four Arab nations were 25%, 19%, 17%, and 16%, respectively. The most frequent goal types of associations for the combined memberships of all Arab nations studied were sport and recreation (17%), humanitarian or charitable (15%), religious (15%), professional (13%), and art, music, or educational associations (13%). Least frequent were memberships in environmental (9%), consumer (8%), and self-help (8%) associations (see Figure 51.2).
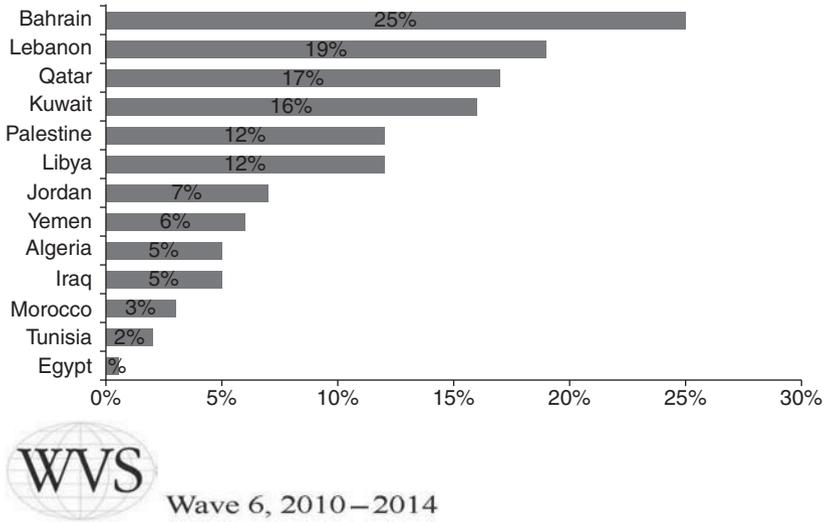
Figure 51.1 Total of Arab nonprofit organization membership by country

In Kuwait specifically, the distribution of memberships among the eight types of associations is presented in Figure 51.2. The top four types of associations are the same as for all the Arab nations studied, but the order shifts somewhat. Environmental and self-help associations had the lowest frequencies of memberships in Kuwait.

(i) Nordic countries

The total number of NPOs in the three countries is roughly estimated to be 200,000 in Sweden; 100,000 in Finland; and 100,000 in Norway (Henriksen and Ibsen 2001:53). The civil sector is continually changing its contents, related to size, organizational forms, strengths and weaknesses. Nearly all types of organizations in Norway are declining in memberships and formal activities like members' meetings and board meetings. Only GAs with a neighborhood focus and sports clubs increase their memberships and activities. In many established organizations the number of memberships and local groups is declining. Memberships are more frequently terminated, and people involve themselves in organizational activities without being members of the actual organization. The number of member-less organizations and foundations (trusts) is increasing, while the number of GAs is stagnating (Christensen, Strømsnes, and Wollebæk 2011:17). Members are more passive, and an increasing number of inhabitants remain outside the organizations (Christensen, Strømsnes, and Wollebæk 2011:9). Torpe (2003) writes about Denmark: "the member-based organization is under pressure ... It has become more difficult for associations to recruit members and to continue to base their activities on volunteering."
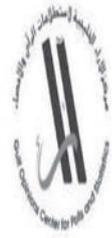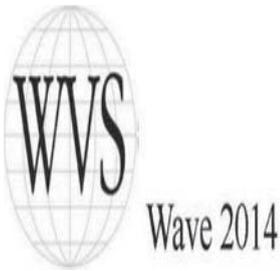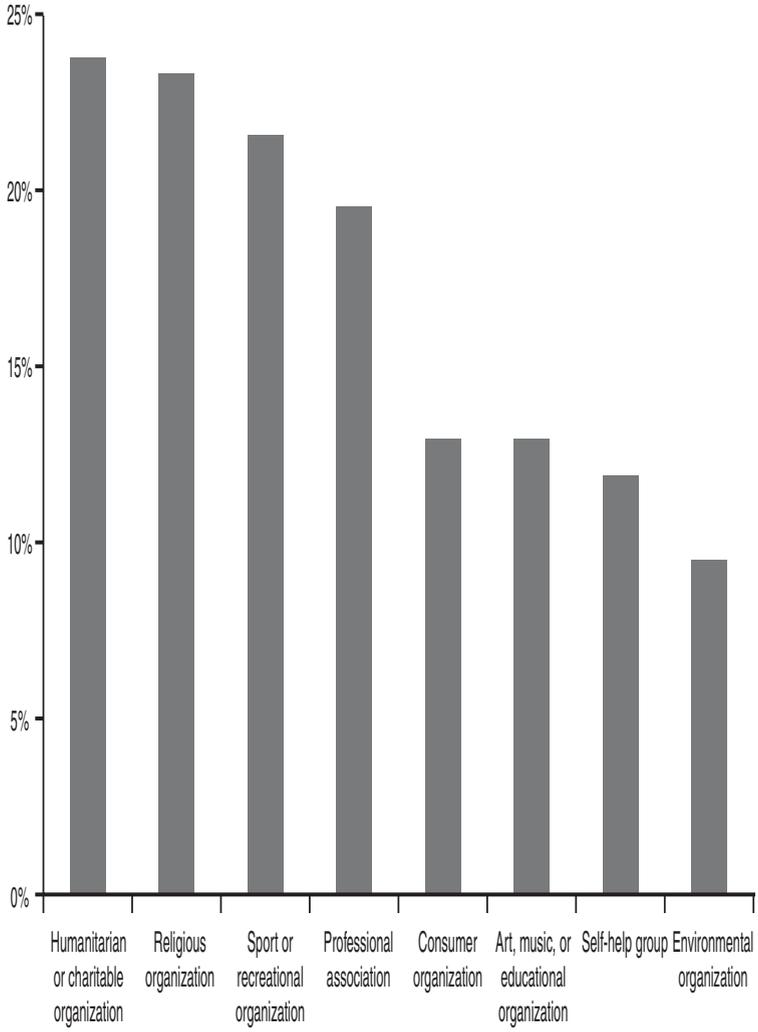
Figure 51.2 Kuwaiti memberships in NPO organizations

While the civil sector in the Nordic countries in many respects traditionally has had similar organizational features, Norway and Sweden now seem to have a development in different directions (Christensen, Strømsnes, and Wollebæk 2011:9; see also Lundstrom and Svedberg 2003). The altruistic and philanthropic perspectives of the organizations have diminished since the 1960s, while the concentration of members' benefits has become more obvious (Christensen, Strømsnes, and Wollebæk 2011:10). Norwegian GAs traditionally were organized in three levels: local, regional, and national. The regional level has been considerably weakened in recent years, and there is a more obvious split between the local and national level (Christensen, Strømsnes, and Wollebæk 2011:47; Wollebæk and Selle 2002:108).

(j) Pakistan

Pakistan today has a large number of NGOs working in different sectors, many of them being MAs. According to a 2002 study by Pasha et al., the total number of registered NGOs in Pakistan was estimated to be over 56,000. The study further concluded that there is a strong influence of religious faith in the shaping of the voluntary sector in Pakistan. Faith-based organizations (FBOs), especially Madrasahs[1] for imparting religious education, accounted for about 30% of the total registered NGOs (Pasha et al. 2002). Another 18% of registered NGOs are estimated to be involved in advocacy. About 8% of such NGOs are involved in the education sector and around 4.5% are associated with the health sector (ibid.).

A recent report by Naviwala (2010) states that the total number of registered and unregistered NGOs in Pakistan is over 100,000, with most of them being associations. However, only a small fraction of these NGOs can be regarded as well organized, sustainable, and effective.

(k) Switzerland

In Switzerland, civil society and voluntary associations have a long history and continue to be strong and active. Much of the political system is still dependent on voluntary action and associations. About 25% of the population above 15 years old is engaged in formal volunteering, while about 30% is active in informal volunteering (Stadelmann-Steffen et al. 2010). Intermediate organizations, like *Benevol*, actively promote volunteering and match interested persons with associations and other NPOs. The most common organizational form where formal volunteering takes place is the association (von Schnurbein and Bethmann 2010). In Switzerland, only two people are needed to found an association. If the association does not have any commercial interest (i.e., seek a profit), it does not need to list itself with any national register. Careful estimations count around 76,000 associations (Helmig et al. 2010:157). Within Switzerland, the density and scope of voluntary associations differ significantly between the

German- and the French-speaking parts of the country. Formal volunteering is estimated to be around 17% higher in the German-speaking part, as in western Switzerland (Stadelmann-Steffen et al. 2010:124).

(l) Six-nation European data on GAs for selected cities

Table 51.1 reporting the density of civil society is taken from a six-city/six-nation investigation of local associations in Europe. The GA density in Aalborg is presumably representative for other Danish cities. A newer study from another region shows a similar result. This study also shows that the density is higher in smaller towns or rural areas than in the cities (Ibsen 2006). In smaller municipalities, there are twice as many associations per 1000 inhabitants than in cities such as Aalborg. This finding confirms the many studies of GA density in the United States reviewed in Smith (2000:36–45), which showed generally much higher GA densities in smaller towns and rural areas.

3. Global estimates of numbers of MAs and volunteers

The global association density estimation procedure used by Smith here is based on his estimate that there are about 7 GAs per 1,000 of population on average in the nations of the world, population-weighted (Smith 2014). The data in Table 51.1 here roughly support this estimate by showing that the density of GAs in six cities in six post-modern, post-industrial nations of Europe seems to average about 10 GAs per 1,000 population when weighted. As expected, this rough average is higher than the estimated global average of 7, because more GA density is to be expected, both theoretically and empirically, to be higher in post-modern, post-industrial, highly educated, wealthier, and more democratic nations (Smith and Shen 2002; Schofer and Longhofer 2011).

Smith (2000:36–45) reviewed many studies that suggested the density in the United States was about 30 GAs per 1,000 of population circa 1990, and likely had been that way for decades. The estimated density of associations, especially GAs, in China recently is about 7 per 1,000 of population (see chapter section D,

Table 51.1   The relative density of GAs in six cities

	Number of GAs	Number of inhabitants	GAs per inhabitant	GAs per 1,000 population
Aalborg, Denmark	2.031	161.661	1 per 80	12.6
Aberdeen, United Kingdom	1.907	212.650	1 per 112	8.9
Bern, Switzerland	1.198	122.537	1 per 102	9.7
Enschede, Netherlands	1.658	150.499	1 per 91	11.0
Mannheim, Germany	5.002	319.444	1 per 61	15.6
Sabadell, Spain	1.129	185.270	1 per 164	6.1

#2, d above). Estimated GA density varies in other nations (Smith 2000:40), but roughly confirms average densities in the 1–10 GAs per thousand of population range. Most studies in cities with a population of 50,000 or larger have not been thorough about counting and estimating numbers of GAs, using inadequate methodology. Hence, their estimates of the total of GAs present tend to be significantly low, often substantially low.

Given all of the foregoing, Smith (2014) concluded that an estimate of 7 GAs per thousand of population globally was the most likely figure. At the very least, *this estimate is likely of the correct order of magnitude, based on all available data and on methodological shortcomings of all lower estimates* (i.e., the rarity of use of hypernetwork sampling; McPherson 1982). Thus, it is very likely that the correct number for GA density is between 0.7 and 70 per thousand population, with the highest probability of the figure being between 7 plus or minus 4 (i.e., from 3 to 11 GAs per thousand of population). Identifying/discovering the correct order of magnitude of a given phenomenon of interest is perhaps the most basic, empirical aspect of the physical and biological sciences. *To have identified the correct order of magnitude for GA density in human society worldwide is thus a substantial achievement*, the work of many researchers in many societies over many decades.

Based on the estimated 2013 global population of about 7 billion, and the estimated global prevalence of seven GAs per thousand population, Smith (2014) estimated that *there were about 56 million NPGs worldwide circa 2013, including nonprofit agencies. Of these, about 49 million (roughly 90%) are GAs*. Some 7 million additional NPGs are PSNPOs, mainly nonprofit agencies (including foundations), but also some large nonprofit associations. An estimated one billion people now are members of one or more associations, and even more will be members sometime during their lifetime. If more accurate world population figures are used, or figures for a more recent year, calculations can be redone using the 7/1000 prevalence rate.

The population-weighted percentage of adults (aged 15 years or more) in the world who were volunteering for an organization in 2010 was 16%, according to Gavelin and Svedberg (2011). For this same year, approximately, the adult population of the world was about 74% of the total population, or about 5.2 billion (taking the world population as about 7.0 billion; CIA, 2014). The 74% figure for adults varies with the level of GDP per capita or modernization, as developing nations tend to have a significantly larger percentage of children and youth. Also, some post-modern nations (e.g., Japan) have an unusually high percentage of people over the age of 65.

Given that population-weighted average of 16% of the adult population involved in formal volunteering, as estimated above, this approach provides an estimate of 829,000,000 formal volunteers. The vast majority of these were probably association volunteers, not volunteers in VSPs, but we do not know

the actual percentage (see Handbook Chapter 15). Too many researchers fail to identify and measure distinctively association volunteers versus VSP volunteers, as was a problem with various US surveys of giving and volunteering by independent sector (e.g., Kirsch et al. 1999).

If we assume all of these are association volunteers, we may divide the 829 million association volunteers by the estimated 49 million GAs. We obtain as a result about 16.9 volunteers per GA. There are nearly always inactive members of a GA, so the total number of members of GAs on average must be higher than the 16.9 active members (volunteers), probably in the range of 20–30 members in total. This range includes the number of members per GA (N = 23) obtained independently by McPherson (1983) in his extensive research on associations (mainly GAs) in 10 US cities and towns of different sizes. This congruence of different estimates lends significant credibility to the estimates of numbers of volunteers and of GAs in the world.

Salamon, Sokolowski, and Haddock (2011) estimated from their own (Johns Hopkins Project comparative multi-national) research by extrapolation that there are about 971 million volunteers worldwide, including both formal and informal volunteers. This is likely to be a substantial underestimate, because nearly all socialized humans do some *informal* volunteering in any given year. But the authors also estimated that 2/3 of these volunteers were informal volunteers, indicating about 324 million formal volunteers. This estimate is likely quite *not* correct and very low, given the independent estimate of 829 million formal volunteers derived by Smith, as above. The low estimate likely results from the Johns Hopkins Project failing to properly measure association volunteering in its many national studies of the nonprofit sector.

4. How much wealth and how much income per year do MAs have globally?

We know little about the wealth (assets, such as real estate/buildings, moveable property/equipment, cash on hand, money in the bank, financial instruments – stocks, bonds, and money market accounts) or annual income of NPGs for most nations and for the world as a whole. However, based on research in about 40 nations, Salamon et al. (2004) have estimated that NPOs generally (focusing mainly on nonprofit *agencies*, *not associations*) have cumulative budgets amounting to 2% to 10% of the GDP of their respective nations. Boje (2008) reported that in the four Scandinavian nations of Denmark, Finland, Sweden, and Finland, the income of NPGs was from 3.8% to 7.4% of GDP. Less developed nations of the Global South have lower percentages of cumulative NPG budgets/income as a percentage of GDP. The most modern/post-modern, post-industrial, service-information nations are at the upper end of this range. In general, the NPGs of the VNPS seem to account for an average of about 6% of GDP of their own nation.

What seems likely from fragmentary data in the United States is that the wealthiest NPOs on average are nonprofit agencies, not associations, especially private foundations. However, NPO hospitals and universities as well as very large MAs can also be quite wealthy. The income figures available for a few nations tend to suggest that universities and hospitals are highest on economic measures, along with certain very large associations.

Data in some nations (United States, United Kingdom, Israel, Australia, Canada) also suggest that there is much concentration of wealth and income among NPGs: A small proportion, perhaps 10%, of NPGs is likely to own the majority of assets and have the majority of income. For example, in the United States, NPGs below the 90th percentile had USD 166 billion in assets (circa 2010), while those at or above have USD 2.177 trillion (National Center for Charitable Statistics 2013).

In general, GAs tend to be poor in both assets and income. However, GAs are massive in numbers and rich in volunteer time, which has clear economic value. When the economic value of volunteer time is imputed/estimated, then GAs as a whole in all nations are much higher in income. But volunteer time cannot be stored or accumulated, unlike money or physical assets, so the wealth/assets of GAs remains quite small even when economic value is imputed to volunteer time.

Associations have cumulative global incomes and assets in the hundreds of billions of US dollars. Many associations strongly support the economic systems and economic development in their own nations and globally, such as occupational-economic associations. Examples are labor unions, farmers associations, professional associations, and scientific societies, with individual members, but also trade associations with business firms as organizational members (see Handbook Chapter 19).

5. How many informal and formal volunteers are there in the world?

(a) Numbers of informal volunteers

Gavelin and Svedberg (2011) estimated the scope and magnitude of volunteering in the world, based on a Gallup World Poll in 2010, as part of the UN Volunteers' 2011 State of the World's Volunteerism Project (see Leigh, Smith et al. 2011). That poll studied representative samples of about 1,000 adults in 153 nations of the world, which contained about 95% of the world's total population.

Taking account of the population of each nation, they found *a population-weighted global average of 39% of the adult population who do informal volunteering for the 153 countries studied*. The Gallup data on INV is based on a single question about *helping a stranger in the past month*, which greatly underestimates INV. Most INV is done for friends, neighbors, co-workers, and extended family, *not*

Table 51.2 Average informal volunteering by world region (2010)

65% North America
64% Pacific
51% Africa
48% Middle East and Northern Africa
47% Latin America and Caribbean
45% Western Europe
41% Asia (Southeast)
35% Eastern Europe and Russian Federation
30% Asia (East)
29% Asia (South)

Note: Interview item asks about "helping a stranger" in the past month, ignoring more frequent helping of people who are known.
Source: Gavelin and Svedberg (2011:71–73).

for strangers (Amato 1990). The rank order of population-weighted average (mean) INV by world regions is presented in Table 51.2.

Using the European Social Survey (2002), there is fairly wide variation in INV among European nations, ranging from a low of 17% of people in Greece who report helping *others daily or several times weekly* to a high of 51% in Austria. Countries in central Western Europe (Austria, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Germany) tend to be highest in INV of the nations studied (see Table 51.3). By contrast, some nations in Southern and Eastern Europe (Greece, Portugal, Spain, Poland, the Czech Republic) tend to be lowest in average INV, but *not all* nations in these sub-regions. Slovenia is unusually high in average INV, being just higher than Denmark and the United Kingdom. Finland is unusually low in average INV among Northern European nations, being tied with Spain.

These results are roughly similar to the data reported by Gavelin and Svedberg (2011), but use a much more adequate interview item. Unlike the Gallup World Poll, the INV question in the European Social Survey is much broader than simply helping strangers.

(b) Numbers of formal non-stipended volunteers

Here are the results for Formal Non-Stipended Volunteers (FNVs) – volunteering without any remuneration done as part of a group or organization, either in a membership association or as part of a VSP in an NPO, government agency, or for-profit business, especially hospitals (see Handbook Chapters10 and 11 regarding stipended volunteering). From here on, we will *only* refer to FNVs and to Formal Non-Stipended Volunteering when we refer to formal volunteers or formal volunteering in this chapter.

Based on the 2010 Gallup World Poll (Gavelin and Swedberg 2011:32), *the population-weighted global average of adults who did formal volunteering is 16%.*

Table 51.3 Percentage informal volunteering in Europe (2002)

	Help others daily or several times weekly	Help others monthly	Help others rarely or never
Austria	51	30	19
Belgium	39	33	29
Switzerland	47	37	16
Czech Republic	19	21	60
Germany	45	33	22
Denmark	37	35	28
Spain	22	23	56
Finland	22	32	46
United Kingdom	37	24	39
Greece	17	38	45
Hungary	30	31	39
Ireland	35	23	42
Italy	25	19	56
Luxembourg	31	27	42
Netherlands	46	30	24
Norway	31	34	36
Poland	20	32	48
Portugal	20	47	33
Sweden	36	31	33
Slovenia	38	36	26

Note: Interview item asks about "How often, if at all, do you actively provide help for other people?"
Source: European Social Survey (2002).

The rank order of population-weighted average FNV by world regions is given in Table 51.4 note that the South Asia is mostly the effect of India, while East Asia is mostly the effect of China, given their huge populations).

There is great variation in FNV across world regions, ranging from an average of 6% in Asia (East) to 42% in North America. Perhaps the most striking result is the low levels of FNV in the Middle East and North Africa, yet the robust levels of INV. The caveat is that the Gallup World Poll measures of both INV and FNV are very limited, being based on only one question each, without the usual prompts to respondents that elicit a more expansive and accurate view of either.

The World Values Survey (2004) has also tracked FNV, breaking it down by three purposive-activity types of associations for which one is volunteering (Table 51.5).

Twenty-eight countries were represented in the 2000–2004 Wave, but the question has not been replicated in successive instruments. One can see from the data that there is also a large variation across world regions in rates of FNV. Most striking is the very high level of volunteering for church

Table 51.4   Average formal volunteering by world region (2010)

42% North America
39% Pacific
27% Asia (Southeast)
24% Africa
24% Western Europe
17% Eastern Europe and Russian Federation
16% Latin America and Caribbean
12% Asia (South)
9% Middle East and North Africa
6% Asia (East)

Note: Interview item asks about having "volunteered your time to an organization" in the past month.
Source: Gavelin and Svedberg (2011:30–32).

Table 51.5   Percent of population on average volunteering (type) by world region (2004)

	Church org	**Sports or recreation**	**Cultural activities**
Asia	15.7	11.2	10.9
Africa	41.1	16.9	13.0
Australia	–	–	–
Europe	9.3	7.2	5.8
North America	26.7	11.0	11.0
South America	15.3	7.6	6.8

Note: Survey item asks about "currently doing unpaid voluntary work."
Source: World Values Survey (2000–2004).

organizations/GAs in Africa, and to a lesser extent in North America. For Sports/Recreation and for Cultural FNV, the magnitudes are fairly similar across world regions

One way to grasp quickly the data on the global scope of volunteering is to look at maps of FNV and INV, as in Maps 51.1 and 51.2, which are based on the Gallup World Poll data gathered in 2010 (Gavelin and Svedberg 2011). These maps, as well as the other tables of global data on volunteering and associations reviewed above, tell us some very important facts about volunteering and associations in the world. Map 51.1, prepared by the second author here, Brent Never, illustrates the geographic dispersion of FNV, using the Gallup World Poll as reported by Gavelin and Svedberg (2011). Map 51.2 does the same for INV, based on the same data source.

There is volunteering in significant, and often substantial, amounts in every world region. Volunteering is *not* exclusively a Western or Global North activity, but a global activity. All world regions have at least 6% of adults who did formal volunteering recently and at least 29% who did informal volunteering recently,

Map 51.1   Rates of formal volunteering/FNV
Source: Original by second author, with data from 2010 Gallup World Poll
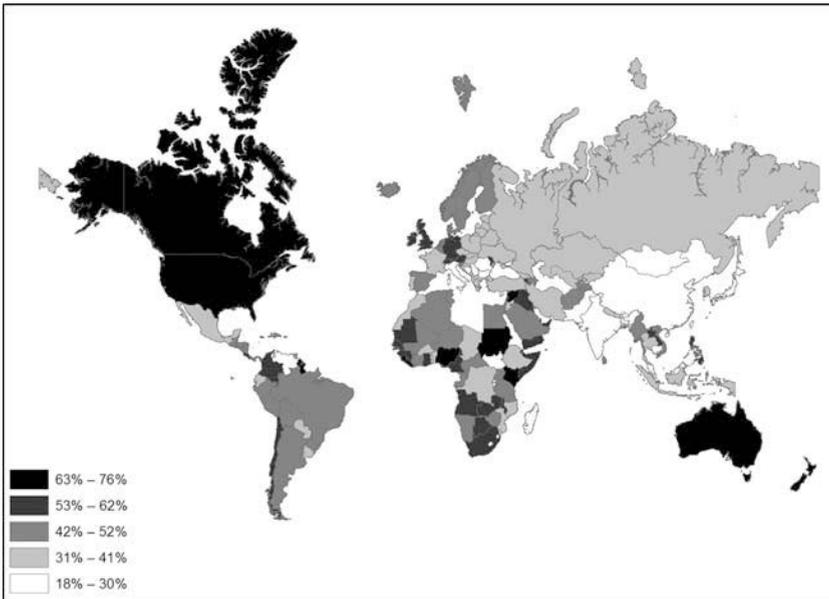
Map 51.2   Rates of informal volunteering/INV
Source: Original by second author, with data from 2010 Gallup World Poll

according to the Gallup World Poll data. Most global volunteering occurs in voluntary associations, not in VSPs, and such associations are similarly found in all contemporary nations and thus all world regions. By far the most frequent type of associations is local or GAs, although estimating the numbers of GAs in any place or geographic territory larger than a small town is difficult and costly to do accurately, requiring hypernetwork sampling (McPherson 1982). Supra-Local Associations (SLAs), especially National Associations, are also present in all contemporary nations and thus in all world regions, as are Transnational Associations (INGOs).

Given that most formal volunteering occurs in voluntary associations, not in VSPs, there is a global positive correlation of association density with formal volunteering frequency in nations of the world found, as expected. Combining these two measures for a nation results in a new kind of quantitative Civil Society Index that is more purely focused on volunteering and associations as the twin, core phenomena of the nonprofit sector at any time in human history, irrespective of economic considerations, including paid staff.

Formal volunteering and informal volunteering are also *not* universal in the sense that every adult in every country engages in either type of activity during the past month (data not shown, but from same source as tables), given the data currently available from the Gallup World Poll. For FNV, the countries with the lowest percentages were reported in Bulgaria (3%), China (3%; probably due to a methodological error), Iraq (4%), and Bosnia/Herzegovina (4%). For INV, the lowest percentages were reported in Madagascar (18%), Burundi (19%), Pakistan (20%), and Kosovo (20%).

Informal volunteering is far more frequent in all world regions than formal volunteering, with an average of 23% more INV than FNV in the Gallup World Poll 2010 data. In some countries, INV is over 50% greater than the FNV (Kuwait 59%, Syria 50%, Iraq 55%). The developing regions of the Middle East/North Africa (39%), Latin America/ Caribbean (31%), and Africa (27%) show the greatest absolute differences of INV over FNV. Thus, the Western and Global North emphasis on FNV neglects the very large amounts of INV that is relatively (not absolutely) more common in the Global South.

As might be expected, FNV is most frequent in North America and the Pacific (Australia, New Zealand) as world regions in Table 51.4. In addition to having very post-modern social structures, these Anglophone societies seem to have some cultural values (like personal independence, individualism, and trust) that promote FV in particular (e.g., Hofstede 2001; Inglehart et al. 2010). However, in the World Values Survey, Africa is the region with higher FNV. Methodological differences in the questions asked likely account for this, with the latter data likely more accurate – based on a question with several prompts.

There is no evidence of INV or FNV *compensating* for each other (or reducing involvement in the other type) on a global basis: The North American and

Pacific regions as well as Africa are high on *both* INV and FNV, contrary to compensation expectations. Similarly, South and East Asia are low in rank on both INV and FNV.

Surprisingly, in Table 51.4 Western Europe as a world region is lower in the rank order of FNV than would be expected, but clustered with Africa and Southeast Asia in absolute frequency of FNV (24–27%).

The high relative and absolute frequencies of both FNV and INV in Africa will be a surprise to many, especially in the Global North. This high level of African volunteering (especially in Table 51.5) most likely reflects some distinctive values regarding pro-social activity, mutual aid, reciprocity, cooperation, and solidarity, not necessarily altruism and helping in the Global North sense (Wilkinson-Maposa and Fowler 2009; Wilkinson-Maposa, Fowler, Oliver-Evans, and Mulenga 2005).

The much lower FNV in Eastern Europe and the Russian Federation than in Western Europe is as expected, given some counter-reactions to former forced *volunteering* in the region from about 1945 to 1989. There is also a smaller than usual excess of the INV percentage over the FNV percentage for this region (18%).

The Middle East and Northern African region jumps up markedly in volunteering percentage (up 39%) and rank order when INV is examined as contrasted with FNV. Latin America and the Caribbean jump up 31% and Africa jumps up 27% in INV compared to FNV. Other world regions also show major but smaller increases, with the smallest regional increases found in Southeast Asia (14%) and South Asia (17%).

Except for North America and the Pacific region, data on volunteering rates in specific countries show great *intra*-region variation (not shown here) as well as the *inter*-region variations shown in the tables here. In the Gallup data, the range of FNV percentages is 29% or more within most world regions, 18% for the Mideast/North Africa, and negligible in North America and the Pacific (combining the three sub-regions of Asia into one). The range of INV percentages within regions is 29% or greater in all world regions except North America and the Pacific for the Gallup data (combining the three sub-regions of Asia into one).

6. What is the estimated economic value of all volunteering worldwide?

Salamon, Sokolowski, and Haddock (2011) estimated from their own research by extrapolation that there are roughly 1 billion volunteers worldwide (971 million). This is likely to be an underestimate, because nearly all socialized humans (e.g., adults over age 15) do some *informal* volunteering in any given year. Also, as noted above under key issue K#3, their estimate for formal volunteers is also likely incorrect and very low.

These authors (p. 3) take as their definition of volunteering the version recently accepted by the International Labour Organization: "Unpaid non-compulsory work; that is, time individuals give without pay to activities performed either through organizations or directly for others outside their own household."

The authors review and assess various alternative approaches to valuing volunteer time. They conclude that the most useful approach is to assign observed market values for volunteer time taking a replacement cost perspective (i.e., the cost to an organization of replacing a volunteer with a paid worker of similar skill level).

Data from the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project for 43 nations on formal volunteering and Time Use Survey data for 26 nations on informal volunteering were extrapolated to estimate volunteering time for 182 of 192 nations of the world. Such extrapolation is very loose and inadequate, but the best we have at present. The authors term their approach *conservative*.

The results indicate about 971 million people volunteer in a typical year worldwide (p. 22), with 36% being formal volunteers and 64% being informal volunteers. The estimated total economic value of this volunteering in 2005 was USD 1.348 trillion (p. 23). This number was equivalent to the seventh largest economy in the world in that year. Another estimate yields the total value of USD 1.49 trillion, with more extensive extrapolation (p. 23, fn).

7. What is known about the internal structures and processes of MAs worldwide?

(a) Polymorphic versus monomorphic structures of GAs

Table 51.6 provides information on the internal structure of local associations/GAs (Torpe and Ferrer-Fons, 2007), as part of the six-city study of selected European cities in six nations (Maloney and Rossteutscher, 2007). Vertical refers to the proportion of GAs that are vertically structured, as part of a regional

Table 51.6 Six-city study of selected cities: Polymorphic/monomorphic structures of GAs and formal representative rule (in %)

	Aalborg	Aberdeen	Bern	Enschede	Mann-heim	Sabadell	Total
Horizontal/ monomorphic	51.3	39.4	38.0	60.7	33.1	31.1	42.6
Vertical/ polymorphic	48.7	60.6	62.0	39.3	66.9	68.9	57.4
Formal repre- sentative rule	87.1	17.4	74.5	61.9	65.1	69.4	66.0

Source: Torpe and Ferrer Fons (2007:101).

or national umbrella organization or themselves an umbrella organization. In the terminology of this Handbook (see also Smith et al., 2006), these are polymorphic GAs. Horizontal refers to the number of associations that are free standing or monomorphic in Handbook terminology. The *index of differentiation* measures the degree to which the GAs include different officer positions, such as a treasurer or secretary, and also subsidiary internal subgroups, such as standing and special committees.

As can be seen, most organizations are polymorphic, and a clear majority have formal representative rule, with Aberdeen as an interesting exception. Furthermore, the leadership/management in most GAs is divided into several subgroups and official positions. Thus, in most cases, formal representative rule is supplemented by administrative differentiation.

There are more informal structures among newer associations than among older ones. Rather than just age, however, this fact also reflects association size. Smaller associations tend to have more informal structures, and new associations are usually smaller than older associations (Torpe and Ferrer-Fons 2007). Thus, there seems to be great continuity with regard to formal representative rule in associations across cities in Europe.

(b) Percentage of paid staff

The study of six European cities also includes information about the frequency and size distribution of paid staff (Kriesi 2007). As can be seen in Table 51.7, the paid staff are concentrated in a minority of GAs. Most GAs in all cities and nations studied have no paid staff, as Smith (2000:45–53) suggested was the usual case. These GAs are the majority, *all-volunteer* GAs, found in all societies for the past 10 millennia when the economic complexity level is above hunting-gathering bands (Nolan and Lenski 2006; Smith 1997a). When any

Table 51.7   Six-city study of selected cities: Number of paid staff

Paid Staff #	Bern	Aberdeen	Enschede	Mannheim	Sabadell	Aalborg	All
0	57.9	61.5	69.9	73.3	77.9	81.6	71.3
1–5	24.1	20.1	14.1	13.9	12.8	8.8	14.9
5–9	8.6	7.5	6.9	5.2	3.9	6.1	6.2
10–29	5.4	6.3	4.5	4	3.6	2.7	4.2
30 and over	3	2.9	3.5	2.7	0.6	0.4	2.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	665	478	817	1590	335	935	4.82

Source: Kriesi (2007).

paid staff are present in GAs, they are usually few in number (e.g., there are as many GAs with 1–4 paid staff as with more paid staff in Table 51.7).

8. What is known quantitatively about the rates of participation within MAs worldwide?

The Eurobarometer surveys, put into the field by the European Union, have covered issues germane to associational activity and volunteering, although this has occurred through special surveys that are commissioned by EU members and agencies (see Table 51.8). This means that the topic of each survey is different, and one cannot count on an even flow of responses over time. Of course, the responses only relate to the 25 EU member countries.

One question that was repeated twice (2005, 2007) relates to whether respondents *participate actively or do voluntary work*. The results indicate a clear Northern and Middle European pattern of more active participation, with a pattern in former Communist, Eastern European countries as well as in southern Europe of less participation. However, fairly dramatic shifts in average FNV between the surveys raise questions about the comparability of specific questions in the different surveys. Variations in question wording and in word translations for the same country in different surveys/years are the likely causes of some inconsistent and unbelievable results.

Table 51.8   Participate actively or do voluntary work (in %, Europe)

	European Social Survey 2002	Eurobarometer 2005	European Values Survey 2008–2010
Norway	37		35
Sweden	35	50	
Netherlands	29	49	45
Denmark	28	42	35
Germany	26	35	21
United Kingdom	23	33	19
Belgium	23	38	33
France	19	36	25
Ireland	16	41	19
Austria	14	43	24
Hungary	9	16	11
Spain	7	15	11
Portugal	6	11	13
Italy	5	23	20
Poland	5		7
Czech Republic		23	27

Source: Special Eurobarometer 223, Social Capital (2005): Survey item asks about "currently participat[ing] actively or do[ing] voluntary work."

Aside from general magnitudes of FNV, only surveys with identical wording and translations in different years can be seen as valid and reliable estimates of genuine changes over time for any specific nation, let alone across time as well as nations.

The Afro-barometer survey for 20 years has considered a series of topics germane to sub-Saharan Africa. In general, the Afro-barometer faces special methodological challenges related to the difficulty of accessing all cultural segments of the populations in developing nations. These problems involve finding or constructing adequate sampling frames for random area probability sampling in each nation, translating an interview into all relevant languages across cultural groups within and across African nations, and finding/training interviewers fluent in all relevant languages.

In two recent waves (2008/2009 and 2011/2012), participants were asked to identify whether they are active members of *groups that people join or attend*. The results in Table 51.9 show a clear division between former Francophone colonies, with depressed activity levels, and former Anglophone colonies, with higher levels of activity. There is a large variation in the percentage of active members over the two waves: Lesotho and Ghana both saw 13-point drops. Such large drops likely involve some methodological errors (e.g., wording changes), being unlikely in reality.

9. What do we know about recent empirical trends in MAs and volunteering worldwide?

The rapid changes in the late 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century have led to speculations about the future of associations. Focus has been on two interconnected processes of late modern society: First is the growing individualization, and second is the decline of class and popular-based collective movements. In the United States, Putnam saw growing individualization as accompanied by a *decline of participation* in associations both in terms of membership and in terms of voluntary work related to an association (Putnam 1995, 2000).

These findings by Putnam for the United States regarding the decline of associations and of activity in them have *not* been confirmed for Europe (Stolle and Hooghe 2005). Smith and Robinson (2017) conclude that Putnam's conclusions about this *double-decline* do not fit generally with data for the rest of the world. Both association membership and levels of member activity in associations have mostly been rising globally in recent decades.

For instance, Harris (2011) describes and discusses the growth of volunteering and associations in the United Kingdom over the past six decades, and especially over the past three decades, for which quantitative data exist. The data he reports, based on the General Household Survey (GHS), show a doubling

Table 51.9 Percentage of who are active members of African GAs (2008/2009, 2011/12)

	Active member 2008/2009	Active member 2011/2012
Total		18
Algeria		3
Benin	14	13
Ivory Coast		15
Botswana	15	12
Burkina Faso	11	12
Burundi		8
Cameroon		23
Cape Verde	12	16
Egypt		4
Ghana	30	17
Guinea		20
Kenya	33	36
Lesotho	25	12
Liberia	34	32
Madagascar	2	3
Malawi	16	19
Mali	16	18
Mauritius		15
Morocco		9
Mozambique	14	19
Namibia	11	10
Niger		10
Nigeria	23	22
Senegal	17	17
Sierra Leone		34
South Africa	14	11
Africa		21
Tanzania		30
Togo		16
Tunisia		2
Uganda	25	19
Tanzania		35
Zambia	20	19
Zimbabwe	11	18

Source: Afrobarometer, Round 4(2008/2009) and Round 5(2010/2012). Survey item asks about "groups that people join or attend."

of the percentage of British adults (for England and Wales) reporting volunteering from 1973 to 1992. Another series of national surveys by the National Centre for Volunteering finds little change from 1981 to 1997, but the levels are double than those in the most recent GHS, probably because of methodological differences. Still more recent data from the Citizenship Survey found a steady level of civic participation in five surveys from 2001 to 2008/2009, with

a 4% decline between 2008/2009 and 2009/2010, which may or may not be an anomaly versus a trend reversal.

Regarding the trend for membership in associations, Harris reports data from Grenier and Wright (2006) from the United Kingdom for the period from 1981 to 1999 (three surveys) that show steady and substantial growth of the average number of memberships per person (from about 0.9 to about 1.4), but stability in the percentage of the population (about 50%) belonging to associations. These findings are again contrary to Putnam's (2000) decline thesis for the United States.

When the data on government-registered charities in the United Kingdom are considered, based on registration statistics (see www.ncvo-vol.org.uk/access-tables-behind-almanac), there is a clear and rather steady upward sloping curve from about 1965 to 2007, after the initial registration period from 1960–1965, when the curve is much more sharply upward. Since 1990, there have been annual removals of registration for charities, but not before that date. In 2008, there were an unusually large number of charities removed, making the graph of registered charities turn downward. Similarly, in 1991 an unusually large number were removed, causing a temporary downturn in the upward curve and growth in numbers of registered charities. Although no data were presented on the proportion of associations that were registered in any given year or years, presumably the majority of registrations were for associations, not nonprofit agencies. There is little systematic data for prior years.

Several, but not all, of the inputs to this chapter about various specific nations in Section D, sub-section 3, above report substantial growth of numbers of associations in recent decades, plus some corresponding growth in volunteering (e.g., for Armenia, China, and the Czech Republic). Again, *all data here refute Putnam's decline thesis from his US data.* Some Scandinavian nation data (e.g., Norway) show declines in frequencies of associations and volunteering, but starting from very high levels.

In Denmark, both membership and formal volunteering have *increased* during the last 30 years (Torpe 2013). In Norway, volunteering has *slightly* decreased from 1997 to 2009 (Wollebæk and Sivesind 2009). For Sweden, Lundstrom and Svedberg et al. (2003) mainly discuss the current scope of the nonprofit sector at the time of writing, but suggest some growth of associations over the last decades of the 20th century. For Denmark, although the relationships between individuals and associations have changed, such change has so far not been expressed in lower membership rates and less volunteering. However, many associations have adapted to a changing role of membership and association volunteering. Association leaders often recognize that individuals are no longer willing to enter long-term commitments and therefore offer opportunities for more flexible forms of affiliation and volunteering (Hustinx 2010; Torpe 2011).

The decline of class-based and other traditional social movements is seen to be accompanied by two changes in the organizational society: Firstly, there is a weakened role of associations in pluralist democracy as a result of growing specialization, fragmentation, and professionalization (Selle 2002; Wollebæk and Selle 2002; Wollebæk 2008). Secondly, there has been a decline of the classical secondary association model (Torpe and Ferrer-Fons 2007).

The weakened role of associations in pluralist democracy is well documented for Norway (Wollebæk 2008; Wollebæk and Selle 2002), but the same tendencies can be observed in Denmark (Ibsen 2006). In general terms, such changes can be described as a displacement from voluntary organizing as an arena for promoting values and interests to voluntary organizing as an arena for producing services and organizing activity (Selle 2002). These changes have weakened the role of associations in public debate and deliberations (Wollebæk 2008). Moreover, research has found a weakened role of associations in public decision-making and implementation in Scandinavia since the 1980s (Christiansen et al. 2010).

It was also to be expected that the decline of class-based and other traditional social movements would challenge the classical secondary association model as the dominant form of organization. The classical secondary association model combines formal democratic representative structures, where members control the leadership, in polymorphic/hierarchical structures that connect local associations with regional and national umbrella/peak organizations. From the late 19th century, this federative polymorphic form became dominant in Scandinavia, where it was regarded as an advantageous instrument in the creation of strong movements capable of mobilizing large number of members and participants. Skocpol et al. (2000) showed that this civic voluntarism model developed in the United States in the early 1800s.

As the social basis of this organizational model has dissolved, one would expect that the classical secondary model is to be gradually succeeded by, on the one hand, more loose knit and informal forms of organization and, on the other hand, business-like organizations with either no formal representative rule or with formal representative rule, but where the leadership is not effectively controlled by the members (Maloney and Jordan 1997; Putnam 1995; Torpe 2003; Torpe and Ferrer-Fons 2007; Wuthnow 1998).

Scholars have attempted to theorize the variations in voluntarism and associational membership in several different ways. Curtis, Baer, and Grabb (2001) examine three dominant explanations in political science and sociology: economic organization, religious tradition, and political organization. Theories of economic organization hold that advanced economies allow for specialization and differentiation in the population, which allows for more time and opportunity to be engaged in associations. Theories of religious tradition contrast societies rooted in Protestantism, where individuality can be highlighted

and there is more ability to volunteer in the religious setting, with Catholic societies with more hierarchical, corporatist arrangements that may restrict voluntary behavior. Lastly, theories of political organization look at different types of democratic cultures: liberal democratic, social democratic, and corporatist. Liberal democratic societies, with devolved welfare states, encourage the growth of a third sector as a substitute for government services, which in turn allows for more opportunities for engagement through membership and voluntarism. Social democratic regimes, according to Janoski (1998), have a different mode of associational membership, through unions and political parties. Corporatist regimes, with partnerships between government and third-sector organizations, can crowd out voluntarism and membership.

All such explanations point to the importance of deeper institutional structures on channeling individual behavior. The difficulty in securing internally valid data, and in particular instruments that pose the same question over a series of time periods, challenges scholars who would attempt to evaluate these three explanations. Of particular interest are two facets: explanations for within-group variations and for across-time variations. Are both types of these variations a result of poor survey methodology and design, or do they point to new theories that can better account for these changes?

Norwegian studies have shown a growth in small freestanding (monomorphic) associations and a decline of *polymorphic* associations integrated in regional and national umbrella organizations (Selle 1999; Selle and Wollebæk 2002). The six-city study mentioned above (Maloney and Rossteutscher 2007) indicates that this could be true more generally, as that data show newer associations to be more frequently *monomorphic*. This effect remains after a control for size of the association. We can, however, not rule out similar associations becoming interconnected through regional and national umbrella organizations as they grow older.

By contrast, the six-city study (Maloney and Rossteutscher 2007) shows that formal representative rule generally is still the dominant form of organization across the cities and nations. This result also applies to newer associations. Thus, there are no signs of a break with the classical civic voluntarism model. But formal democracy is one thing. The degree of effective democracy is something else. Although associations have maintained representative structures, many of them may have become or are simply continued as bureaucratic machines, where ordinary members have no say. Research on democracy versus oligarchy in national associations (Handbook Chapter 33, Section D, #4, d) suggests that *oligarchy and limited democracy are and have long been usual in such associations*, often for practical reasons of dispersal of members geographically and related issues of communication and transportation.

To what extent this is true has been investigated in Denmark (Torpe 2003). In a national survey respondents were asked about their possibilities

to influence the organizations to which they belonged. As most people in Denmark belong to several associations, they were at the same time asked to indicate whether it was important for them to be able to influence the organization.

The results showed that a majority of those members who wanted to have an input or influence on their association's policies also felt they had good opportunities to do so. However, the results varied from one organization to another. Those most satisfied with their relative opportunities to influence policies were members of parents' organizations, religious organizations, and sports associations. Least satisfied were members of trade unions, where only half of those who wanted to influence also felt they had good opportunities to do so. But, even half of the members feeling influential is still very substantial.

The overall conclusion is therefore one mainly of stability and continuity of associations and volunteering in them, not a double decline, contrary to Putnam. If anything, there is a gradual upward trend in the global numbers of associations, especially GAs, and also in association volunteering. Recent general changes in the structure of post-modern societies do not usually lead to associational decline, neither with regard to membership and voluntary work nor with regard to the organizational structure. Where people in the past organized in accordance with ideas and values, they now rather organize in accordance with specific positions and roles. Despite these changes, voluntary associations worldwide are still viewed as effective for organizing collective activity and representing collective interests. Further, the long-existing, civic voluntarism, *federative polymorphic model* (see Handbook Chapter 3) of national association structure is still felt to be a relevant tool for such purposes. And members of GAs, often polymorphic in structure, still are motivated to be active in GAs in all nations studied.

Goss (1999) showed that, even in the United States, volunteering in Volunteer Service Programs (VSPs) has increased since the 1970s. She concludes that nearly all of that increase comes among older Americans. Similar trend data for VSP volunteering elsewhere is hard to find. Most global research on FV focuses on association volunteering, and the methodology for distinguishing VSP volunteering from association volunteering is inadequate (e.g., Davis-Smith 1994). The best global source of data on association volunteering is the various waves of the World Values Surveys and European Values Studies, with now surveys covering about 100 countries of all types with nearly 90% of the world's population by 2007 (Inglehart, Basañez, Caterberg, Diez-Medrano, Moreno, Norris, Siemienska, and Zuasnabar 2010). The interview items asked invariably about association membership and hence association volunteering, not about VSP volunteering. Such volunteering has been increasing globally 1981–2007 (ibid.), as would be expected, based on the global

association prevalence research by Smith and Shen (2002) and by Schofer and Longhofer (2011).

10. What is the special methodology and software for computer mapping of associations and volunteering?

This chapter considers trends in associations and voluntarism, with geography being as crucial a variable as a region's sociological or historical roots. Formal mapping of sectors has occurred for decades, yet the pace and scale of spatial analysis has increased due to increased access to data and inexpensive software. One can think of map creation, writ large, as a process of displaying the relationship between variables. Here we argue that there have been three phases in map-making in the voluntary sector.

The first phase of mapping did not necessarily involve a sense of space, but rather simply located organizations and their organizational demographics. The use of official databases served to hasten this work, with the caveat that the resulting maps only represented what was included in databases quite literally leading to flat-Earth maps. The second phase began to take advantage of the ability to layer information by adding new data sources to existing ones. For example, Grønbjerg's Indiana Nonprofit Project has been instrumental in layering data on employment, voluntarism, and finances on top of existing IRS and Secretary of State information. The third phase argues that while scholars have been proficient at thinking about the supply of associations, there is a need to layer on top maps of demand for associations (Never 2010, 2011). In a sense, maps would be able to model the push and pull of supply and demand as conditions change over time in order to understand under what conditions associations become active in situations of need.

Maps are only as complete as the data that they illustrate. The dark matter of many sectors illustrates the need to develop, in some cases, simple means to collect information about the sector and display it. The technology available for mapping has become increasingly available to practitioners and researchers. From a cost standpoint, Geographic Information Systems have become cheaper with GeoDa produced at Arizona State University being a free option; likewise, ESRI has free and deeply discounted software for NPOs registered as 501(c)(3) in the United States. Mapping is now possible using free web applications such as Geo.Data.Gov in the United States or Maps.Google.com.

E. Usable knowledge

Knowledge of the current and prior scope and trends of voluntary associations and volunteering can serve as useful guides to national government and VNPS policymakers, helping them to understand where a given society is at present in terms of the larger, global society and the global VNPS. Thus, information in

this chapter provides a kind of global map of associations and volunteering as the oldest and most vital parts of the VNPS (e.g., Rochester 2013; C. Smith and Freedman 1972; Smith 1997b).

F. Future trends and needed research

Evidence on the prevalence of associations of most kinds, but especially on GAs and SLAs, suggests that these domestic associations are continuing to grow worldwide. Putnam's view of decline of associations in the United States is *not* true globally, if even true in the United States, which some doubt (Smith and Robinson 2017; see also Handbook Chapter 50). *Crucially, most of the major determinants of voluntary association prevalence in nations are lined up globally, on average (Smith and Shen 2002; Schofer and Longhofer 2011) to foster the current, fourth global associational revolution (Smith 2016).* As Smith (2016) has recently noted, there have been *four* global associational revolutions, not just one, as suggested by some scholars (e.g., Casey 2016; Salamon 1994, 1995). Because of the fourth and latest of these revolutions, still continuing, associational volunteering has been increasing globally on average since about 1950, when the fourth such revolution began in certain post-modern, service-information-technology led economies/nations. It is likely that VSP volunteering has also been growing in these same nations in the past several decades, but we lack adequate data to be sure. We do know that VSP volunteering has been growing in the United States since the 1970s (Goss 1999).

   Future research is needed on all the topics reviewed in this chapter. However, we especially need research on the following:

- Improving the comparability and methodology of multi-national surveys of *volunteering* and maintaining such comparability over decades. Especially important is the use of lists of types of both formal and volunteering contexts, with interviewer prompts to respondents that elicit a more expansive and accurate view of either. Also important is carefully distinguishing VSP volunteering from associational volunteering.
- Improving the comparability and methodology of multi-national surveys of *associations* and maintaining such comparability over decades. Especially important is the use of lists of types of associations (see several relevant, new typologies in Handbook Chapter 5), with interviewer prompts to respondents that elicit a more expansive and accurate view of either.
- In addition to using hypernetwork sampling to estimate GA density for a broad, global sample of nations, including all the largest ten nations in population (which, in 2014, had a combined population of about 4.1 billion, or 56% of the total of 7.2 billion), the global population total, future research needs to examine the density of GAs for the segment of a nation's

population that is 13 years old or older, to include youth volunteering and GAs, but to omit the pre-teen segment of the population for which both volunteering and GAs are rare. As above, such studies need to be repeated over time, perhaps at five- or ten-year intervals.

- Performing much more multi-national research on various determinants/influences affecting informal volunteering (INV) and trends over time.
- Performing more multi-national research on how both formal and informal volunteering fit with the Leisure General Activity Pattern/LGAP (see Handbook Chapter 5), and trends in such patterns over time.
- Performing more multi-national research on the internal structures and processes of associations and also on the external relations of associations, both studied over time.

G. Cross-references

Chapters 1, 26, 37, and 50.

Note

1. Madrasah is an Arabic word of Semitic origin and it refers to a place where learning and studying is done. By and large the sole purpose of Madrasah education is to enable children to read Quran and understand some Shariah law.

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www.icsera.org – the International Council of Voluntarism, Civil Society, and Social Economy Researcher Associations (ICSERA), and its *Palgrave Research Handbook of Volunteering and Nonprofit Associations* (forthcoming 2014).

www.arnova.org – the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action (ARNOVA;) and its journal, *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly.*

www.istr.org – the International Society for Third Sector Research (ISTR) and its journal, *Voluntas*.

www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html – The World Factbook.

52

Longer-Term Volunteering Impacts on Volunteers and Association Members/Participants

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A. Introduction

This chapter reviews research on the longer-term consequences of volunteering for the volunteer as a participant or member in a voluntary membership association (MA) or in a Volunteer Service Program (VSP; see Handbook Chapter 15). Some consequences are immediate, as positive or negative felt affects/emotions from an activity (see the following Chapter 53 of this Handbook). Other consequences, more commonly the focus of volunteer impact research, are longer term, over days, months, and years, as mainly reviewed in this chapter (but also reviewed partly in Chapter 53, for longer-term happiness and well-being effects).

Much volunteering and citizen participation seeks to help those in need, but such activity also has consequences for the volunteer or participant. Some are beneficial. Social surveys show that volunteers tend to enjoy better physical and mental health and live longer. Survey research also shows in advanced industrialized countries that volunteers get better jobs and earn higher incomes later on. Other consequences can be negative or harmful. Some volunteering, such as fire-fighting or life-saving, can be dangerous, while other volunteer activities, such as helping out in a medical facility or animal shelter, can be emotionally draining. Volunteer participants in deviant voluntary associations (DVAs), such as social movement, terrorist, or underground resistance associations, may be killed, tortured, or imprisoned. In certain recent cults/sects/new religions, they may be abused, raped, or forced to commit mass suicide. Balanced and objective research on the impact of volunteering must examine the negative/harmful or dark side as well as the positive/helpful or bright side.

Volunteering has been termed a form of *serious leisure* (defined in the Handbook Appendix; see also Chapter 4) because, like most other forms of leisure, it

is voluntary action, and takes place in free time, but usually has a serious purpose. In this instance, volunteering is leisure that can be taken very seriously to the point of consuming a person's life, tapping the most profound emotions, and demanding great fortitude and strength of character. This experience can potentially have both beneficial and harmful consequences.

It might seem strange for some readers to talk of *benefits* of volunteering when, in the minds of many people, volunteering means making a sacrifice and serving others (Handy et al. 2000). Volunteers in VSPs (see Handbook Chapters 15–17) are thanked for giving, not selling, their time. However, members and active volunteers in membership associations (MAs), as associational volunteers, usually serve themselves or other co-members, not non-members and the general public or the public interest/welfare, and their activities have more of a self-serving quality, as well as some altruism (cf., Smith 1981). Associational volunteers have been around for at least 10,000 years (Smith 1997b; see also Handbook Chapter 1), while VSP volunteers have mainly been around only in the past 100 years or so (Smith 2015a, 2015b). Smith (1981) argues that all volunteering or citizen participation involves some minimum of selfishness or service to the volunteer's own needs. This view has been supported by much empirical research in the past 35 years, some of which is reviewed here (see also Handbook Chapter 30).

The socio-behavioral sciences assume that behind all decisions to act lies anticipation of some reward, at least in the sense of psychic benefits, not necessarily economic or material benefits (cf., Smith, Reddy, and Baldwin 1972). In volunteering and citizen participation, the reward is simply not that of direct material compensation, and the act is assumed not to be motivated primarily by expectation of such a reward (see Handbook Chapters 30 and 31 for reviews of research on the motivations of volunteering). Once this is understood, it is quite natural to think of volunteering as beneficial. Indeed, many people who volunteer quickly acknowledge the role of benefits when deciding to volunteer, or to continue volunteering, even when short of time. They often refer to the *helper's high* – the feeling of euphoria, the adrenaline rush – they experience while helping others. This is one example of the immediate consequences of volunteering; there are others (see Handbook Chapter 53).

The task of socio-behavioral science has been to address this question systematically to see if these anecdotes have any real foundation. Does volunteering lead to immediate positive (or negative) affects and emotions? Does volunteer work actually improve people's longer-term sense of well-being and happiness? Does it have tangible effects on their psychological state? Volunteers also anecdotally refer to the economic benefits gained from volunteering. These come not directly in the form of payment for services but indirectly through their fortunes in the labor market. Volunteering is believed to be a good way to get job experience, hone one's skills for employment, and make contacts that might

pay off when hunting for a new job. Again, the task of social scientists has been to examine data to see whether these benefits actually accrue to volunteers. Various prior reviews of volunteering effects on the volunteer exist, usually finding significant positive effects of such volunteering, especially among older volunteers (e.g., Piliavin 2003).

Because doing volunteer work and citizen participation is discretionary, unlike, for example, taking care of one's infant children, it is perhaps natural to assume that people will volunteer only if they benefit from doing so. Socio-behavioral science has indeed accumulated a mountain of evidence supporting the view that volunteering benefits not just volunteers but also society at large (cf., Smith 2001). Policy-makers in countries like the United Kingdom (Commission on the Future of Volunteering 2008) and also internationally (Leigh et al. 2011) have concentrated on such positive evidence.

This does not mean, however, that all consequences of volunteering are positive. Volunteers are often driven by powerful commitments to principles, such as social justice, to visions of the good society, such as a clean environment, and to helping marginalized and deprived groups of people. Volunteers as active members in non-conventional, fundamentally deviant voluntary associations (Smith, with Eng and Albertson 2016; see also Handbook Chapter 54) are often deeply committed to goals considered illegal or immoral by their current society. These commitments impel volunteers/members to continue volunteering, even while suffering emotionally, physically, financially, or socially from doing so. Many activities embroil the volunteer in highly stressful situations, some dangerous, some stigmatized. Some volunteering requires expenditures of money and other resources. Some volunteering benefits volunteers in their occupations, whereas other volunteering may cause harm there. Some volunteering in DVAs can lead to bankruptcy, job loss, divorce, incarceration, etc. (see also Handbook Chapter 54). Involvement in some volunteer activities can result in negative mental states (stress, depression, anxiety, and burn-out) and negative physical states (fatigue, psychosomatic conditions, illness, injuries, even death). This chapter will therefore also consider the negative consequences of volunteering and citizen participation for the volunteer, whether in VSPs or in MAs (including DVAs).

B. Definitions

The definitions of the central terms and concepts in this chapter are available in the Appendix of the Handbook.

C. Historical background

The consequences of volunteering for the volunteer have been studied since about 1950, especially for associational volunteers. The first review of such

impacts, by Smith and Reddy (1973), was 69 printed book-pages in length, and cited 174 publications, all but seven published in 1950 or later. The first section (pp. 171–181) reviewed the kinds of settings with significant impacts on individuals generally. Most data or information on the impact of volunteering was anecdotal and impressionistic, separately reviewing impacts in instrumental and expressive MAs, but rarely based on longitudinal/panel surveys. The most significant impacts were suggested in expressive MAs, especially self-help MAs.

In 1997, Smith (1997a) published a lengthy review article on the impacts of local, grassroots associations (GAs), especially on volunteers, with a summary in a chapter of his book on GAs (Smith 2000:Chapter 9). Wilson and Musick (1999) published another review of the impact of volunteering on volunteers two years later. These reviews set the pattern for later reviews. Specifically, Smith reviewed research literature bearing on six main types of volunteer/participant impacts: (a) social support/helping/self-expression, (b) stimulation/information, (c) socio-political activation and influence, (d) economic outcomes, and (e) happiness and health (combining two separate outcome types). Much research, most of it cross-sectional (one point in time), was cited and discussed to support all of the above types of impact on MA volunteers/participants. In some cases, longitudinal research was also cited. The lack of research on volunteer/participant impacts for DVAs was noted.

Studying the consequences of volunteering and civic participation demands a variety of methodologies. For instance, lengthy ethnographic fieldwork and participant observation are often needed to study DVAs. But studying immediate emotional/affective impacts of volunteering on the individual requires either experience sampling at various random time points on random days (e.g., Hektner, Schmidt, and Csikszentmihalyi 2007) or combining time diary approaches with reports on affect experienced for specific activities reported (Belli, Stafford, and Alwin 2009). For studying longer-term consequences on the individual, survey interview approaches are often used, with longitudinal panel surveys preferred for semi-causal inferences. Ideally, an experimental or quasi-experimental research design can be used. To move beyond anecdote – unreliable and possibly biased reports from volunteers about their experiences – it is necessary either to conduct experiments with *treatment* and *control* groups and compare them on some consequence of interest or to use social survey data, preferably longitudinal, from representative samples of the population to isolate by statistical procedures the net effect of doing volunteer work on the consequences of interest.

Although there is a small experimental research literature on altruism (Fehr and Fischbacher 2003), which would certainly include volunteering, survey data have most often been used to see if volunteers experience consequences of their activities not shared by non-volunteers. Only in the last 30 years have data sets containing items on volunteer work drawn from representative samples of

the general population using appropriate methodology been available for this purpose. Konrath (2014) reviews much US research showing that volunteering generally is associated with greater happiness or sense of well-being, mainly from surveys, but also reports some relevant experimental evidence supporting this relationship.

Most surveys furnishing these data have been conducted in the United States and Canada. But increasingly other countries are conducting their own surveys, and some cover more than one country. It is now more common to read relevant analyses of the consequences of volunteering drawing on data from Western Europe (including the United Kingdom), Australia, and, to a lesser extent as shown in this chapter, some of the former Soviet Republics, Mexico, South Korea, and Japan.

When qualitative research on negative/harmful impacts of formal volunteering is considered, especially in DVAs, there is much historical evidence going back centuries, even millennia, but usually without using the term *volunteering* or seeing the participation as such. For instance, the Sicarii underground resistance and terrorist association in 1st-century Jerusalem sought to end Roman occupation and domination of Palestine and Israel. Active volunteer members attempted to assassinate important Roman officials, nearly always getting caught and killed after their attempts. Volunteer participants in medieval heresies as underground religious associations during the period of the Spanish Inquisition (late 1400s to the early 1800s) were often identified, tortured, and killed by the Inquisition of the Roman Catholic Church (Monter 1990; O'Shea 2000). Hundreds of other *dark-side* examples from antiquity, the Middle Ages, and early preindustrial societies could be cited (see Section D, 2, and also Handbook Chapter 54).

D. Key issues

This section reviews empirical research on the consequences of volunteering for the formal volunteer and/or association member/participant. We consider volunteering in VSPs as well as associational volunteering in MAs, not always being able to tell which is being measured or both, given methodological issues. There are two main sections, 1 and 2, which discuss positive and negative effects of volunteering, respectively.

1. Positive effects or benefits of formal volunteering

(a) Mental health

Well-being/happiness/life satisfaction and mental illness/poor mental health/depression are *not* necessarily opposite poles along the same continuum. Lacking mental illness/depression does not mean one enjoys well-being/happiness

and vice versa. This confirms Bradburn's (1969) conclusions – positive psychological well-being and negative mental health (e.g., depression) are not closely correlated when measured over a recent period of time. Nevertheless, research shows that volunteering has a positive effect on promoting mental health, especially in lowering depression, and thus in helping combat mental illness.

There are several reasons why volunteering can improve mental health, with a particular focus on reduced levels of depression as outcomes. First, volunteering can alleviate the ill-effects of stress (Greenfield and Marks 2004:S262). Second, volunteering may be *productive* or *useful*. This is especially important in countries where work is a source of self-esteem, especially among older people who have retired from paid employment. Third, volunteering can enhance feelings of personal control and autonomy. Here the decision to freely help others is important, in contrast to obligatory care provided to close relatives. Fourth, by working as a volunteer, we may become immersed in a group of like-minded people who appreciate us and recognize our skills and contributions. In many situations these groups can also help strengthen and clarify our personal identity, as when minorities volunteer for civil rights groups fighting for their rights.

Fifth, since mental health partly consists of being able to grow, develop personally, and overcome challenges, volunteering can provide benefits – for it is a road to learning new things, acquiring fresh skills, or using old skills in new ways. Volunteering rewards us by building competence and self-confidence, especially so when motivated by valued goals like social justice and human or animal rights. Sixth, according to role identity theory, a sense of well-being is fostered by a stable, coherent sense of who we are and where we belong in society (Thoits and Hewitt 2001). Any activity institutionalized in a socially valued role, as is volunteer work, strengthens one's sense of personal identity (Gottlieb and Gillespie 2008). Seventh, because social integration engenders better mental health and volunteering is a form of social integration, volunteers will experience these benefits (Berkman et al. 2000). Adding a volunteer role to one's life and making new social contacts can be especially beneficial when other roles have been lost (e.g., through retirement, bereavement).

These are convincing arguments for why volunteering can improve mental health, but are they true? Because it appears that mentally healthy people *select into* volunteer work, the most advanced studies use panel data to explore the longitudinal effects of volunteering on subsequent mental health. In this way prior states of mental health can be controlled for.

Most research on volunteering and mental illness has targeted depression. A variety of cross-sectional studies show that volunteering (or other social engagement, in a few studies) alleviates depression symptoms (Choi and Bohman 2007; Croezen et al. 2009; Hong and Morrow-Howell 2010; Rietschlin 1998; Schwingel et al. 2009; van Willigen 2000). As with well-being/happiness, the

power of volunteering to reduce depression/mental illness wanes above a certain number of hours contributed (Morrow-Howell et al. 2003). Various studies show that volunteering in self-help associations can reduce addictions and mental health problems (e.g., Zemore and Pagano 2008; see also Handbook Chapter 18).

Some studies suggest that volunteering may be a buffer against stressful events. For instance, in the United States widows who took up volunteering after bereavement experienced a slower increase in the depression symptoms that typically accompany old age (Li 2007). Similar stress-buffering effects of associational volunteering decreasing depression were suggested in a Canadian study of individuals aged 22–89, with other factors controlled (Rietschlin 1998; see also Poulin and Holman 2013).

Much other cross-sectional research not cited here supports the foregoing findings on positive relationships between volunteering and reduced depression. Literature reviews add their support to the idea that volunteering reduces depression symptoms (e.g., Anderson et al. 2014; Jenkinson et al. 2013; Pillemer 2000; Post 2005, 2007; Post and Neimark 2008; Von Bonsdorff and Rantanen 2011). Choi, Stewart, and Dewey (2013) use cross-sectional national sample data from 14 European nations to show that both formal *and* informal volunteering decrease depression among older individuals.

Longitudinal research confirming the negative impact of volunteering on depression symptoms includes Baker et al. (2005); Choi and Kim (2011); Croezen et al. (2012); Kim and Pai (2010); Konrath (2014); Lum and Lightfoot (2005); Musick and Wilson (2003); and Thoits and Hewitt (2001). Croezen et al. (2015) found mixed results for people after four years of increased participation. More frequent participation in religious associations led to a decline in depressive symptoms, but more participation in political/community associations increased depressive symptoms. Type of associational volunteering seems to make a difference to effects on depression.

Research on mental health shows that volunteers tend to enjoy better psychological well-being, as measured by factors such as life satisfaction and feelings of optimism, self-confidence, and self-esteem. Volunteering thus not only buffers people from the factors that might lead to depression but also stimulates and energizes them to feel better about themselves and life in general (see also Handbook Chapter 53). This is true among young and old alike (Kahana et al. 2013; Gilster 2012; Gimenez-Nadal and Molina; Mellor et al. 2009; Moon and Moon 2009; Nyqvist et al. 2013; O'Brien et al. 2010; Okun et al. 2011; Son and Wilson 2012; Wahrendorf and Siegrist 2010; Wu et al. 2005).

Research on the topic of volunteering, mental health, and mental illness has progressed to the stage where, rather than assuming that all volunteering is beneficial, more nuanced relationships are being explored. First, the positive effect of volunteering can be moderated by other factors (Okun et al. 2010).

Thus, Musick and Wilson (2003), Kim and Pai (2010), and Li and Ferraro (2006) found that only the elderly gain health benefits from volunteering. Choi and Bohman (2007) and Sugihara et al. (2008) discovered that women benefit more than men. Hao (2008) found that volunteers experienced benefits only when also working for pay. Cheung and Kwan (2006) showed that volunteers who were recruited by social workers enjoyed more mental health benefits than those who were invited by friends. Perhaps the social workers were better at matching individuals with suitable tasks. Weinstein and Ryan (2010) found that American college students who volunteered for intrinsic reasons reported better mental health than those who volunteered for extrinsic reasons, such as a desire to please others. A British study showed that the more appreciated volunteers felt, the more satisfied they were with their lives in general (McMunn et al. 2009).

(b) Physical health

The relationship between volunteering and physical health has also received significant attention in recent research; the evidence clearly shows positive consequences. Since no single measure of physical health exists, results tend to vary according to the health measure used. However, self-rated health is probably the most popular measure in the literature. Research shows that such ratings are strongly related to objective physical health measures (Gold, Franks, and Erickson 1996) and to mortality, especially in older people (Idler and Benyamini 1997). Although most studies on this subject have been conducted in advanced industrial societies, a recent analysis of data from the Gallup World Poll shows a positive relationship between volunteering and self-rated health in 98 of the 139 countries surveyed, regardless of level of economic development of the country (Kumar et al. 2012).

Many other cross-sectional studies suggest that volunteering is related to better self-rated health, especially in older individuals (Anderson et al. 2014; Borgonovi 2008; Croezen et al. 2009; Hidalgo et al. 2013; Schultz, O'Brien, and Tadesse 2008; van Willigen 2000). One exception is Enjolras' (2015) cross-sectional study of the impact of volunteering on self-reported health in 23 European nations, based on his multivariate analyses of cross-sectional national sample survey data. He found only a small positive impact on self-reported health, with bivariate correlations statistically significant in 17 nations, regression coefficients without controls significant in all nations, but regression coefficients with 12 control variables significant in only three nations.

Literature reviews and meta-analyses rather systematically indicate that volunteering (and other prosocial behavior/social activities) likely leads to greater self-rated and/or objective/functional health, especially in older people (Adams et al. 2011; Anderson et al. 2014; Croezen et al. 2009; Onyx and Warburton

2003 – for both formal and informal volunteering; Pillemer 2000; Post 2005, 2007; Post and Neimark 2008; Zemore and Pagano 2008).

Longitudinal studies, mostly conducted in the United States and mostly targeting older populations, nearly all suggest that volunteering/association participation (including religious congregation attendance) improves self-rated and/or objective/functional health, the latter sometimes measured by the Activities of Daily Living Index or direct physical health measures (Adams et al. 2011; Croezen et al. 2012; Hybels et al. 2012; Idler and Kasi 1997; Leung et al. 2013; Luoh and Herzog 2002; Lum and Lightfoot 2005; Piliavin and Siegl 2007; Poulin and Holman 2013; Pynnönen et al. 2012; Shmotkin, Blumstein, and Modan 2003; Sneed and Cohen 2013; Tang 2009; Thoits and Hewitt 2001; van Willigen 2000). For instance, using the 2008 Korea Welfare Panel Study data set – a national sample of over 12,000 respondents over the age 20 – Gweon (2010) found that volunteering increases self-rated health. Further, the connection between volunteering and self-esteem and then self-rated health is significantly stronger in the elderly group (65+) than in the younger group (20–64).

Some specific diseases/disorders have been studied in relation to volunteering. For instance, longitudinal research indicates that volunteering lowers hypertension (Burr, Tavares, and Mutchler 2011). A related large-sample US longitudinal study by Burr, Han, and Tavares (2016: Abstract) "showed that volunteers were less likely to have high central adiposity, lipid disregulation, and elevated blood glucose levels, compared with non-volunteers." Older volunteers were less "hypertensive and more likely to have lipid dysregulation…" Poulin and Holman (2013) found, in a two-year longitudinal study of US adults, that charitable behavior/volunteering led to fewer new-onset ailments. The authors suggested that the neurochemical oxytocin might explain the association between prosocial behavior and health.

In their Canadian longitudinal study of adults aged 45+ years, Newall, McArthur, and Menec (2015) showed that social participation, volunteering, and loneliness had effects on the use of health services by individuals. In a 2+ year follow up, they found loneliness was associated with more physician visits and also with greater likelihood of being re-hospitalized. Greater social participation was related to longer hospital stays. In a large sample longitudinal study in Finland, Pynnönen et al. (2012) found that cultural and associational participation and informal volunteering/helping others initially reduced the risk for hospitalization.

Gerontologists, because of their concern with *successful aging*, have been particularly interested in the health benefits of volunteering. A review of 16 studies of volunteering among the elderly found that it was consistently related to better self-rated health, improved functioning, and more physical activity (von Bornsdorf and Rantanen 2010). A study of elderly Australian women (70+)

found that volunteers were more likely to have an acceptable Body Mass Index score and a higher level of reported physical activity (Parkinson et al. 2010). They were less likely to drink alcohol excessively or need help with daily tasks or medication. This study is noteworthy for tracking volunteer work across time. It showed that quality of life and health were significantly higher for women who had volunteered over the six years of the study, whereas the intermittent volunteers saw their quality of life and health decline to the level of women who never volunteered (Parkinson et al. 2010).

(c) Mortality/longevity

Research on this topic has mainly examined people in the later stages of life. The baseline (initial time point) for studies ranges from 50 to 75 years old. The follow-up period ranges from three to seven years (although one study found that *service activities* measured in 1940 were still affecting risk of death in 1991 [McCullough et al. 2009]). Most studies control for the effects of known predictors of longevity, such as socio-economic status and physical and mental health, because they are also linked to volunteering. Most have been conducted in the United States using samples representative of the general population. Although there are some cross-sectional studies (e.g., Hidalgo et al. 2013), many longitudinal studies have also been performed, as makes methodological sense when the outcome variable is mortality.

Broadly speaking, the effects of volunteering are positive in reducing mortality risk and raising longevity: people who volunteered more at baseline are less likely to have died at follow-up. The differences can be quite wide. For example, one study found that 21.5% of those still alive after seven years had volunteered at the beginning of the study, but for those who died, only 12% had volunteered (Rogers 1996). In their longitudinal study, Luoh and Herzog (2002) found that the mortality rate in their national sample of Americans aged 70 and older was 5.6% among the volunteers and 16.8% among the non-volunteers.

In their meta-analysis of relevant articles, Okun, Yeung, and Brown (2013:564) found, "for adjusted effect sizes, on average, volunteering reduced mortality risk by 24%." In another meta-analysis, Jenkinson et al. (2013) similarly found volunteering to reduce mortality risk. Many other longitudinal studies support the finding that volunteering (both formal and informal, though the latter is less well studied) significantly, often substantially, reduces mortality (e.g., Pynnönen et al. 2012 [Finland]).Various literature reviews substantiate the relationship of volunteering with reduced mortality/increased longevity (Adams et al. 2011; Anderson et al. 2014; Okun et al. 2013; Onyx and Warburton 2003 [for both formal and informal volunteering]; Shor and Roelfs 2013).

Often the longevity effect of volunteering is observed only among a sub-sample of the population. For instance, Sabin (1993) found that older

Americans lived longer because they volunteered, but only if in good health at baseline; those initially in poor health failed to benefit. Okun et al. (2010) largely replicated this result in finding that only older Americans with few functional limitations benefited from volunteering. Oman, Thoresen, and McMahon (1999) found the beneficial effects of volunteering were stronger among those attending church frequently.

As with mental and physical health, the question arises about whether more committed or hard working volunteers live longer than those volunteering only sporadically. One study found that only *frequent* volunteering prolonged life; neither volunteering *sometimes* nor *rarely* made a difference (Harris and Thoreson 2005:749). Another study found that the number of hours volunteered was unrelated to longevity, but an increase in the number of volunteer activities had positive effects, though only to a point where the effect turned negative (Musick, Herzog, and House 1999). This suggests that organizers should ensure that assignments do not unduly burden volunteers.

Aside from the quantity of volunteer work, the reasons for volunteering might also make a difference. People who really believe in what they are doing might well get more from it. An American study found that respondents who volunteered for other-oriented reasons experienced reduced mortality risk relative to non-volunteers, but respondents who volunteered for more self-oriented reasons had a risk of mortality similar to non-volunteers (Konrath et al. 2011).

Researchers in countries outside the United States have also investigated the long-term effects of volunteering. In two longitudinal studies of Israelis, one (respondents 75 years of age and older) found a simple *dose effect* of hours volunteered on risk of dying within three years – particularly for those frequently attending religious services and contacting friends and neighbors (Shmotkin et al. 2003). The other found that, whereas the number of hours volunteered had no effect on mortality from all causes, the length of experience in volunteering increased longevity (Ayalon 2008). This was found both for formal volunteering and also informal volunteering. Though the effect on mortality disappeared after 15 years of volunteer service, 10 to 14 years of experience was still related to it (Ayalon 2008).

A number of studies have concluded that volunteering does not prolong life, at least not for all volunteers. Gruenewald et al. (2007) found no effect of volunteering on mortality among Americans aged 70–79 at baseline. Musick, House, and Williams (2004) found that volunteering for religious activities was unrelated to mortality. Volunteer participation was unrelated to all-cause mortality in a Japanese study, although the low response rate (50%) in this study might have inflated the volunteer rate, thereby attenuating the association (Aida et al. 2011). A study conducted in Taiwan found no volunteer effect on mortality. This might be attributed to the fact that only 4.4% of respondents were volunteering at baseline (Hsu 2010). That studies conducted outside the United

States are more likely to yield null results suggests that cultural differences in the volunteer role and low volunteer rates overall may make a difference.

(d) Economic benefits

By economic benefits we mean increased occupational status and income from wages and salaries. In many Western societies it is widely believed that volunteer work can help secure higher status, and more remunerative jobs. A number of reasons make this a plausible assumption. First, volunteers tend to do better in school, get better credentials, and therefore get better jobs. Second, regardless of education, volunteers develop wider, more heterogeneous social networks. These then increase their chances of hearing about jobs, making contact with employers, or by virtue of their social ties, developing a reputation for trustworthiness and dependability. Third, volunteer work acts as a kind of *ability signaler* to prospective employers, indicating a person's potential productivity and ability to work with others. By volunteering, people signal a willingness to forgo their private interests for the good of the organization (Handy et al. 2010). Furthermore, in hiring active community volunteers their "social credentials … might become possible resources for the firm" (Lin and Ao 2008:111).

Fourth, by volunteering people acquire human capital – the skills and aptitudes that good jobs demand. Volunteers may also learn *civic skills*, as in how to give presentations, keep minutes, organize meetings, and negotiate with people in authority. These and other skills are required in higher-status supervisory and managerial positions. Finally, volunteer work can improve job prospects by providing the psychological benefits described earlier. People compete better in the job market when exuding self-confidence and a sense of mastery and control over their environment. As already noted, volunteering can also alleviate mental illness symptoms, such as social anxiety and depression, which might otherwise impair one's ability to compete in the marketplace.

As far as income is concerned, two Canadian studies suggest that volunteering pays off in wages and salaries. Nevertheless, income differences between volunteers and non-volunteers were small (7%). As for gender, men experienced more benefits than women (Day and Devlin 1997, 1998). A study of women in the United States found no income benefits for volunteers (Wilson and Musick 2003), whereas an Austrian study found a positive wage effect (Hackl, Halla, and Pruckner 2007).

Regarding occupational status, the outcome is typically measured using an index for the occupation consisting of average education and income for that occupation (SEI). A study of women in the United States found that the more experience women had as a volunteer, the better their job at middle age. And among a subset of continuously employed women, volunteers were more upwardly mobile in occupational status than non-volunteers (Wilson and

Musick 2003). A more recent study conducted in the Netherlands included both men and women. It revealed that people volunteering at the time they first entered the labor market got higher-status jobs. Still, no additional payoffs in terms of occupational status occurred beyond mere membership in a voluntary association (Ruiter and de Graaf 2009). Rho (2010) conducted a study in Korea to identify the effect of participation in corporate philanthropic activities on organizational commitment. Volunteering did not directly affect organizational commitment, but employees having a positive assessment of and attitude toward corporate philanthropy were more likely to be committed thus.

(e) Civic effects and political participation

Many scholars believe that encouraging young people to get involved in volunteer work will nurture interest in and develop skills necessary for active citizenship (i.e., attending political meetings, working for political campaigns, voting). Additionally, volunteering builds trust in others, encouraging us to look beyond ourselves to the greater good of the community. It makes us more aware of the structural nature of social problems; for example, by shifting attention from homeless people to the problem of homelessness and policies that might prevent it. In addition, volunteering, if satisfying, can lead people to do more volunteering in the future. This kind of research was reviewed in Handbook Chapter 28, on "Conducive Social Roles and Demographics Influencing Volunteering" (Section D, 3).

A number of studies have examined the link between youth volunteering and political behavior. A study of *civic commitments* among youth in the United States, Australia, and five European countries found that young volunteers rated higher than non-volunteers in contributing to their community and their society and helping the less fortunate (Flanagan et al. 1998). In none of the societies, however, were volunteers more inclined to aspire to political involvement than non-volunteers (ibid.). In the United States, students who volunteered while in college and were then contacted four years after graduation were found to be more willing to participate in community action programs than those who had not volunteered (Astin, Sax, and Avalos 1998). Another study found that US high school students who performed community service were more likely as young adults (aged 26) to vote in local and presidential elections (Hart et al. 2007). Research on high school seniors in the United States found that those who had volunteered in the previous four years were more likely to say it is important for them as adults "to participate as a citizen in my community" (Johnson et al. 1998:326).

In adult populations, survey data portray volunteers as more active in politics than non-volunteers, even after adjustments made for such covariates as race, gender, and socio-economic status (Jenkins et al. 2003; Walker 2008; see also Handbook Chapter 5). Sobieraj and White (2004) used cross-sectional US

national sample data to show that more frequent volunteering in political associations is related to political participation. But the same outcome occurs also in *non*-political associations to the extent that political discourse/discussion takes place frequently in such groups. Howard and Gilbert (2008) found that internal associational involvement (not mere nominal membership) was related significantly to higher political participation by individuals in 19 European nations and the United States in a cross-sectional study.

Volunteers are more likely to vote because they have more generalized trust (a necessary ingredient of active politics), more confidence in their ability to get things done (self-efficacy), and social ties to people outside their immediate social circle. Across the world volunteers are more likely to discuss politics with friends, be interested in politics, sign petitions, and engage in protests and demonstrations (Hodgkinson 2003:50; Dekker and Van den Broek 1996). Civic engagement and associational volunteering are found in cross-sectional surveys to be related to political protest activity as well as to conventional political activity (e.g., Gilster 2012; Somma 2010; see also Handbook Chapter 5). But neighborhood activism can have more impact on political activity than does the usual volunteerism (Gilster 2012). Even religious congregation attendance was related to civic engagement in a cross-sectional study (Smidt 1999).

Van Der Meer and Van Ingen (2009) used multivariate analysis on cross-sectional national sample survey data from 17 European nations to show that the frequently observed positive relationship between associational volunteering and political participation was likely a *selection* effect, not a *socialization*/experience effect. By contrast, Enjolras (2015) did similar multivariate analyses on cross-sectional national survey data from a partly overlapping set of 23 European nations, finding a systematically significant relationship of volunteering to individual political participation. Methodological differences in the two surveys and also in their multivariate analysis procedures may explain these apparent differences, but this comparative analysis of the two studies has yet to be done. Panel survey data from many nations would be more convincing.

(f) Social conformity

This section considers the argument that doing volunteer work contributes to *healthy* or *positive* human development. This means, among other things, acting in a socially responsible manner and refraining from antisocial behaviour such as substance abuse, delinquency, crime, and acts of violence. Belief in the positive consequences of volunteerism underpins many programs aimed at engaging young people in community service work. Proponents believe that volunteering by adolescents boosts their self-esteem, forges positive relations with peers and adults, and develops a sense of belonging to and responsibility for the welfare of the community. Several studies of school children conducted

in the United States show that pupils performing volunteer work are less likely to use illicit drugs, be suspended from school, engage in violence toward others, or damage public property (Hart, Atkins, and Ford 1998; Hoffman and Xu 2002; Youniss, Yates, and Su 1997). A longitudinal study of American youth found that, of those who had volunteered when they were 15- or 16-years old, 3% had been arrested for committing a crime by age 21 compared with 11% who had not volunteered. Between the ages of 17 and 21, the risk of arrest for volunteers was about 28% of the risk for non-volunteers (Uggen and Janiluka 1999). Two surveys of college students in the United States found that students who engaged in community service were less likely to report alcohol abuse and risky consumption patterns (Theall et al. 2009; Weitzman and Chen 2005). Another US study, of youth living in rural areas, found that prosocial behavior at age 16 (an index that included volunteer work) was negatively related to the incidence of getting drunk, using marijuana, and smoking cigarettes at age 23 (Carlo et al. 2011).

The reasons for the negative effect of volunteering on delinquency are unclear. It could be due to volunteers having different peer groups, aversion to risky behaviors, or greater moral development (Carlo et al. 2011). Prosocial behaviors are not on the same continuum as antisocial behaviors. This means a young person could report high levels of both, and this, in turn, means volunteering – a form of prosocial behavior – does not necessarily imply less antisocial behavior (Carlo et al. 2011). Nor is it true at the national level that prosocial behaviors drive out antisocial behaviors. Countries with high rates of prosocial behavior, as measured by volunteering, giving money to charity, and helping a stranger, do not necessarily have low rates of antisocial behavior, as measured by reports of having been robbed or assaulted. For example, New Zealand exhibits much prosocial behavior but is also above average for antisocial behavior (OECD 2011).

2. Negative effects or drawbacks of formal volunteering

We now look briefly at some negative impacts of volunteering and associational participation on volunteers (cf., Grotz 2010). In direct contradiction to the view that volunteering is a means of gaining confidence and self-esteem, the potential for emotional harm from volunteering was identified during a Volunteer Rights Inquiry undertaken by a national volunteering infrastructure body in the United Kingdom. Witnesses at the Inquiry reported how their formal volunteering experience left them physically and mentally harmed having, for example, been harassed, bullied, or worn down (Volunteering England 2010:7).

Unlike studies of the positive effects of volunteering, there seem to have been very few systematic, empirical research attempts to establish whether, when, and how volunteers have experienced negative consequences. Nevertheless, there is some research indicating that volunteers can have negative

experiences or outcomes. For instance, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) has been demonstrated among volunteer fire fighters (Bryant and Harvey. 1996), as has burnout (emotional fatigue, depression) in AIDS volunteers (Ross, Greenfield, and Bennett 1999). Jaffe et al. (2012) report broadly on the risk of PTSD for volunteers. Ironson (2007:74) reports that depression is "one of the common effects associated with HIV care-giving." This is probably a specific instance of a more general situation where the volunteer suffers from e*mpathic over-arousal* or simply emotional burnout (Hoffman 2008). This negative outcome may also explain why people who volunteer in disaster settings, such as earthquakes, terrorist bombings, and aviation disasters, experience unfavorable effects (Thormar et al. 2010).

Emotional burnout in volunteers is likely far more common than most observers, even scholars, imagine (see also Handbook Chapter 30, Section D, 7f). A cross-sectional study in Spain by Moreno-Jiménez and Villodres (2010) analyzed volunteer burnout in terms of three dimensions: cynicism, exhaustion, and low efficacy. In research on a sample of volunteers, they found such burnout was related to length of time in the organization and having more extrinsic motivations (social and career motives). By contrast, burnout was less likely for volunteers who had spent less time in the organization and who were intrinsically motivated (values and understanding), more satisfied with their life, and better integrated into the organization (more internal social support). Based on a qualitative study of a UK Scout association, Talbot (2015:209) found various adult volunteers reported "feeling overworked and spending too much time volunteering, and consequently feeling burnt out." Hence, one must add recent amount/intensity of volunteer work as a factor in volunteer burnout, in addition to sheer time volunteering in the organization in the longer term (i.e., years).

Instead of prolonging longevity, volunteering in dangerous roles can even be fatal. An extreme case is that of the Royal National Lifeboat Institution (RNLI) in the United Kingdom, which reports that since 1824 its volunteers have saved 139,000 lives at sea, but 778 are commemorated on the RNLI Memorial for having lost their own lives trying to save others (Cameron 2009). The question, of course, arises again if those fatalities are linked to the nature (and danger) of the activity rather than to the fact that it is undertaken voluntarily.

Research on underground and deviant nonprofit associations, nearly all of it qualitative, shows many kinds of negative effects on members and active volunteers. For example, most volunteers in the French underground resistance during World War II were eventually caught, tortured, and killed by the Nazi Gestapo (Aubrac 1993; Schoenbrun 1980). Similarly, nearly all active volunteer members of doomsday or mass suicide cults (new religions) died (e.g., Layton 1998; Thibodeau and Whiteson 1999). Active volunteers in the US woman suffrage movement early in the 20th century were harassed, abused, and jailed for

picketing the White House in Washington, DC (Ford 1991). Active volunteers in the Al Qaeda terrorist movement and associations risk incarceration and/or death if discovered and caught, and are sometimes killed (Gunaratna 2002; Wright 2006). Active members of delinquent gangs may suffer serious injuries, imprisonment, or death as a result of inter-gang fighting, vandalism, and so on (e.g., Dawley 1992; Vigil 1988).

Researchers have also asked, if some volunteering is good for you, is more volunteering better? In fact, the research on this topic suggests that too much volunteering can be harmful, probably because it becomes stressful to squeeze too many demands into one's life (Windsor, Anstey, and Rogers 2008). The ability of volunteering to combat mental illness appears to wane above a certain number of hours contributed per week or month (Morrow-Howell et al. 2003). Similarly, Post (2007) reviewed research showing that when altruistic individuals get overworked and over-stressed in care-giving volunteer roles, negative results often occur for these individuals (e.g., depression, burnout).

We can also introduce the notion of negative financial effects of volunteering and association membership. Members/volunteers in notorious, deviant, and underground associations (DVAs) can lose their jobs if exposed, or need to give up their conventional jobs to participate actively. For example, members of witches' covens and Satanist groups (GAs) in America are careful to maintain anonymity, to keep their jobs and *normal* lives intact (e.g., Lyons 1988; Scarboro, Campbell, and Stave 1994). In recent decades in America, members of the radical, underground, environmental association, Earth First! have engaged in eco-terrorism that has led to job loss and lengthy imprisonment (Lee 1995). Active members of outlaw motorcycle gangs, like Hell's Angels, may have conventional day jobs they could lose if exposed at their workplaces (e.g., Lavigne 1993).

In summary, we have a mountain of evidence pointing to the positive effects of volunteering on members and volunteers in many key areas, from physical and mental health to financial benefit and political participation. But, despite very clear evidence of negative effects, far fewer studies have explored these. The relative absence of research here is troubling when we consider the strong emphasis policy-makers place on the results of studies pointing only to the positive effects of volunteering. As Smith with Eng and Albertson (2016) suggest (see also Handbook Chapter 54), there is a dark side to many associations, and some fundamentally *deviant voluntary associations* (DVAs) exist – with corresponding negative effects of volunteering being felt in many nations. Also, the crisis volunteering discussed in Handbook Chapter 14 tends to be intrinsically dangerous for volunteers in various ways, both physically and in terms of emotional trauma. Whether in DVAs or in conventional associations or VSPs, volunteering in potentially or actually dangerous situations/contexts often leads to negative consequences, and may even result in major harm to and/or serious life problems for the volunteer.

E. Usable knowledge

It has been suggested that the benefits associated with volunteering depend on many variables. For example, the kind or amount of volunteer work may be less important for well-being than the particular conditions (context) of that work (Thoits and Hewitt 2001:128). Recruiters and administrators should pay special attention to matching motives with assignments, providing recognition to volunteers, and tailoring assignments to capabilities. Of course, this also applies to the negative impacts, which may not necessarily be directly linked to the fact that an activity is undertaken voluntarily. It is, for example, likely that paid fire fighters will also experience post-traumatic stress. In short, the evidence of negative impact on individual volunteers clearly contradicts the assumption that volunteering is exclusively beneficial.

The following practical conclusions may be drawn from the evidence:

- Volunteering *may* be good for you, though you cannot assume it *will* always be thus.
- Volunteering *may* be bad for you, but we do not yet know whether this is linked to its voluntary nature, the specific activity performed, or the context of that activity. A potentially dangerous context of volunteering often leads to negative effects and harm for volunteers.
- Unconditional support for volunteering based solely on evidence of benefits is potentially dangerous, since it is biased and incomplete.

F. Future trends and needed research

We may expect that associations and volunteer programs will continue to have some positive effects, but also sometimes negative effects, on the participants involved. On the whole, the positive effects of formal volunteering will generally be likely to predominate. Were this not the case, there would be few volunteers, yet there are at least a billion today all over the world (see Handbook Chapters 44 and 51).

Four fundamental new approaches to studying this topic emerge from all this.

1. First, the general context of volunteering needs to be sampled and studied as a variable, especially various types of volunteer service programs, conventional associations, and fundamentally deviant voluntary associations. Much more research is especially needed on DVAs and how motivations for participation in them differ from motivations for conventional volunteering.
2. Second, we must create data sets containing information on specific volunteer tasks and consequences (e.g., health), while shifting attention

from individuals and their characteristics and activities to the context of volunteering (Handbook Chapter 3 suggests some typologies of volunteer tasks).

3. Third, in addition to studies focusing on positive consequences for the volunteer, we must also approach volunteering research from the opposite angle, by looking at negative consequences and moderator variables. For example, researchers should study whether the risk-taking disposition leads to certain kinds of volunteering. Are these risk-takers self-selected, thereby generating negative consequences while pursuing possibly dangerous volunteer roles? Or are those roles unavoidably risky? Also, to what extent does volunteering in DVAs provide positive and negative consequences for the volunteers/members/participants?

4. Fourth, we need far more panel studies over longer periods of time with many more variables measured, especially physiological, psychological, and contextual variables (see Handbook Chapters 25–27, 30, 31), to be more certain of the consequences of volunteering and citizen participation on volunteers and to understand the intricacies of causality here.

G. Cross-references

Chapters 5, 14, 15, 17, 22, and 53.

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53

Volunteering Impacts on Volunteers: Immediate Positive Emotional-Cognitive Effects and Longer-Term Happiness/Well-Being Effects

David Horton Smith (USA)

A. Introduction

As a companion/complement to Handbook Chapter 52, this chapter further reviews research on the *positive consequences* of volunteering for the volunteer as a participant or member in voluntary membership associations (MAs) or in volunteer service programs (VSPs; see Handbook Chapter 15). Some consequences of volunteering are immediate, as positive felt affects/emotions and positive cognitions/perceptions from an activity, reviewed here in Section D, 1. Other consequences, more commonly the focus of volunteer impact research, are longer term, over days, months, and years. The latter are mainly reviewed in Chapter 52, but also reviewed partly here in Section D, 2, for longer-term happiness and well-being effects.

B. Definitions

The definitions of the main terms and concepts in this chapter can be found in the Handbook Appendix.

C. Historical background

The "Historical Background" section of Chapter 52 should be read here, with the first three paragraphs written by the present author, Smith.

D. Key issues

1. Immediate positive emotional and cognitive effects

(a) Theoretical background: Positive psychology and the science of happiness

Research relevant to this section began mainly in the field of leisure research (e.g., Kaplan 1960; Robinson and Godbey 1997), and also in time use studies (e.g., Michelson 2006; Szalai 1972; see also Handbook Chapter 4). With the advent of positive psychology and the new science of happiness in the past two decades, it has become clearer that the positive side of life and human emotions needs to be measured and studied, as well as the negative side. In a seminal book long ago, Bradburn (1969) used longitudinal/panel survey data to show that *happiness* or *psychological well-being* (sometimes also termed *life satisfaction*, all rough synonyms) has both positive and negative aspects, positive and negative feelings, which are rather independent of each other (p. 225). His research also showed that "the positive affect measures were correlated with indicators of social involvement and new or varied experiences" (p. 227). He stated, "our negative affect dimension is the same as that which turns up in many different studies of mental health and illness under such names as anxiety, neurotic tendencies, psychoneurotic symptoms, or psychic impairment" (p. 231). Recent research has substantiated these conclusions (see Handbook Chapter 52).

Seligman (2002; see also Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi 2014), the scholar credited with founding positive psychology, described the *three pillars* of this new field as follows:

> First is the study of positive emotion. Second is the study of positive traits, foremost among them the strengths and virtues, but also the "abilities" such as intelligence and athleticism. Third is the study of the positive institutions, such as democracies, strong families, and free inquiry, that support the virtues, which in turn support the positive emotions.

Unfortunately, in this book Seligman fails to understand and discuss the importance of MAs, volunteering, and general social involvement/support as both results and sources of positive emotions and positive traits (see Handbook Chapter 30). But the general logic of positive psychology explains why volunteering usually leads to felt well-being, life satisfaction, and even happiness. However, there is also causality in the other direction: individuals with greater felt well-being tend to volunteer more, which creates a *virtuous cycle* (e.g., Land, Michalos, and Sirgy 2011:144).

(b) Empirical studies of immediate emotional and cognitive effects

Several fairly recent studies have measured the *immediate positive affects/emotions* and positive *cognitions/perceptions* present during a wide variety of activities across the total range of time use categories.

(a) Robinson and Godbey (1997:243) reported on an older national sample survey of the USA (1985) regarding time use data for leisure. The top six *social* leisure activities in average immediate enjoyment (positive affect), in descending order, were sports, child play, religion, cultural events, organizations (MAs), and conversation. Several other solitary activities were also rated highly. TV viewing had a fairly high rating, but would be most easily dropped or cut if more time were needed (p. 294). The authors note (p. 294) that "television is the one activity that correlates negatively with other, more active forms of leisure," especially leisure activities outside the home (which includes volunteering and citizen participation).

(b) Reporting on a 2004 study in the USA, Belli et al. (2009:163) found the following activities to have the top six immediate positive affect ratings on average, in descending order: intimate relations (including sex), socializing, relaxing, pray/worship/meditate, eating, and exercising. Preferred interaction partners were, in descending order, friends, relatives, spouses/significant others, and then children (p. 164).

(c) In data from a US sample, Hektner et al. (2007:128) found the highest immediate positive affect ratings, in descending order, for lovemaking/sex, socializing, talking, sports, and eating.

(d) Using a national US sample of time use (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2011), Gimenez-Nadal and Molina (2015:7) found the highest average immediate positive affect for these seven activities, in descending order: supervisory child care, out-of-home leisure, religious activities, teaching child care, voluntary activities (volunteering), sports/exercise, and basic child care.

(e) Grimm (2013) used a haphazard New Zealand student sample to show that the favorite activities, in descending order of average immediate positive affect, were sex/making love, drinking alcohol/partying, care giving/volunteering, meditating/religious activities, child care/playing with children, listening to music/podcasts, and socializing/chatting/talking.

Some of the variations in results come from different activity categories being used in different studies. Obviously, if having sex/lovemaking is not included as a category, this activity cannot come out on top – but it seems to do so when included explicitly. Sports/exercising, religious activities, child involvement, and eating all tend to get high positive affect ratings, as do variations on socializing, conversation, chatting, etc. Volunteering or MA activity was only rarely included as an activity category, but was rated highly when included. We also note that the high immediate positive affect average attached to socializing likely applies to much volunteering and MA activity when the latter are not included explicitly as activity response categories. Note also that nearly all highly rated activities in terms of positive affect are social in nature, even eating, which is usually social (especially breakfast

and supper with one's spouse/family, and often lunch with co-workers or spouse/family).

2. Longer-term positive effects on happiness and well-being

(a) Theoretical background

Socio-behavioral science research has targeted various aspects of *well-being/happiness* for study, including (a) immediate mood states and feelings of positive affect, sometimes referred to as *hedonic* well-being (see the prior section); (b) psychological well-being (e.g., Diener 2009), such as feeling that life has purpose, sometimes referred to as *eudemonic well-being,* or as *life satisfaction* (a kind of global/general cognitive judgment); and (c) *social well-being*, such as feeling close to others in one's community (also referred to as *social support*, *social relationships*, *social ties, social capital, social integration, social embeddedness,* or *social network involvement*). All of these and other aspects or measures of well-being/happiness are sometimes termed *quality of life indicators* or *social indicators*, especially when measured repeatedly in a population/sample over time (e.g., Glatzer et al. 2015; Land et al. 2011). Jayawickreme, Forgeard, and Seligman (2012) discuss and clarify definitions of well-being.

Research in the new science of happiness (David, Boniwell, and Ayers 2014) overlaps with, but is different than, research in the field of positive psychology (Donaldson, Dollwet, and Rao 2015; Lopez, Pedrotti, and Snyder 2014); and both fields do research relevant to psychological (subjective) well-being. Happiness research focuses centrally on the causes and consequences of happiness at both the individual and societal (or social system) levels (e.g., David et al. 2014; Cooper, Burton, and Cooper 2014). When the focus is on the societal level, such research is of less interest here, being more the purview of social indicators research (e.g., Glatzer et al. 2015; Land et al. 2011). When the focus is on the individual level, happiness research is quite relevant to the impacts of volunteering, which are of primary interest here (e.g., David et al. 2014).

Like so many other aspects of human behavior (Freese 2008; see also Handbook Chapter 25), happiness has genetic components discovered and demonstrated especially in the past few decades (Grinde 2012; Hanson 2013). An individual's behavior genetics are believed to determine a range of happiness that will characterize the person in his/her lifetime. Social background factors, such as income, marital status, employment status, etc., partly influence where in that individual range the person will be during long periods of time in life, but do not have much variable effect in one's life (Haidt 2006:91). Humans usually adapt to both persisting positive and persisting negative conditions in their lives within a few months or a year, so such background conditions tend to have little influence after they first occur. This process is termed *hedonic adaptation*, as reviewed in Kahneman, Diener, and Schwartz (1999:Chapter 16).

However, during any given day, week, or month, various voluntary activities (voluntary action), in the sense of freely chosen actions (more than just volunteering), rather than being rather fixed social background conditions, mainly affect happiness levels (ibid.).

An individual's personality also has some effect on happiness, but is also mainly a fixed condition that usually changes little for individuals over their lifetimes, though varying markedly in the general population (e.g., Furnham and Cheng 1997). In a meta-analysis of research, Steel, Schmidt, and Shultz (2008) found very powerful effects of various personality measures on well-being in cross-sectional studies of the general population in multivariate analyses (up to 39% or more of the variance). With data from students in four Anglo nations, Francis et al. (1998) conclude that happiness is *stable extraversion* as a broad personality trait. Argyle (2013) reviews much more research in his book on the psychology of happiness. Sirgy's (2012) similar book on the psychology of quality of life reviews factors in many life/activity domains that can influence individual happiness and how individuals may change some of these in their lives.

(b) Empirical studies of longer-term happiness and well-being effects

In relation to volunteering, it is important to understand from qualitative research that people have varying views or attitudes on the nature and meaning of this activity. In qualitative research, Lie, Baines, and Wheelock (2009) found that older volunteers had two different main views of their activity: (1) as leisure and also a kind of work effort versus (2) as care and civic consciousness. Although research on such attitudes is rare, the present author hypothesizes that volunteers in VSPs (see Handbook Chapter 15) versus MAs will likely have somewhat different perceptions of and attitudes toward what they are doing, given the major differences in these two key contexts (cf., Smith 2015a, 2015b).

Is volunteering related to well-being/happiness/life satisfaction? Positive relationships of volunteering to these outcomes have been reported in various cross-sectional studies of US adult samples, often the national samples (Borgonovi 2008; Gottlieb and Gillespie 2008; Konrath 2014; Luoh and Herzog 2002:505; Morrow-Howell 2010; Post 2005, 2007; Post and Neimark 2008) and in the United Kingdom (O'Brien Townsend, and Ebden 2010). Several literature review or meta-analysis publications find support for volunteering (including informal volunteering and other prosocial behavior/productive leisure/social activity) being related to well-being/happiness or life satisfaction (e.g., Adams, Leibbrandt, and Moon 2011; Jenkinson et al. 2013; Onyx and Warburton 2003; Pillemer 2000; Post 2005, 2007; Post and Neimark 2008; Von Bonsdorff and Rantanen. 2011; Wheeler, Gorey, and Greenblatt 1998). Such findings are more common for the middle-aged and elderly, especially in the USA, which is the

most frequently studied nation. The literature review by Connolly and O'Shea (2015) found that volunteering tends to have more impact among the retired, the older-old (e.g., 80 years plus), and the less educated.

Cross-sectional research in Asian nations finds similar relationships between volunteering and well-being. Moon and Moon (2009) compared participants and non-participants in volunteer activities among 616 South Korean middle school and high school students. They found that teenage volunteers had significantly higher levels of self-esteem and life satisfaction than non-volunteers. Similarly, from a South Korean sample aged 60 and older, Chung and Lee (2005) showed that volunteering was significantly related to life satisfaction. What mattered most in this case was not the frequency of volunteering but the positive attitude toward volunteer activities. A study of retirees living in Singapore revealed that, as volunteers, they were more satisfied with their lives and scored higher on measures of subjective well-being (Schwingel et al. 2009). Elderly Chinese living in Hong Kong reported greater life satisfaction and less psychological distress when volunteering, especially if they found the volunteer work rewarding (Wu, Tang, and Yan 2005).

An Australian study found that volunteers scored higher on an index of Personal Well-Being, a measure of satisfaction composed of standard of living, health, achievement in life, relationships, safety, ties to community, and future security (Mellor et al. 2009). Another Australian study found that the greater life satisfaction of volunteers could be attributed, in part, to their wider circles of friends (Pilkington, Windsor, and Crisp 2012). Finally, a study of Canadians aged 65 and older revealed that volunteers scored higher on measures of overall happiness and life satisfaction – most probably because they were involved with voluntary associations (Theurer and Wister 2010).

Some highly multi-national but cross-sectional studies support the positive relationship of volunteering and well-being. For instance, a study of people aged 50 and older living in 11 European countries found that volunteering was significantly associated with a reduced probability of experiencing a decline in quality of life over a two-year period (Wahrendorf and Siegrist 2010). Quality of life was measured by sense of control, autonomy, self-realization, and pleasure (ibid.).

Sometimes reciprocal relationships are observed, with volunteering leading to well-being and also well-being leading to more volunteering (e.g., Morrow-Howell 2010; Onyx and Warburton 2003). Using a sample of adult Arizona residents, Okun et al. (2011) showed that chronic health conditions enhanced the effect of volunteering on well-being, but age did not. Sometimes volunteering is not significantly related to well-being, as Enjolras (2015) found in 23 nations. But Howard and Gilbert (2008) found associational involvement (not mere nominal membership) was related significantly to life satisfaction in many European nations and the USA. The two foregoing studies suggest that VSP

volunteering and associational volunteering may have very different impacts on well-being/happiness. Appropriate longitudinal data measuring both types of volunteering and well-being in the same panel survey would help resolve this conflict. A survey of older urban dwellers in Spain found associational volunteering to be related to life satisfaction, but attributed the relationship to self-selection, after complex multivariate analyses (Ahmed-Mohamed et al. 2015). Another study in Spain (Hidalgo, Moreno-Jiménez, and Quiñonero 2013) compared small haphazard samples of volunteers and non-volunteers, finding more well-being in the former.

Many longitudinal studies support the findings noted above, especially among older persons, sometimes with volunteering included among other prosocial/productive activities as a composite index. In the United States, such studies include Adams et al. (2011); Baker et al. (2005); Kahana et al. (2013); Konrath (2014); Piliavin and Siegl (2007); Post (2007); Sneed and Cohen (2013); Son and Wilson (2012); Thoits and Hewitt (2001:127); and Van Willigen (2000). Binder and Freytag (2013) found similar results in a national sample panel survey in the United Kingdom, with well-being increasing with more regular volunteering over time.

The next obvious question is, w*hat voluntary activities most promote well-being/happiness in individuals? Why* volunteering and citizen participation promote well-being and happiness is a question that has received some direct research, but also much relevant indirect research. One example of direct research is by Thoits (2012), who argues that the salience of the volunteer role can often lend meaning and purpose to an individual's life, which in turn leads to well-being/happiness. Her data on Mended Hearts volunteer visitors to heart attack victims confirm this hypothesis, finding (p. 360) that "a sense of meaningful, purposeful life mediates the positive influences of role identity salience on mental and physical health." Such an explanation partly involves social integration of volunteers into the volunteering context (see below), but also key aspects of the self. Jenkinson et al. (2013:8) discussed various possible explanations of why volunteering leads to well-being/happiness, pointing especially to social support/integration factors.

The *indirect* research referred to above is broader research on the general roots of well-being and happiness, which touches on volunteering or aspects of volunteering. One key research finding, mentioned above, is that voluntary activities of many kinds (including, but not limited to, volunteering and citizen participation) can promote well-being/happiness (Haidt 2006:91). Haidt's explanation, from his review of the literature, is as follows (p. 94): "The condition [situation, factor] that is said to trump all others in importance is the strength and number of a person's relationships. Good relationships make people happy, and happy people enjoy more and better relationships than unhappy people." He adds (ibid.), "you never adapt to interpersonal conflict,"

so it continues to damage an individual persistently, even when the other person is not present.

Large amounts of research confirm the crucial nature of supportive relationships with others in order for an individual to experience well-being/happiness/life satisfaction, especially for older individuals. Haidt (2006) devotes his next chapter (6, entitled "Love and Attachments") to this topic and relevant research. Our conclusion from the prior Section D 1 on immediate positive affect was that social relationships are involved in most of the high positive affect activities. One chapter in the well-cited book by Kahneman et al. (1999:Chapter 19) on well-being reviews much research showing that supportive friendships and marriages lead to more well-being/happiness as well as to better physical health. Many other review books also emphasize the major importance of social support/positive social relationships and ties for well-being/happiness (e.g., David et al. 2014:Section VII; Pillemer 2000:Chapters 1 and 2; Rojas 2015:Part II; Simpson and Campbell 2013; Vaux 1988).

Large sample longitudinal surveys in the USA find that low levels of social support are related to future depression (e.g., Teo, Choi, and Valenstein 2013.) Much research on loneliness also supports these conclusions, with loneliness being a major lack of social relationships that usually leads to unhappiness and depression (Cacioppo and Patrick 2008; Hawkley and Cacioppo 2010). Piliavin's (2003:227) review chapter on volunteering found that "the emphasis of work on adults, including elderly individuals, is mainly in terms of the role that voluntary organization membership and volunteering play in social integration [social support] and the buffering of stress."

The book abstract on the back cover of Rojas (2015) sums up the role of social support in happiness as follows: "The handbook draws attention to some important features that contribute to the happiness of people, such as: relational values, human relations, solidarity networks, the role of the family, and the availability and gratifying use of leisure time." High quality of relationships is especially important, not mere quantity (e.g., Teo et al. 2013).

Then we must ask, *how does social support relate to volunteering*? The answer is simple and obvious: In both MAs and VSPs as contexts, volunteering intrinsically involves social relationships and social support in most cases (e.g. Smith 1997a, 2000:Chapter 9; see also Handbook Chapters 7 and 8). This is especially true in MAs, where face-to-face group meetings are usually held, sometimes daily or weekly for local MAs (i.e., grassroots associations [GAs]; Smith 2015a). Volunteers in VSPs rarely have group meetings, and may not even feel themselves to belong to a group per se, seeing themselves to be volunteer staff of the parent organization.

Although much leisure activity is unorganized, a great deal of *serious* leisure activity (Stebbins 2007) takes place in organized contexts, especially MAs (Stebbins 2002). Looking at the targets of benefits of volunteering, Stebbins

(2015:66) argues that a focus on helping people is by far the most common, with much less attention to "ideas, things, plants, animals, and the environment."

Prouteau and Wolff (2008) studied the social support/relational motive for volunteering in French national samples both for MA volunteering and VSP volunteering. They showed (p. 314) that "[v]olunteering is seen as a way to build friendly relationships." Also (ibid.), "[a]ccording to their own statements, many volunteers seek to make friends and to meet other people through these activities."

In his book on *Grassroots Associations*, Smith (2000) found similar results from research in the United States, writing (quoted with permission of the author here),

> GAs are inherently social and interactional, usually on a face-to-face basis because of their locality base and goals. They *all* tend to generate interpersonal support and informal helping among members as one kind of member impact (Auslander and Litwin 1988; Clary 1987; Coombs 1973; Wagne 1991; Vaux 1988). Fischer (1982), in a study of people from 50 Northern California communities, showed that co-members of GAs constituted at least 6% of people's overall social support networks – about 20% for people in churches and religious GAs and 10% for people only in secular GAs (p. 41, 111). About half of these GA co-member "friends" had been met through the GA (p. 356). Moreover, he found that co-members of GAs were more likely than co-workers or neighbors to be "especially close" and to go out socially with the respondents (p. 109).

> Some 40% of American adults (Wuthnow, 1994:47) are in small social support, mutual aid groups which are especially important sources of social support by definition – self-help groups, Bible study groups, Sunday school classes, book and discussion groups, political and current events groups, sports and hobby groups (ibid., p. 76, 170). Wuthnow's (1994, p. 170) national representative sample research on such "support groups" shows that such groups were credited by 82% of members with making you feel like you're not alone, by 72% with giving encouragement when you were feeling down, and by 43% with helping you through an emotional crisis, among other kinds of help. Many researchers have noted the key importance of social support and interaction specifically in self-help GAs (e.g., Katz and Bender, 1976; Lavoie et al., 1994; T. Powell, 1994).

> Interpersonal support and friendship constitute major impacts for GAs whose major goals are sociability (Barker and Gump, 1964; Clawson, 1989; Morgan and Alwyn, 1980), social service (Charles, 1993), youth development (MacLeod, 1983; Reck, 1951), hobbies (Bishop and Hoggett

(1986), immigrant relations (Maeyama, 1979; Soysal, 1994), and self-help (Droghe et al., 1986; Wuthnow, 1994). Even GA political influence activities may increase social support networks of participants (Cable and Degutis, 1997).

More recently, Stolle and Rochon (1998) showed that each social capital indicator they used was significantly related to associational membership, and more so for cultural MAs and for MAs with diverse (vs. homogeneous) memberships. The literature review by Nyqvist et al. (2013) shows that higher social capital of individuals leads to more well-being/happiness in older people. Chapters 6 and 7 in the present Handbook review much research that generally supports volunteering in MAs as leading to more social network involvement as social support (Chapter 7) and more social capital, as positive relationships with other MA members/participants (Chapter 6). Hence there is much research support for MA volunteering/participation having the effect of more social support for the individuals involved. Such support in turn likely leads to greater well-being/happiness/life satisfaction.

Other evidence relating volunteering to well-being/happiness comes from general research on the topic. Taking one study as an example, given all the foregoing, Dolan, Peasgood, and White's (2008:103–104) literature review on happiness factors in economics journals from 1990 to 2007 noted individual "community involvement and volunteering" as a relevant factor in various studies. But sometimes the relationship is not significant (ibid.). Religious activities, especially congregation worship service attendance, are often found to be positively related to well-being/happiness, bearing in mind that local congregations are actually MAs in most cases (ibid., 104; Cnaan and Curtis 2013; see also Handbook Chapter 22). The authors note (p. 112) that "the role of social capital and contact with the local community" has not been adequately explored. However, "personal and community relationships" are clearly important in the literature.

Lyubomirsky (2007:Chapters 5 and 10) agrees, emphasizing the importance of social support, especially high-quality relationships, as do other major review books cited above. But she also mentions other key factors in well-being/happiness, especially commitment to meaningful goals and activities in life (chapters 8 and 10). In her chapter 10, she refers to the importance of "motivation, effort, and commitment." This aspect is also relevant to volunteering, as volunteers/members are often devoted/dedicated to their MA or VSP and its goals. Goal achievement or purposive incentives are very important in many MAs, especially GAs with instrumental goals/purposes versus expressive ones (Smith 2000:96–97).

Haidt (2006:238) agrees, concluding his book on the *happiness hypothesis* as follows:

> We are social creatures who need love and attachments, and we are industrious creatures with needs for effectance [accomplishment; competence], able to enter a state of vital engagement with our work.

The present author adds that such *vitally engaging work,* as a key aspect of happiness, may be paid or volunteer in terms of remuneration, or a bit of each (i.e., quasi-volunteering; see Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:191).

In his recent book *Flourish,* Seligman (2012) elaborates on this vital engagement aspect of finding/making the good life, based on his review and study of positive psychology. He argues for the mantra PERMA, spelled out as Positive emotions, Engagement, Relationships, Meaning, and Accomplishment as the necessary elements of "a life of profound fulfillment." Many people find such fulfillment through volunteering and/or citizen participation, including religious congregation/association activity, among other meaningful activities.

E. Usable knowledge

The practical value of the research reviewed in this chapter lies in its implications for MA leaders and VSP administrators becoming even more aware of the importance of providing volunteers with both immediate and longer-term positive cognitive and emotional outcomes. By paying appropriate attention to such aspects of volunteer leadership management, MA and VSP leaders/managers can better encourage self-identification with their roles by volunteers, and hence promote greater volunteer retention rates than would otherwise be the case. The research on volunteer motivation reviewed in Handbook Chapter 30 helps make this clear, since *self*-involvement in volunteering is a major factor in volunteer retention. The author's Russian national sample research on formal volunteering (Smith 2015c), for instance, finds that self-involvement in volunteering is a highly influential factor statistically associated with higher levels of formal volunteering in a multiple regression analysis. (See also the comments in Section E on usable knowledge in the related Handbook Chapter 52.)

F. Future trends and needed research

Although there has already been substantial research on the positive impacts of volunteering on volunteers, as reviewed in Handbook Chapter 52, the present author believes that there is a clear trend for more such research in the future, given the growing popularity of positive psychology and happiness research more generally. The main future research suggestion here is to respect the clear need to embed such research in the larger context of projects studying *simultaneously* the various motivations and other influences on volunteering,

as reviewed in Handbook Part IV, and especially in Chapters 30 and 31. One cannot draw scientific conclusions about either the causes or consequences of positive impacts on volunteering without longitudinal/panel studies that attempt to measure and control statistically most or all of the relevant, possibly confounding, factors as variables. (See also the comments in Section F on future trends and needed research in the related Handbook Chapter 52.)

G. Cross-references

Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7, 14, 15, 17, 22, 30, 31, and 52.

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54
Crime, Misconduct, and Dysfunctions in and by Associations

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A. Introduction

Scholars in the Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Studies field (*voluntaristics*; Smith 2013) have seriously neglected the scientific study of the Dark Side of the nonprofit sector, defined as crime, deviance, misconduct, and dysfunctions. This chapter examines the Dark Side as it applies to membership associations (MAs), and to a lesser extent as it applies to MA volunteers, paid staff, and nonprofit agencies. We focus on two radically different kinds of MAs: (1) the conventional (mainstream) MA and (2) the fundamentally deviant voluntary association (DVA). A typology of DVAs is presented, plus case examples. We discuss the causes of deviance and misconduct in MAs, deviance by volunteers and employees, dysfunctions and inefficiencies in MAs, the regulatory environment, and responses by civil society organizations to deviance at different territorial levels.

In this chapter we explore crime (law and serious rule-breaking), misconduct (mild rule-breaking), and dysfunction (ineptitude, inefficiency, and/or ineffectiveness) in MAs, as the most frequent kind of groups and organizations in the Voluntary Nonprofit Sector (VNPS) throughout its 10,000-year existence (Smith 1997; see also Handbook Chapter 1). We do this at the level of the individual – both volunteers and employees, and also through the actions of the organization itself, both intentional and unintentional. We adopt a double-edged focus on two radically different kinds of MAs: (1) the conventional (mainstream) MA and (2) the fundamentally deviant voluntary association (DVA).

The "Altruism, Morality, and Social Solidarity" Section mission statement of the American Sociological Association (ASA 2013) recognizes this dichotomy: philanthropic groups may be conventionally perceived as organizations whose universal mandate consists of altruism and social solidarity intended to benefit

the welfare of others, while other groups may be perceived as good or evil; harmful or beneficial; desirable or undesirable depending on the perceptions of the social units affected by those groups. The term *fundamentally deviant association* (abbreviated as *DVA*) is used to refer to the socially stigmatized and sometimes persistently harmful type of MA, a term applied as early as 1995 by D. Smith (1995). Smith (2017a, 2017b) elaborates on DVAs in his recent books on this subject.

An additional but related issue of negative outcomes of MAs deals with dysfunctions, in which the rules broken are much less clear, often implicit or understood, but seldom enforced. Block's book (2004) is an excellent example but focuses mainly on dysfunctions in nonprofit agencies with a paid staff, not in MAs (see Smith 2015a, 2015b, for a discussion of the differences between these two distinct types of nonprofit or voluntary organizations, or NPOs). In the terminology of Stebbins (1996), dysfunctions are *tolerable deviance*. Such mild deviance makes clear that there is a wide spectrum of deviance, as deviation from prevailing rules, whether by individuals or by groups, including both informal groups and organizations (as formal groups; D. Smith et al. 2006:87). There is a corresponding wide range of attempts by others and the larger society to monitor, control, and sanction (with punishments or retribution) such deviations.

B. Definitions

The set of definitions in the Handbook Appendix are accepted in this chapter.

There are also some special definitions needed for this chapter. We differentiate *crime* (violating laws) from legal but unethical conduct (deviating from strict rules that are not laws), which we term *misconduct*. We also refer to *dysfunction*, which refers to conduct that deviates from milder rules, seldom punished, and seen as *tolerable deviance*. Dysfunctions usually still have negative, often unintended, consequences, resulting from legal, seemingly ethical actions that often reflect incompetence, ignorance, naiveté, and so on, even though well intended (D. Smith 2008b). Nevertheless, the word *misconduct* as used in common language can have an array of definitions, spanning the range from minor misdemeanors to serious criminal offenses. Nonprofit organizations (NPOs), including associations, are subject to crime and misconduct, as with families, businesses, and government agencies. In Australia, for instance, their Council of Social Services in New South Wales identifies misconduct as corrupt conduct of any person, public or not, that adversely affects the honest or impartial exercise of their duties, and lists 35 kinds of misconduct: crimes, misdemeanor actions, and behaviors in the delivery of services of not-for-profit, third sector, voluntary sector human services organizations (NCOSS 2011).

C. Historical background

Although no solid empirical evidence exists to our knowledge, it is likely that there has been some deviance and misconduct in certain MAs at certain times since associations first came into widespread existence about 10,000 years ago (Smith 1997; see also Handbook Chapter 1). Wherever there are humans and human groups, some deviance and misconduct occur at times (Smith 2008a, 2008b). In the major ancient civilizations of the West, there are a few studies by historians of clearly deviant voluntary associations (Josephus 1960:528; Kloppenborg and Wilson 1996:chapter 7).

The voluntary nonprofit sector has long been seen as angelic in the United States (Smith 2000, 2008a), but this was not always the case. For nearly the first 100 years of America as a nation, there were negative views of independent associations. Stern (2013:54–57) discusses the historical development of a positive image for the MAs and other nonprofit organizations in America, where the initial perceptions were quite negative from the mid-1700s to the mid-1800s. In the United States more recently, associations and nonprofit agencies have long been seen as embodying the moral high ground (Holloway 1998; see also Handbook Chapter 49).

The larger VNPS is a more recent concept, mainly developed in the 1970s and thereafter (Hall 1992; Smith, Reddy and Baldwin, 1972; Smith with Dixon; see also Handbook Chapter 1). Along with this new concept came such altruistic perceptions of the sector as promoting generosity, forgiveness, virtue, philanthropy, intergroup cooperation and the like (American Sociological Association 2013). But D. Smith (2008b) has argued that the *dark side of goodness* of the nonprofit sector, encompassing organizational crime and misconduct, has not been adequately addressed and explored (cf. Smith 2017a, 2017b).

In the past decade or so, several major books have appeared with a focus on the Dark Side of the VNPS, often with a title stressing the word *charity* and discussing the United States (Fishman 2007; Snyder 2011; Stern 2013; Wagner 2000; White 2006; Zack 2003). In a sense, such books follow up on a much earlier chapter in Bakal (1979) on misconduct by charities. On a more global basis, several recent books also deal with misconduct and corruption in transnational relief and development assistance NPOs, including various major MAs (de Waal 1997; Hancock 1992; Holmén 2010; Kennedy 2004), as discussed in Smith, Eng, and Albertson (2016).

D. Key issues

1. Insufficient research on the dark side of MAs and other nonprofits

The underlying issues raised by this chapter – ethics, morals, and values within associational life – are important but very complex. They have been analyzed,

evaluated, dissected and scrutinized generally in thousands of papers and books for about 2,500 years. At best, we can only document partially here the wide range of coverage regarding misconduct of conventional (mainstream, fundamentally non-deviant) associations, which has been seriously understudied. Much less systematic attention has been given by scholars to analyzing the activities and behaviors of fundamentally deviant associations (DVAs), although descriptions of specific groups and group types are frequent (see references in D. Smith 2017a, 2017b). Dysfunctions and inefficiency/ineffectiveness in MAs have received even less attention by scholars, although a bit more attention has been given to dysfunctions in nonprofit agencies with paid staff (e.g., Block 2004).

Analytical and comparative social science research and theory on fundamentally deviant voluntary associations (DVAs), and more generally, the dark side of MAs, is ambiguous territory not well populated by academics who study associations and other nonprofits. The second author of this chapter has been seeking to advance such study for the past two decades (D. Smith 1995, 2008a, 2008b, 2011, 2017a, 2017b). Some other examples of relevant DVA studies include research on terrorist financing through charities (FCPA 2012; Smith, Eng, and Albertson, 2016; SPLC 2012), membership in elitist and/or clandestine organizations (Potok 2011; Williamson 1995), and street gang activity (Sanchez-Jankowski 1991; Subianto 2012). Most of the data and research on DVAs has been anecdotal and otherwise qualitative, rather than systematic and more quantitative.

2. Conventional white collar crime and misconduct in MAs

(a) Transnational and global organizations

The complexities in the flow of funding of transnational donor aid from rich countries to poor countries have created numerous opportunities for fraud and embezzlement at both national and local levels of operations in developing nations (Brooks et al. 2010; Gibelman and Gelman 2001, 2002; Willitts-King and Harvey 2005; Zaidi 1999). In consequence of these efforts, many questions have arisen regarding the capacity of local and global NGOs (nongovernmental organizations) to manage these funds effectively (Edwards and Hulme 1996; Najam 1996). A vast amount of research literature describes how nonprofit organizations (NPOs) in these countries have failed to fulfill their missions and goals, where they should have succeeded (Edwards and Hulme 1996; Smith et al. 2016; Willetts-King and Harvey 2005; Zaidi 1999). Many of these concerns focus on lack of accountability that easily leads to corruption and fraud, and misuse, mishandling and misappropriation of funds (Archambeault, Webber, and Greenlee 2016; Ebrahim 2003; Edwards and Hulme 1996; Fremont-Smith 2004b; Gibelman and Gelman 2001, 2002; Greenlee et al. 2007).

Stories of corruption and weak predatory governance, particularly in the delivery of emergency relief aid in developing areas of the world, are found in the parallel universe of domestic, indigenous NPOs within those countries served. Transparency International UK (2010) defines domestic and overseas corruption as the misuse of entrusted power for private gain. Corruption is further defined as financial fraud and embezzlement, misuse of agency assets, theft, diversion of goods and services, bribery, and abusive or coercive practice (Willitts-King and Harvey 2005). In their published paper on corruption in worldwide emergency relief, Willitts-King and Harvey (2005) noted that published literature about NPO corruption with regard to international emergency relief services is extremely scarce, because of the reluctance of international and bilateral aid agencies to discuss these issues.

Dozens of documented cases of international-level misconduct do exist, among them the United Nations World Food Program and the International Red Cross accused of collusion with corrupt governments and corrupt non-profit organizations in hunger and disaster relief programs (Gibelman and Gelman 2001), and the universally condemned high level of corruption on the part of bilateral and multinational aid agencies and local NPO counterparts in the delivery of disaster relief aid to the 2004 Indonesian tsunami (Brooks et al. 2010). Indeed, in Indonesia, it is widely perceived that Indonesian NGOs have become an industry in the non-market economy, because only NPO elites have access to funding agencies. The internal relationship among NPO leaders and international funders creates a cartel economy, rather than follow market mechanisms, creating a massive number of DVAs (Subianto 2012).

(b) National associations

The most persuasive examples of associational misconduct that have eroded public confidence and trust are exemplified by the sex scandals and subsequent cover-ups by the Roman Catholic Church and the Boy Scouts of America (Boyle 1994; Investigative Staff of the Boston Globe 2002; Podles 2008) These reflect violations of trust and the causing of personal harm within the sanctity of the Church: sexual abuse of young people within an organizational framework espousing the development of good moral character in youth (Brilliant 2012). Similar violation of trust is also evidenced in scandals involving trusted professionals such as teachers and care workers who have abused the trust provided them, and instead used their access to vulnerable people for purposes of aggression or sexual abuse (Nair and Bhatnagar 2011; Onyx 2013; Salinger 2005). In other high profile scandals involving national associations, misuse of funds and sometimes theft/embezzlement have been the key forms of misconduct or crime (Archambeault et al. 2016; Fremont-Smith 2004a; Fremont-Smith and Kosaras 2003; Glaser 1994; Greenlee et al. 2007).

Fung (2003) reviewed some research on Deviant Voluntary Associations (DVAs) under the title of "Resistance and Checking Power," as one type of association impact on democracy. He noted that in nations where democratic institutions are absent, young, or fragile, MAs mainly contribute to democracy by resisting what the DVA leaders perceive as *illegitimate* authority. In such nations, however, the government authority being resisted is usually dominant and claims to be the *legitimate authority*. Successful *resistance* (or *dissenting*, in Smith's terms; 2017b) DVAs often have nondemocratic purposes, forms, structures, and activity repertoires, however, unlike the usual mainstream MAs in more stable democracies.

(c) State/province and local associations

Thousands of documented cases of corruption, fraud and misuse of funds illustrate the inherent ethical challenges facing NPOs everywhere. Some cases of misuse of funds are predicated not so much on the intentionality for ill-gotten gains, but because the tax code is sufficiently vague and confusing in some instances (Archambeault et al. 2016; Fishman 2007; Fremont-Smith and Kosaras 2003; Salinger 2005). Where nonprofits flourish in the West, it is the small local nonprofit organization, sometimes an MA, as well as the high profile scandal that has dominated media attention in the last decade (Zack 2003). This has little to do with the newsworthiness of reports, but more to do with the fact that nonprofits in such countries as Australia, Britain, Canada and the United States are considered the bearers of higher moral standards (Holloway 1998; Panepento 2008, D. Smith 2008a, 2008b).

"Mom and Pop" (small scale) MA scandals fill the news pages of the Western press in such Anglo nations. These stories sometimes include larger organizational scams like the United Way of America's scandal leading to the resignation and imprisonment of its president, found guilty on 25 counts of fraud, filing false tax returns, conspiracy and money laundering (Glaser 1994; Siegel 2006) and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA; Salinger 2005). But there are more stories about small Mom-and-Pop managed groups, such as the Cancer Fund of America and the American Veterans Coalition, each cited for spending a insignificant sum of its operational funding on the well-being of their constituents (Berr and Stockdale 2010).

Farruggia's (2013) content analysis of "Newspaper Reports of Ethical Improprieties in the Nonprofit, Business, and Government Sectors" started by identifying a song titled "*Dirty Laundry*" (Henley and Kortchmar 1982) about the public's desire to read stories about scandals and wrong doings. Furthermore, various media outlets fully understand, and count on, the public's cravings to devour stories about impropriety and scandal. The aforementioned song states "[they] make [their] living off the evening news" and very clearly announces, "[w]e all know that crap is king." Because of this tendency,

newspapers seem to have no shortage of stories to satisfy their customers. Similarly, Ashforth et al. (2008:670) state, "headlines have delivered a relentless litany of accounts revealing corrupt organizational practices. Corruption, it seems, is everywhere, afflicting for-profit, not-for-profit, governmental, and, to the dismay of many, even religious organizations."

In this research by Farruggia (2013), *Chicago Tribune* articles from 2007 were compiled and reviewed, using criteria concerning nonprofit, government and business entities or individuals identified with one or more of these entities. The findings generated a total of 19,442 articles. The frequency of stories (irrespective of content) identified, based on keyword searches totaled 1,797, with *scam* having the least number of stories (10) and *fraud* having the greatest number of stories (403). The improprieties described dealt with myriad issues, including fiscal abuses, improper booking of expenses and accounting, financial reporting fraud, etc. Based on the litany of topics, some questions that arose for the study were: With each sector having experienced its share of reported unethical behaviors, do newspaper reports of employee-related scandals and corruption from one sector outweigh the others? Furthermore, does one sector have a greater number of reported *deviants* than the other sectors?

The frequency of stories dealing with nonprofits was smallest of the three sectors (189 – 10.5%). Business had an intermediate number of stories (682 – 38.0%), and Government had the greatest number of stories (926 – 51.5%). These frequencies were further categorized according to location, with Illinois having the majority of stories (1,071 – 59.6%) and other places having the balance of the stories (726 – 40.4%).

Agenda setting (Cohen 1963) by news reporters and editors greatly influences what is included in newspapers and newscasts. Even though nonprofit entities reflect only about 10% of the articles identified, the results do indicate that these issues of misconduct and deviance exist in the nonprofit sector and are openly presented to the reading public. Interestingly, the 10% of articles about nonprofits is about three times the actual the percentage (3%) of nonprofits in the United States among all paid-staff organizations (Kalleberg et al. 1996:47).

3. Causes of NPO dark side activities

One key influence on Dark Side activities in and by NPOs, including MAs, is selfishness and the desire for financial gain for oneself and often for one's family (Smith 2017b), or for one's NPO (Bennett and DiLorenzo 1994; Vaux 2001). Crime and deviance in families, businesses, and government agencies occurs for similar reasons (Clinard and Yeager 2006; Ermann and Lundmann 2002; Pagelow 1984). In fact, the entire range of theories about why people engage in misconduct and crime applies to leaders and members of MAs, as they do also to many other social and organizational contexts (Krohn, Lizotte, and Hall, 2011). However, an added reason for deviance in DVAs is that the association itself has

norms and values that specifically encourage the kind of deviance approved by the DVA (Smith 2017b).

The personality of both leaders and members of MAs or other NPOs can lead to dark side activities. Recent research indicates that some individuals have quite negative personality traits that are likely to lead to crime and misconduct in NPOs, as well as in many other contexts. The meta-analysis by O'Boyle, Forsyth, Banks, Story, and White (2015; cf. Paulhus and Williams 2002) studied how the *dark triad* of Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy as personality traits related to the Five Factor Model (FFM) of personality. They found that the FFM explained most of the variance (88%) in psychopathy, and 42% in narcissism. Any or all of the dark triad traits could foster NPO and MA crime or misconduct by individuals, although no directly relevant studies could be found (but see Kellett 2008; Stead, Fekken, Kay, and McDermott. 2012; Wu and LeBreton 2011). This article is important for identifying the three personality traits most likely to be responsible for NPO or other dark side activity from among hundreds of measured personality traits studied so far by psychologists (see Handbook Chapter 30).

The rise of deviant NPO activities, including corruption, and subsequent public distrust of the sector, is often blamed on lack of NPO internal controls and accountability, and the relatively loose operating environment in which NPOs are allowed to flourish (Simon 1987; Young 1995). NPOs may unintentionally or intentionally deviate from the path of lawful compliance and codes of ethical workplace behavior. Given the informality of most smaller, local MAs (as GAs), lack of such controls is more likely than in larger MAs, especially in the few GAs with paid staff. Internal controls are more likely in national MAs, especially when they have several paid staff. One example that reflects unintentional entanglements with the law, but is clearly labeled criminal in action, is that of the American Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), whose good efforts became mired in unlawful confusion as it struggled to define itself. For generations the YMCA offered fitness programs to community youth, and recently expanded its services to provide for-profit fitness programs to a paying constituency. Such expansion into market-priced services was seen by commercial competitors as unfair and illegal competition. The YMCA was accused by competing commercial recreation businesses of taking advantage of its special tax-exempt status by departing from their original altruistic values in order to raise more revenues for operations and to expand its market share (Salinger 2005). Similar accusations have been leveled against nonprofit hospitals and other health charities (Bennett and DiLorenzo 1994).

In the United States, NPOs are less subject to the rigorous demands and controls than those made by corporate owners and shareholders. Particularly where

MAs play a significant role in the lives of their citizens, most workers as active members are not employees, but serve as volunteers (Mead 2008; Panepento 2008). With so many small MAs and nonprofit agencies employing very few employees all over the world, the nonprofit sector and its especially MAs lack broad oversight. Thus, fraud prevention is extremely difficult to institute and maintain. A great number of NPOs in general do not have transparent financial records, and are susceptible to fraud, waste, and bad management due to charismatic rather than professional leadership (Block 2004; Kaplan 2001; Salinger 2005). In the United States, oversight by the US Internal Revenue Service (IRS) is minimal regarding smaller NPOs, especially MAs.

As with the example of America's YMCA, MAs and other NPOs often have multiple goals that sometime "leave behind their original altruistic motivations" (Salinger 2005), such as becoming profit-oriented and competing for customers with for-profit business enterprises. This creates havoc in terms of accounting, records-keeping, and tax exempt status because NPOs do not usually pay taxes on earned income (especially net revenues, after expenses). Usually, nonprofit agencies are allowed to plow surplus revenues (the *profits of nonprofits*) back into operations, including high salaries for leaders /managers. In most MAs, especially GAs, this issue does not arise, because they have low annual revenues. Some NPOs have been established illegally so founders/leaders (*de facto* owners) may avoid paying taxes, but this is rare for MAs, and more likely for private foundations (see Smith with Eng and Albertson 2016).

4. Misconduct by NPO volunteers and employees

The most prevalent form of NPO crime and fraud is embezzlement and mismanagement of funds by employees and volunteers, usually because of lax internal financial controls (Fremont-Smith 2004b; Fremont-Smith and Kosaras 2003; Salinger 2005; Zack 2003). The October 2012 position paper submitted by a state regulatory body to the Australian Independent Commission Against Corruption (ICAC) addressed corrupt practices and conduct in the delivery of not-for-profit, voluntary sector human service organizations in New South Wales. They acknowledge that while the vast majority of NGOs are dedicated to helping others, there were unfortunately some people who saw "government funding as an opportunity for self-interested behavior" (NCOSS 2012:9). The violations of the public trust included 35 kinds of crime, all labeled under the rubric of misconduct, including fraud, embezzlement, corruption, nonfeasance, misfeasance, malfeasance, oppression, bribery, blackmail, and tax evasion among many listed. These scandals are noted in the press on a daily basis, for instance news of the Australian Workers' Union Workplace Reform Association scam that made headline news in 2012 and involved slush funds, politics, sex, and lying on incorporation registration papers (M. Smith 2012).

5. Crime and misconduct in or by fundamentally deviant voluntary associations (DVAs)

(a) The Smith typology of DVAs

Smith (2017b) has proposed a typology of three main types of DVAs, in terms of their degrees of deviance along of continuum of seriousness. By definition, DVAs practice persistent breaking of current moral rules of their current society. As a result, they tend to be resisted generally by the government, by other key institutions (e.g., business, religion, the media, education), and by the general public of their surrounding society. These three types are the following:

(i) *Noxious DVAs*, like the German Nazi Party under Hitler and the current Al Qaeda Terrorist network, have few or no redeeming values/outcomes, either in the short term assessment of the non-member public or in the long-term judgment of history. Although they may seek to promote social or political change, the changes sought, usually through violence or other harm to members and non-members, are mainly self-serving rather than altruistic.

(ii) *Dissenting DVAs,* like the American Anti-Slavery Society of 1830–1865 and the National Woman's Party in America of 1915–1920, promote radical, social change-oriented politics by means of unconventional protest and direct action, disturbing the prevailing status quo. Although often seen as similar in their serious deviance to Noxious DVAs, Dissenting DVAs very frequently turn out to be societal/cultural heroes which promoted positive social change and progress in the later judgment of both the general public and historians. Where Noxious DVAs are mainly self-serving, Dissenting DVAs are usually quite altruistic in their goals.

(iii) *Eccentric DVAs,* such as nudist clubs, group marriages, communes, and witches' covens, are distinctively harmless and innocuous. They do not engage in violence toward people or property. If anyone is harmed, such harm tends to be confined to members only, and often is in the eyes of the non-members, rather than in the eyes of members. Unlike the former two types of DVAs, Eccentric DVAs do relatively little to promote social change, and rarely if ever engage in protest. Their group style is to prefer privacy and often secrecy, seeking to lay low, below the radar, so to speak.

(b) The Smith inductively-derived general theory of DVAs

In a forthcoming book, Smith (2017a) reports on the qualitative content analysis of many case studies of a range of natural types of DVAs (e.g, religious-occult, liberation-political, emotional-expressive, including sensuality and hate groups) by various authors that describe specific DVAs. The book reports on the search for empirical support for 88 hypotheses derived inductively by Smith

from such case studies. A brief overview of some hypotheses of the theory is given in Handbook Chapter 2.

(c) Examples of DVAs in different nations and world regions

The capacity of DVAs – depending on one's point of view – to be seen as either part of the *sanctified sector* (Wagner 2000) or as *evil, harmful and detrimental* (D. Smith 2008a, 2008b) is not only fascinating in itself, but also intellectually intriguing. This duality of perceptions is manifested globally, as exemplified in research on four very different cultures: Ireland, Indonesia, the United States, and ancient Persia (now mainly Iran).

(i) Delinquent gangs as DVAs in the United States.   Martin Sanchez-Jankowski's (1991) research of neighborhood gangs in Los Angeles, Boston and New York over a ten-year period is unique in that it was one of the largest, most comprehensive studies of American delinquent gangs and their relationship to the communities in which they were embedded. While the media focused almost exclusively on the role of gangs in illegal and violent activity, Sanchez-Jankowski made the distinction between the role of gangs in their protection of neighborhoods, and in their recreational and community service. The study also uncovered organizational structures within these DVAs that are woven into fairly tightly integrated bureaucracies involving their parent communities. Much other research on delinquent gangs in the United States and elsewhere also finds dual outcomes of such gangs for both members and the community (Covey 2010; Klein and Maxson 2006).

(ii) Paramilitary DVAs in Northern Ireland.   Faulkner (2012) writes of the role of paramilitary organizations in Northern Ireland, which emerged in response to the political turmoil and violence of the past 50 years or so. Initially, these DVAs were not conceptualized as deviant associations to any great extent. Northern Irish paramilitary groups differ in many respects from community action groups in their tactical activity: while community action groups mobilized and formed groups initially to provide defense for their local urban working-class ghettos, paramilitary organizations from working-class neighborhoods also formed GAs to protect their respective Protestant or Catholic neighborhoods. Depending on which side of the divide one favored, neighborhood protectors were either deemed *totally good, beneficial and benevolent* or *totally evil, harmful and detrimental* (D. Smith 2008a:5). It was reported that Loyalist and Republican paramilitary DVAs were largely responsible for over 3,600 deaths, the maiming of 30,000 people, and the displacement of tens of thousands due to sectarian intimidation, which has furthered residential segregation along ethno-religious boundaries (Faulkner 2012). Much other research on para-military associations, usually termed *militias,* shows similar powerful

effects of their ideology on members/supporters and their behavior, though usually without the extreme degree of polarization between *opposing militias,* as found in Northern Ireland (Corcoran 2007; Levitas 2002).

(iii) Thuggery-type DVAs in Indonesia.   Thug associations in Indonesia have long been identified as DVAs, functioning primarily at local community and municipality levels of government. Former president Suharto's regime systematically cultivated groups of thugs to cater to his regime interests. Such DVAs were tasked to support government party politics during elections and to attack civil society groups in opposition to regime positions. Subianto (2008) argues that these groups of thugs continued to survive at the end of Suharto's reign, catering to new clients requiring their services, particularly as Indonesian politics transformed from a monolithic political force into fragmented, pluralist centers. These underworld communities often found legal coverage in the form of a foundation (*yayasan*) or association (*perkumpulan*). Their recent activities basically have been *ad hoc*, acting primarily as watch dogs and advocates for local political parties. The ultimate goal of these bogus NPOs is to extort protection money from politicians, government officials, business community and the media. These kinds of false NPOs are always ready to provide protection for black market activities, or to mobilize support for certain political parties or political candidates.

(iv) The Order of Assassins political cult in ancient Persia.   The English word *assassin* derives from a derogatory Arabic word for the Assassins political cult, founded in the 10th century and based in a castle in ancient Persia (Lewis 1968). This political cult was essentially an underground commune, dedicated to assassinating political and military leaders of the larger Islamic Caliphate. The Assassins were masters of disguise. They went out into the world, sneaked up on their designated targets, then dispatched them with a hidden dagger. They accepted their fate of a quick death after their deed, much as the current Islamic suicide-bombers do, with a vision of a delightful paradise to follow at once. There have been other political DVAs in history that practiced assassination, including the Zealots of ancient Israel in the 1st century A.D./C.E. (Hengel and Smith 1997).

(d) Residential DVAs

One very special type of DVAs is residential DVAs, such as communes or cults (new religions), in which the members reside together as a group, either in a single building or complex of buildings or other shelters (e.g., as in a camp or other set of temporary-informal shelters). Such residences are usually hidden or secret, in order to avoid apprehension by government authorities or to avoid intrusions by the public. For instance, terrorist groups, guerrilla armies, armed

citizen militias, and revolutionary groups often have such joint residences, during part or all of the phases of their activities (Calman and Doyle 2002; Castro 1999; Dunn l989; Foran 2005; Gunaratna 2002; Hengel and Smith 1997; Jones 1989; Levitas 2002; B. Lewis 1968; Martin and Johnson 1981).

Another type of residential DVAs is secular communes, where people live together in a building or complex of them, sharing a non-religious ideology about the right way to live, work, think, relate, engage in sex, raise children (if any), and play (Jerome 1974; Roberts 1971; Zablocki 1980). Some deviant cults that are residential associations are not really religious in any conventional sense, but have special ideologies that seem quasi-religious or religious to some observers, especially UFO cults (J. Lewis; Palmer 2004; Partridge 2003). Some residential communes as cults commit collective suicide, as did Jim Jones of the Peoples Temple and about 1,000 followers/members (cf. Layton 1998). Religious communes as residential associations were treated briefly in Handbook Chapter 24, Section D., #8. A further type of residential DVA includes nudist camps/colonies (Hartman et al. 1991; Ilfeld, and Lauer 1964; Woycke 2003) and residential deviant sexual/marriage groups, such as group marriages (Constantine and Constantine 1973; Stinnett, Birdsong, and Stinnett 1976), polygamous families in societies that make polygamy illegal (Bistline 2004; Singular 2009), and group sex in some cases (Bartell 1971; Block 2012).

6. Dysfunctions in and by associations

Some of the typical dysfunctions in nonprofit agencies identified by Block (2004) as reasons why nonprofit agencies fail also apply to MAs. For instance, Block's dysfunction labeled *cultural depression* refers to an organizational culture (or associational culture) that is unpleasant, with low morale and pessimism among members. In addition, the dysfunction of *political performance* refers to a leader who is self-serving, accumulating and using power for personal benefit, rather than serving the organization or association with significant altruism. The dysfunction labeled *founder's syndrome* refers to founders of an organization being too- heavy-handed and domineering later in the life of the group. Block (2004:136) writes, "founders tend to dominate and control the direction of the organization they started." All of these, as well as other dysfunctions Block identifies, can be found in many associations as well as in nonprofit agencies. Block suggests how such dysfunctions can be overcome.

Another form of dysfunctions is simply not being very effective at what the association attempts to do – but not so blatantly as in the dysfunctions that Block identifies and discusses. There is very little research on this topic, as a Dark Side issue for associations. In addition to various practitioner-oriented documents based on personal experiences regarding how to run an effective association (e.g., Flanagan 1984; Rich and Hines 2006), there is also significant

research on the positive side of effective leadership of associations (Smith 1999a, 1999b; Smith and Shen 1996).

A more subtle kind of dysfunction, in the eyes of critics, is the growing tendency for NPOs to become more commercially oriented, seeking to maximize *excess revenue*s relative to expenses – *the profits of nonprofits* (Bennett and DiLorenzo 1989). Some observers see this process as natural, in a market economy (Hammack and Young 1993). Others are more concerned with the meaning of this trend (Weisbrod 1998), or are downright distressed by it (Eikenberry and Kluver 2004). The worry is that the special meaning and values of the VNPS are being eroded, and perhaps irreparably lost. As Weisbrod (1992) has noted, NPOs are given government income tax exemptions in most developed nations because of their special values and importance to society. If those values and the distinctiveness they bring to NPOs are lost, the tax exemptions might also be revoked in many nations, significantly damaging the financial situation of all NPOs, including associations

7. Regulatory environments: A global sketch

A distinguishing feature of NPOs in Western countries, including Australia, Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom, is the existence of codes of conduct, guidelines, and standards promulgated by regulatory bodies and by industry watchdogs interested in protecting the rights of citizens served or affected by these organizations. Among such bodies these are national regulatory bodies and their declarative actions that address both international and domestic associational misconduct, regulating the full range of white collar crime and misdemeanor activities by voluntary associations and their representatives, as well as intransigent international and home-grown terrorist organizations and hate groups.

The UK Bribery Act of 2010, for instance, is an effort to curb the criminal activity of the country's business community and also domestic NPOs and NGOs. The Act is considered the toughest law in the world, demanding zero-tolerance of bribery domestically and in UK business transactions abroad. It contains measures even more harsh than that of the American Foreign Corrupt Practices Act (Transparency International 2010). In Australia, deciding which among hundreds of radical associations are terrorist organizations is the responsibility of The Australian Government's Attorney-General's Department (AGD), along with the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO), and tangentially, such other Australian Government agencies as the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, and the Australian Federal Police.

Among regulatory bodies headquartered in the United States that determine the quality of NPO fiscal governance are the Financial Accounting Standards Board (FASB), the Internal Revenue Service (IRS), the American Institute of

Certified Public Accountants (AICPA) and industry watchdog organizations such as GuideStar USA, the Chronicle of Philanthropy, and the Better Business Bureau Wise Giving Alliance (Eng 2010). In recent years, the FASB has worked closely with the International Accounting Standards Board (IASB) and the governments of eight other Western countries to develop international financial reporting standards (IFRS) and guidelines that NPO/NGOs in over 90 countries currently follow to record and report financial activity (Eng 2014).

While there is accumulating evidence that NPOs and NGOs around the world are slowly moving toward more efficient models of internal management and governance with greater focus on enhanced fiduciary responsibility (Ebrahim 2003; GuideStar USA 2012; Jordan and Van Tuijl 2006; Eng 2010), the research literature (and popular press) continues to be fraught with stories of domestic and international corruption, fraud, embezzlement, misuse of funds, deception of donors, and abuses of trust and power (Beam 2011; Block 2004; Gibelman and Gelman 2001; Greenlee et al. 2007; Panepento 2008; Robinson 2003; Salinger 2005; Zack 2003). An American survey showed that only 15% strongly agreed that most charities were honest (Mead 2008). Another public survey showed that trust in NPOs in the United States dropped from 90% to 60% in 2001–2002, and by 2006, only 11% felt that NPOs did a good job spending money wisely, while another 71% believed that NPOs wasted a fair amount of money (Mead 2008).

8. Civil society responses to associational crime and misconduct

National federal regulatory bodies are not the only means of policing misconduct in conventional associations or stopping hate groups and other DVAs from operating, whether underground or in public. At the core of civil society's discourse is an interest in balancing two opposing views: curtailing associational activities that may endanger or threaten civil society versus allowing for the right of voluntary organizations to exist freely in an open society (Eng 2010). With the rash of global terror in the 21st Century, the nonprofit landscape in many Western countries has been irrevocably altered with the knowledge that certain groups exist solely to bring harm to targeted minority groups or to entire nations (Van der Does de Willebois 2010).

Citizen activist organizations such as Human Rights First (2011), and Not In our Town (2011), complement the work of civil police. Their missions are to monitor and watch the activities of noxious extremist groups in their neighborhoods and throughout the nation. The voluntary membership association, Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), derives its operating revenues from membership fees, subscriptions to their magazine, and individual and institutional grants and donations. SPLC monitors the activity of more than 1,000 hate and extremist groups in the United States, and works with and trains American law enforcement officers to identify and combat violent extremists (SPLC 2011).

Hate groups cover the full political spectrum of hate in every conceivable form: anti-black, anti-white, anti-Jewish, anti-Islamic, anti-women, anti-gay/lesbian, anti-government, anti-immigration … the list seems endless. The questionable goals and aspirations of such groups continue to frustrate law enforcement officials because the veneer of respectability afforded by the nonprofit 501(c)3 status allows every American-registered NPO to raise funds to pursue missions that serve society, in this instance, causes that have the potential damaging effect of motivating or inflaming one or the other side of the socio-political divide.

Ironically civil war, revolution, and social upheaval are often in themselves exemplars of citizen misconduct within an authoritarian state. Al-Ekry's (2012a) analysis of the 2010–2012 Arab Spring demonstrates this. His analysis is paralleled in Faulkner's (2012) critique of the 1960s-1970s civil war in Northern Ireland, between Protestant Loyalists wishing to maintain their position as part of the United Kingdom and Catholic Nationalists who sought a united Ireland. With Northern Ireland in disarray, voluntary and community sector groups grew in influence during this time, displacing mainstream political activity and bringing a degree of legitimacy to state action. As such, civil society and voluntary organizations in Northern Ireland successfully positioned themselves as definitive forces for good (Faulkner 2012). [See also Handbook Chapter 41 on Self-Regulation in Associations.)]

E. Usable Knowledge

Civil society's confrontation with misconduct of voluntary membership associations and nonprofits and with the behaviors and activities of citizen groups that are labeled as deviant, dissenting or *troublemakers* (Alekry 2012; Faulkner 2012) may result in at least three positive social outcomes. First, civil societies are forced to exam themselves and their belief systems. This often leads to initiation of future positive social change, such as the ratification of women's suffrage or legalization of same sex marriage in the United States. Second, it facilitates legislative adjustments in macro (state) through micro (group and individual) governance processes, resulting in enactment of more meaningful policies, procedures, rules and behaviors by states, associations and individuals within their civil societies. Finally, it paves the way for growth and expansion of the public trust, including tolerance and wider acceptance of marginalized voices in civil societies in many parts of the world.

F. Future trends and needed research

The continuum of crime and misconduct in and by NPOs, including associations, extends from misdemeanors in conventional associations to violence and

revolution in wide array of unconventional ones, termed DVAs here. There is every reason to expect increasing crime and misconduct in and by associations and other NPOs in the future, as the size of the VNPS continues to grow globally (see Handbook Chapters 50 and 51). Misconduct is construed differently by different elements in society, depending on one's perceptions of the goodness or depravity of the behaviors of specific associations and other NPOs. In Northern Ireland, for instance, paramilitary groups were simply considered as terrorists by many sections of society, whereas for others they were protectors, defenders, and freedom fighters (Faulkner 2012).

Sometimes civil society fully embraces associational ideologies and goals that were previously considered taboo and advocated only by extremist groups. This is revealed by the sudden explosive political efforts of Arab Spring activists, where protest by youth and women became the new *deviant* social norm (Alekry 2012). Changing perceptions of the gay rights movement in the United States and its goals over the past six decades are another example.

The subject of misconduct as it relates to DVAs is a relatively new field of associational research, not yet found much in academic journals. The reasons are twofold: (1) This is a new subfield of research within the larger field of VNPS research, opening up mainly since the turn of the 21st century. (2) Deviance of most types in the VNPS and NPOs, associations included, is covert and thus not easy to study, especially comparatively. Although there is a growing body of case studies on misconduct by conventional voluntary membership associations and nonprofits, there is little comparative and systematic research throughout the world that explores associational deviance either by country or by region. This scholarly neglect still continues, even as the world's media are keen to report nonprofit organizational scandals for the usual reasons – to attract viewers/readers/listeners. The VNPS and its NPOs are considered angelic, until shown to be partially deviant through scandalous disgrace, dishonor, humiliation, and criminal wrongdoing.

The subject of wrongdoing in legitimate nonprofit organizations, classified legally as criminal or civil acts of deviance, has been documented partially, even though numerous associations lie under the radar of public scrutiny (Brilliant 2012). But the negative effects and costs of *dysfunctions* in associations or other NPOs gets little research attention, so that much more is needed. For example, the calculated cost of mismanagement and misconduct in transnational humanitarian assistance and development NPOs is a massive loss of billions of dollars over the past 60 or more years (Brooks et al. 2010; Smith with Eng and Albertson 2016; Willits-King and Harvey 2005).

G. Cross-references

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Part IX
Conclusions and Future Prospects

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55
Conclusions and Future Prospects

David H. Smith (USA) and Robert A. Stebbins (USA)

We will depart from the usual Handbook chapter format in this concluding chapter, using a looser, more discursive one. How can one briefly sum up or draw conclusions from such a large and wide-ranging book? We two, substantive Editors-in-Chief, have very different approaches, and both will be used here. Smith chose to write some brief, take-away generalizations for each part of the volume. He also assessed the substantive comprehensiveness of the Handbook, briefly suggested essential future research, and forecast future trends in relevant research. Stebbins chose a more general, qualitative approach, with which we begin here.

I. Stebbins' generalizations regarding the Handbook

The question is raised about the future of volunteering and nonprofit MAs, which leads to an examination of some key conditions bearing on its answer. Those conditions include the democratic or authoritarian tendencies of the government under which MAs strive to operate and the extent of informal volunteering, whichever the type of government. A third condition requires that we distinguish disagreeable, unpaid labor as *non-work obligation* from agreeable volunteering as leisure. Finally, any blanket statement about the future of volunteering and MAs masks many sub-trends, as is evident when volunteering, citizen participation, and MAs are viewed through the prism of *voluntaristics*, a new, brief name for the global field of nonprofit/third sector and voluntary action research (Smith 2013).

The establishment and functioning of nonprofits and the volunteering that they organize varies, as we have seen in this Handbook, along governmental lines, ranging between authoritarian and democratic regimes. This twofold typology of world governments is crude, for some of them are more authoritarian or more democratic than others. Be that as it may, even a tendency toward authoritarianism is inimical for many nonprofits and the volunteering done in

their name. Thus, one of the conditions affecting the future of nonprofit associations and their volunteer work is the democratic or authoritarian tendencies of the government under which they operate or strive to operate.

In this regard, note that for a brief period up to 2010 democracy as a form of national government has been in decline. The Economist Intelligence Unit (2010) says there has been a decline in democracy across the world since 2008, which means that some countries have "been backsliding on previously attained progress in democratization" (p. 1). The count conducted in 2010 using five criteria for measuring democracy revealed 26 full democracies, 53 flawed democracies, 33 hybrid regimes, and 55 authoritarian regimes. Slightly over half the world's population live in either a hybrid or an authoritarian regime. This pattern and the trend toward democratic decline, considered on a global scale, bode poorly for the future of nonprofits and the volunteering enacted within their ambit.

Nonetheless, focusing on nonprofit associations and the volunteering that occurs under their banner tends to overlook informal volunteering, including that done in informal self-help groups. Such volunteering is undertaken in rich and poor countries alike (see Handbook Chapter 9) and is also undertaken in countries that are democratic, corporatist, or authoritarian. Our Appendix defines the volunteer, among other ways, as someone who serves others outside his or her family, so this definition omits informal care within the family.

The third condition is theoretic: there exists a widespread failure to differentiate volunteering as leisure from altruistic activity that is disagreeably obligatory. Our Introduction to this Handbook notes that, among other things, leisure is activity that people want to do and, if there is an obligation to do the activity, it is nonetheless agreeable (e.g., Mary is a docent at the local zoo and she must show up twice a week to present a class, an activity she is most enamored of).

In that same Introduction we write briefly about non-work obligation (discussed in detail in Stebbins 2012: 52–54). *Disagreeable obligation* has no place in leisure, because, among other reasons, it fails to leave the participant with a pleasant memory or expectation of the activity. Rather, it is the stuff of life's third domain: *non-work obligation*. This domain is the classificatory home of all we must do that we would rather avoid that at the same time is unrelated to work (including moonlighting). Stebbins also writes about the other two domains, which are leisure and work (2012:48–52). The latter has for many people its own, distinctive quantum of disagreeableness.

One of three types of non-work obligation is *unpaid labor*, exemplified in the following extract (Stebbins 2012: 53):

> *Unpaid labor*: activities people do themselves even though services exist which they could hire to carry them out. These activities include mowing the lawn, house work, shovelling the sidewalk, preparing the annual income tax return, do-it-yourself, and a myriad of obligations to friends and family (e.g.,

caring for a sick relative, helping a friend move to another home, arranging a funeral). All these activities may be done for oneself or someone else, with the many obligations to friends and family being strictly other-oriented. If all volunteering is leisure, as is argued in the Introduction, then this unpaid labor must be identified and studied as a special kind of non-volunteer activity in and of itself. *A propos* the idea of unpaid labor, the unpaid labor lying at the heart of the economic definition of leisure probably includes these obligations, even though the concept of disagreeable non-work obligation is rarely if ever mentioned in that literature. Be that as it may, to conflate the two is to muddy the analysis of the future of volunteering, both informal and formal.

The final condition discussed in this conclusion as related to the questions of the future of volunteering and nonprofit associations roots in the extensive scope of voluntaristics (Smith 2013, 2016a). This field – as it is defined in the Appendix – is immense:

> Topics (and hence, keywords) included in voluntaristics are the nonprofit sector, voluntary sector, third sector, civil society (sector), social economy, solidarity economy, social enterprise, social entrepreneurship, social investment, solidarity, philanthropy, giving, grants economy, foundations, volunteering (both formal and informal), civic engagement, community engagement, engagement, citizen participation, participation, nonprofit, not-for-profit, non-profit organizations (NPOs), nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), voluntary associations, associations, sodalities, self-help groups, mutual aid groups, support groups, interest groups, pressure groups, cooperatives, nonprofit agencies, civil liberties, democracy, democratization, social movements, social protest, and mobilization, among other topics.
>
> (Smith 2013: 638)

This list suggests that any blanket statement about the future of volunteering and nonprofit associations masks many a sub-trend of, say, philanthropy or social protest. These two, for example, seem likely to remain strong in many countries, with the possibility of growing stronger still. By contrast, civil liberties and giving might be seen as waning in the face of the world's decline in democracy and its global economy.

II. Smith's generalizations regarding the Handbook

A. Summary of Handbook contents

From Part I of the Handbook, we learn that the study of voluntary membership associations (MAs) and volunteering/civic participation has deep historical and theoretical roots in the larger, global, interdisciplinary field of voluntaristics

(Smith 2013; 2016a; Smith and Sundblom 2014). In keeping with the well-developed theoretical nature of voluntaristics now, 45 years after its organizational birth in the form of ARNOVA (www.arnova.org) in 1971, there is substantial theory and various relevant typologies that have emerged. Volunteering, and also the broader activity of civic participation that includes volunteering, can now be clearly seen as one of many types of leisure activities. However, volunteering is often distinguished as a serious (vs. casual) leisure pursuit, usually involving more than just fun or entertainment (Graham and Stebbins 2004; Stebbins 2007, 2012). Still, much volunteering *is* mainly fun and entertainment, especially volunteering for sports, recreation, hobby, arts, and culture MAs and VSPs (which this Handbook has not treated – a planned chapter on social leisure volunteering not being included).

While constituting only a small minority of most people's leisure time budget in contemporary societies, nonetheless, volunteering is one of the most productive, effective, satisfying, meaningful, and important forms of leisure in terms of its impact on volunteers and active MA members and also on human society and history (Smith 2017; see also Handbook Chapters 52 and 53). Volunteering is not an *island*, not a grain *silo*, not an isolated kind of activity, but is actually part of a cluster of related types of socio-culturally approved leisure activities that Smith (Handbook Chapter 5) calls the *Leisure General Activity Pattern* (*LGAP*). Further, volunteering has close linkages to key concepts and processes of human society and to social activities such as social capital and social networks.

In Parts II and III of the Handbook, we see that a variety of special types and major activity areas of volunteering exist that are not always viewed or recognized as legitimate aspects of the total range of volunteering and citizen participation, understood comprehensively. Traditional Philanthropic Service Volunteering (PSV), mostly done through Volunteer Service Programs (VSPs), as dependent departments of other, larger, parent organizations (Handbook Chapter 17), is widely and *quite incorrectly* viewed as all that volunteering comprises. But this is a clearly incomplete and limited perspective – it is one *flat-earth map* (or *paradigm*) of volunteering, to use Smith's cartographic terminology (cf. Smith 2000: 227–228). Aside from omitting informal volunteering, this traditional, narrow, PSV perspective omits informal volunteering, stipended (partially paid) volunteering, tourism volunteering (*voluntourism*), online volunteering, cyber MAs and online advocacy/*clicktivism*, spontaneous emergency volunteering, self-help volunteering, participation in trade MAs and other economic-occupational MAs, involvement in worker and consumer cooperatives, religious volunteering in local congregations, conventional political volunteering in political parties and interest groups, and activist-protest volunteering, usually in social movements and social movement organizations as MAs.

Our Handbook includes and reviews the research literature on all of these additional, important activity areas of volunteering and MAs, in keeping with Smith's *round-earth paradigm* of the Voluntary Nonprofit Sector (VNPS; Smith 2000: 238–240; see also below). Our treatment is also consistent with Cnaan and Park's (2016) new, multi-faceted, definition of civic participation, Rochester's (2013) suggestion of a new, round-earth paradigm of voluntary action, and Van Til's (2015) recent, broad overview of our field of study, listing 18 different names for it.

Part IV reviews the research literature on a very broad range of potential influences on volunteering – on why people start, continue, or stop volunteering, or never begin in the first place. The chapters of this part cover factors of influence such as physiological-biological factors; macro-, meso-, and micro-contexts; social roles and demographic factors; and conducive motivations and other psychological factors. Handbook Chapter 31 discusses Smith's new S-Theory of individual (pro-social) behavior and its roots in the theoretical and empirical convergence he identifies in four, quantitative, socio-behavioral science disciplines.

This wide range of potential influences or determinants follows the early suggestions of Smith, Reddy, and Baldwin (1972:chapters 10 and 15), at the time that ARNOVA (www.arnova.org), and thus our global, organized field of voluntaristics, was founded. Figure 54.1 summarizes the varied categories of influences on volunteering that Smith had identified at that time in 1971 (p. 323), when the book was written. Since then, recent research has shown that there are also important biological correlates or influences, as in Handbook Chapter 25, which need to be added to the model. Those influences have been incorporated into Smith's S-theory (Smith 2014, 2015a, 2016b; see also Handbook Chapter 31).

Part V reviews research showing the clear impact of internal structures on MAs, such as the intended and actual level of territorial scope on which the MA focuses – local, supra-local up to national, and then transnational (involving two or more nations) or international (involving three or more nations, often from several world regions). The other chapters review research on MA governance and boards, MA leadership and management, and individual MA life cycles.

From Part VI, we learn about various usual internal processes of MAs, including basic functions like member acquisition and retention, other resource attraction and marketing, accountability and social accounting, and information and technology available. Special chapters review and study how some MAs avoid bureaucracy and mission drift, do self-regulation, and the economics of MAs and volunteering.

Part VII studies the external/societal environment of MAs and volunteering, finding that civil liberties and freedoms seem particularly crucial to MAs, as
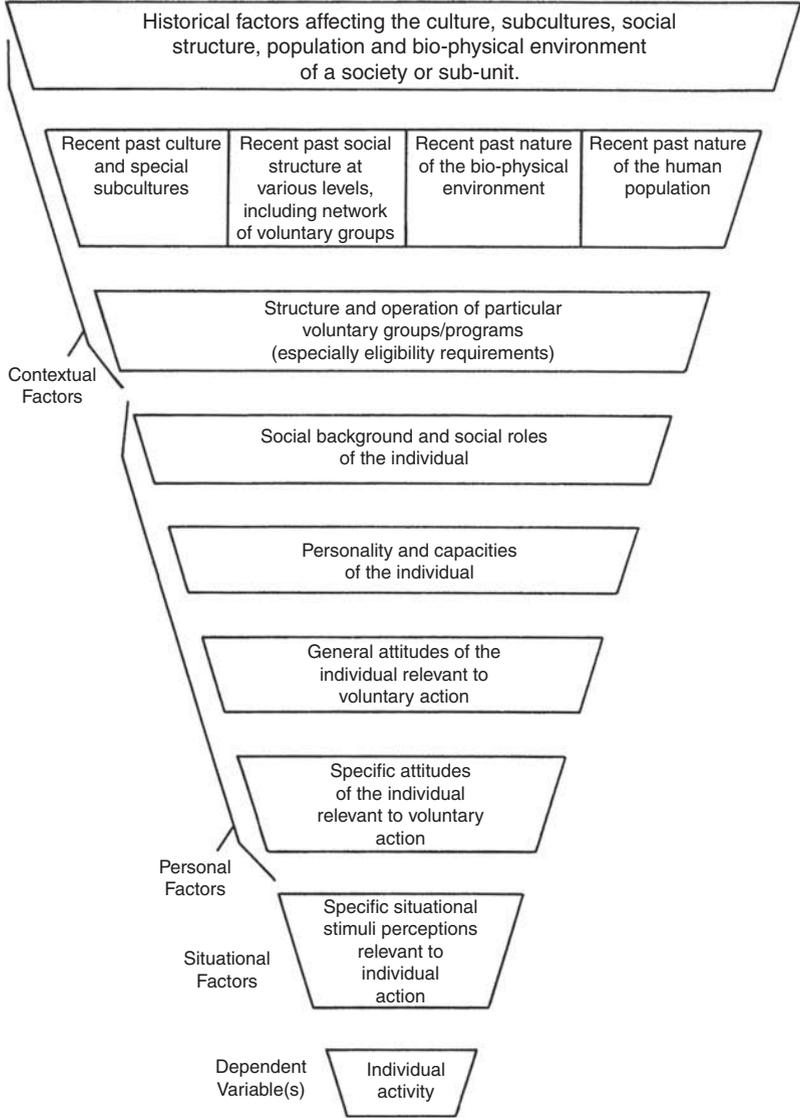
Figure 55.1   Schematic sketch of a Sequential Specificity Model

also are the political regime type and legal, registration, and taxation issues. Other chapters in this part explore research on relationships and collaboration among MAs, public perceptions of and trust in MAs and volunteering, and then the issue of explaining variations in MA prevalence across territories, especially across nations. Two independent research projects (Schofer and

Longhofer 2011; Smith and Shen 2002) were able to explain 70–89% of the variance in MA prevalence among 90–140 nations of the world, using similar models of key explanatory variables, thus confirming each other's conclusions in general.

Part VIII reviews four aspects of the scope and impacts of volunteering and associations. First, a very long chapter reviews evidence on the global frequencies of volunteering and MAs, including some data on trends. The next chapter shows that volunteering can have either positive or negative effects on volunteers in Volunteer Service Programs or on MA members, especially on active members (associational volunteers), according to the type of volunteering and MA involved. Chapter 53 focuses especially on immediate and longer term positive emotional and cognitive consequences of volunteering. The final substantive chapter reviews research on crime, misconduct, and dysfunctions in and by MAs.

The Glossary in the Appendix lists 92 common terms used in various chapters of the Handbook and defines 85 of these, based on the comprehensive volume by Smith, Stebbins, and Dover (2006), *A Dictionary of Nonprofit Terms and Concepts*. A revised second edition, now under contract by the same authors, will appear in 2017, identifying over 2900 terms and concepts and defining about 1800 of these.

B. Assessing the substantive comprehensiveness of the Handbook

In order to assess properly the Handbook's comprehensiveness, we need some model or standard of comprehensiveness. Smith has provided three models, although others exist.

1. Smith's (1972) analytical categories of voluntaristics research

In the first issue of the new, first, interdisciplinary, academic journal for voluntaristics as a field (*Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly/NVSQ*), Smith (1972) listed and described 15 major categories of voluntaristics research (quoted here with permission of the author). After each listed category, the applicability to the Handbook is noted.

"1. Definitions, theory and conceptual issues in voluntary action" (p. 6). The Handbook Appendix comprises a Glossary with definitions of 85 terms/concepts, most of which are drawn from the Smith et al. (2006) dictionary, now in revision for a second edition. Each chapter from #9 to 53 has a Definitions Section B. In addition several chapters deal mainly with theory – Chapters 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 16, 31, and 46.

"2. The nature and development of voluntary action from early times to modern society (history of voluntary action)" (p. 7). Chapter 1 describes the entire history of MAs and formal volunteering. Each chapter from #9 to 53 has a Historical Background Section C.

"3. History of theory, concepts and ideas of voluntary action and related topics" (p. 8). Chapter 1 deals briefly with the history of the concept of the voluntary, nonprofit, third sector. In the historical Background Section C of chapters #9–53, the history of relevant concepts is sometimes described.

"4. The nature and determinants of the incidence, growth, change, and cessation of voluntary activity in territorially-based social systems" (p. 8). Chapter 26 deals with how macro-contexts affect volunteering rates, while Chapter 50 deals with explaining MA prevalence rates across territories, which has been very successful to date.

"5. The nature and determinants of the incidence, growth, change, and dissolution of voluntary groups and organizations" (p. 9). Chapter 37 deals with the various potential phases of MA formation, growth, decline, and dissolution/death.

"6. The nature and determinants of relationships between voluntary groups and other groups and affiliates" (p. 10). Chapter 48 deals with relationships between and among MAs and other MAs or organizations.

"7. The nature and determinants of the effectiveness of voluntary groups and their impact on social processes, social institutions, the larger society and the bio-physical environment" (p. 10). A chapter on this topic was planned and begun for the Handbook by Smith, but grew too large to complete in the publication time frame and was omitted for both reasons. A lengthy, completed version of that chapter will be published in *Voluntaristics Review,* Vol. 2, as Issue #2 in 2017.

"8. The nature and determinants of the internal structure and functioning of voluntary groups, organizations and related collectivities" (p. 11). Several chapters deal with these MA topics, particularly Chapters 35, 36, 40, and 47.

"9. The nature and determinants of individual activity [volunteering and civic participation] and role selection" (p. 12). All chapters of Parts II, III, and especially IV deal with these individual participation topics, as do Chapters 4, 5, 38, 45, 46, and 49.

"10. The nature and determinants of the impact of voluntary action upon individual participants" (p. 13). Chapters 52 and 53 wholly deal with this impact topic, and some other chapters do this somewhat (e.g., chapters in Parts II and III).

"11. The nature and determinants of the impact of exceptional individuals upon and through voluntary action of various kinds" (p. 14). Chapters 35 and 36 deal partially with these topics, although the special topic of extraordinary and/or charismatic MA leaders (e.g., in revolutionary MAs or new religion MAs) is not well covered, with little, scattered, and qualitative available research.

"12. The values of voluntary action" (p. 14). Goals and values receive some attention in Chapters 30 and 31, but the larger issue of how values shape MA formation and accomplishment, as well as leadership, receives insufficient coverage (cf. Rothschild and Milofsky 2006). A chapter on ideology and incentives was planned, but dropped because of vague and insufficient research literature.

"13. The futures of voluntary action" (p. 15). Section F. of each Chapter 9–53 deals very briefly with future trends as these apply to the specific chapter. However, a more general chapter/article on the alternative futures of MAs, volunteering, and civic participation is needed.

"14. The development of methods for studying voluntary action" (p. 16). Very minor attention is given to methodological issues in the Handbook, because a planned chapter had to be dropped for its insufficient substantive quality. A methodology review article is planned for sometime in the next few years for *Voluntaristics Review*.

"15. The development of voluntary action theory and research as a professional and scholarly field of interdisciplinary study" (p. 17). Some attention is given to this topic in the Preface, the Introduction, and this chapter. A long chapter on this topic was planned and written by Smith (2016a). However, its great length and the constraints on Handbook word count led to its being dropped, and published instead as *Voluntaristics Review*, 1(2).

Although 45 years have passed since Smith (1972) developed the foregoing set of research topics, the set has stood well the test of time. All those topics are still relevant to MAs, volunteering, and civic participation today and will likely also be relevant in the future both to volunteering/civic participation and to voluntary, nonprofit MAs (cf. Smith 2015b). In addition, many of the topics continue to be relevant to voluntary organizations as nonprofit agencies (cf. Smith 2015c).

However, some other categories of research topics now need to be added to the 1972 list above, such as the following (but there will likely be others as well):

16. Biological factors need to be added as a topic to #9 above on the determinants of voluntary action. Chapter 25 in the Handbook deals with physiological correlates of (and potential influences on) volunteering and civic participation.

17. Typologies of voluntary action phenomena is a topic separate from theory that needs to be added. Chapter 3 deals extensively with this topic.

18. Differences in structure and operation/processes among, and similarity to, various analytical and purpose/activity types of MAs and volunteering/civic participation is a topic that needs to be added. Part III deals with this topic serially, but without any comparative analysis across types. The latter analysis remains to be done by future authors.

19. Volunteering/civic participation as related to other pro-social behavior and to other leisure activities, free time, and time use is a topic (or a pair of topics) that needs to be added. Chapters 4 and 5 deal with these topics.

20. The distinctive nature of MAs versus VSPs as sites for volunteering is a topic that needs to be added. Chapters 15 and 16 deal with these topics to some extent (but see also Smith 2015b, 2015c for more detailed and analytical comparisons).

21. The exact nature of marginal types of volunteering and MAs is a multi-faceted topic that needs to be added, focusing how they are similar to and different from the more usual types of both. Part II deals with some of these topics. Other such marginal types of volunteering and citizen participation remain for future articles to treat (e.g., civic duties and obligations, organizational citizenship behavior [including for businesses, government agencies, and nonprofit agencies], civility and incivility, service learning programs in primary/secondary/post-secondary educational institutions, client-patient-citizen participation in designing/performing research, *action research,* qualitative approaches to MA and volunteering research – including approaches in the arts and humanities.

22. Interactions of MAs with their environments, seen especially as (a) the larger nonprofit sector, (b) other nonprofit groups and organizations, including MAs, and (c) volunteers and volunteering in a given society, is a broad topic that needs to be added. Part VII deals with such topics.

23. Crime, deviance, misconduct, and dysfunctions in and by MAs [or NPAs] is a topic that needs to be added, in order for voluntaristics to be objective, rather than merely positively-biased boosterism (nonobjective promotion of the field). Chapter 54 deals with this topic.

24. Changes in technology and science as they affect MAs and volunteering/civic participation is a topic that needs to be added. Chapters 13 and 43 deal with this topic, but cyber/virtual/online associations are not dealt with.

25. Socio-cultural and economic changes in society as they affect MAs and volunteering/civic participation is a topic that needs to be added also. Chapters 1, 26, and Part VII deal with these matters.

As can be seen above, the Handbook deals with the large majority of analytical issues discussed in Smith (1972). The ten, new, research-topic categories added here (#16–25) have mostly been dealt with also in the Handbook by one or more chapters, as noted above. Thus, the Handbook must be judged as generally quite comprehensive in its substantive coverage by such a second set of key topics as well as by the first set.

2. Smith's (2000) round-earth paradigm for voluntaristics research

In Chapter 10 of his book *GRASSROOTS ASSOCIATIONS*, Smith (2000:217–241) presented a lengthy critique of all, or nearly all, prior research approaches to voluntaristics, referring to these flaws as *flat-earth paradigms* of the Voluntary Nonprofit Sector (VNPS). He sees these inadequate paradigms, or conceptual maps, as equivalents of the erroneous maps used by nearly everyone on earth who had, created, or imagined a map until the round-earth view of the surface of the earth, and the earth's shape as a globe, finally became well-established in western Europe circa 1600 and thereafter (cf. Zerubavel 1992). This ultimate, widespread recognition of the literal *round-earth paradigm* by most cartographers, and especially by the general public, took at least a century and more after the facts from Magellan's around the world cruise had clearly established the empirical truth of this new, literal, round-earth paradigm.

Widespread scholarly acceptance of the *voluntaristics round-earth paradigm* will likely also take significant time, probably at least decades. Kuhn (1962) describes the psychosocial dynamics of why paradigm change in science, however valid and empirically supported, is nonetheless usually resisted by the established, old guard, senior scholars in any field, who have built their long careers and high reputations on what may now be an outmoded, even erroneous, view of the truth/nature/reality. Major change is often hard for humans to face, especially when people are older and very much enjoy what they have accomplished and its earthly rewards and perquisites.

At the end of the chapter, Smith (2000:239–240) sketches the outline of his round-earth paradigm for studying the VNPS and voluntaristics, as follows (quoted here with permission of the author):

- Viewing the VNPS as important for social science scholarship, VNPS practice, and the whole of society or any other sociopolitical territorial unit.
- Viewing the business, government, and nonprofit/voluntary sectors (including [Grassroots Associations] GAs) of a nation or other sociopolitical territories as three of the important sectors of society, but also including the household/family sector broadly interpreted as a fourth sector that probably arose first as groups in human history.

- Viewing work organizations, including paid-staff [Voluntary Groups] VGs, as one important type of organization, one aspect of a society, and one focus of social science scholarship, but also including volunteer and membership groups (e.g., GAs [and other MAs]) and their volunteers at any territorial level of scope in one's round-earth VNPS paradigm.
- Including social movement/protest VGs and activities as important to the VNPS and worthy of study because of their importance in actually changing human society in a long-term way [but also including non-change oriented MAs and individuals].
- Including in the [round-earth] paradigm modern, member benefit, mutual aid, self-help and advocacy VGs and activities as well as the more traditional, personal, social service VGs that attempt to help non-members, often mistakenly calling themselves "public benefit" groups as if only they were VGs with benefits for the public (in the aggregate, both member benefit and non-member benefit VGs serve the public).
- Including in the round-earth view the large majority of conventional, non-deviant, "angelic" VGs as well as the more deviant, "damned," and potentially or actually stigmatized deviant VGs . . . .
- Understanding that money is *not* the key to understanding GAs [or other, supra-local, volunteer-based MAs] because their principal resource is the commitment of their members and its manifestation in the volunteer activities of such members, not financial assets or income.
- Realizing that VGs have been found all over the world for many millennia (Smith 1997b) and also have been found, when sought by appropriate methodology ... in all or nearly all existing nations and territories inhabited by humans since at least 10,000 years ago . . . .
- Using a variety of analytical type classifications for VGs as well as one or more purposive type classifications . . . .
- Doing some historical study of the phenomena of interest so as to understand something of the context out of which current phenomena have grown . . . .
- Integrating study of developing country phenomena with developed country VNPS phenomena, seeking both similarities and differences.
- Studying semiformal and even informal GAs [or other MAs] as well as formalized GAs and paid staff VGs [or other MAs].
- Integrating church congregations and other religious VGs and their volunteers into the study of GAs, [MAs,] and other VNPS phenomena.
- Going beyond socio-demographic predictors in studying individual volunteer participation including factors such as personality traits, attitudes, intelligence, situational characteristics, and environment.
- Studying the entire inter-organizational field or population of organizations in which given VGs are embedded as well as analyzing the internal structure and processes plus external relations of individual VGs.

- Being open to the potential existence of additional flat-earth paradigms that I have ignored here, which will require suitable further attention in a still better round-earth VNPS paradigm [than the one sketched here].

The substantive content of the Handbook complies with all of the foregoing suggestions for developing a round-earth paradigm of the VNPS and voluntaristics. Hence, by this second standard also, the Handbook is quite comprehensive in its approach.

3. Smith's S-Theory (Synanthrometrics) for pro-social behavior research

As presented very briefly in Handbook Chapter 31, and in more detail in other sources (Smith 2014, 2015a, 2017a, 2017b), S-Theory is deliberately *very* comprehensive indeed in its choice of predictors for studying pro-social behavior. S-Theory is relentlessly interdisciplinary, as is this Handbook. While the S-Theory set of predictors fits mainly with the chapters in Part IV of the Handbook, the comprehensiveness of the theory actually fits with every chapter in the sense of being consistent with all of the individual variables studied in all 54 review-chapters. By this third standard also, then, the Handbook is comprehensive in its substantive content.

C. Viewing the Handbook in the context of voluntaristics, as now an emergent academic discipline

There are many interdisciplinary fields in the socio-behavioral sciences these days, which Smith sees as symptoms of the inherent inadequacy of the existing academic disciplinary paradigms for studying human behavior. Long ago, Smith (1979, 1980) discussed how interdisciplinary hybrids, such as political psychology, arose to fill the need for greater consilience (without using that term back then; see E. Wilson 1999) and trans-disciplinary integration in the human sciences. This need arises because *all socio-behavioral science disciplines as they now exist mainly represent historical factors/accidents, rather than intellectual or analytical divisions in human science. All these disciplines study the same object, human beings, their bodies, minds, and/or behavior.*

The emergent academic discipline of voluntaristics has been growing as an organized interdisciplinary field since it was first organized in 1971 with the founding of ARNOVA, the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action (www.arnova.org; Smith 1999, 2003, 2013, 2016a; Smith and Sundblom 2014). For possible reasons listed in Smith (2016a), *voluntaristics has been growing exponentially worldwide since the mid-1990s, doing so far more rapidly than the VNPS itself or than academia has been growing globally.* Most importantly here, *voluntaristics now qualifies by six objective criteria as*

an emergent (new) academic discipline in its own right, unlike most interdisciplinary fields (Krishnan 2009; Smith 2016a:52–54).

The existence of this Handbook is a further affirmation of that special academic status for voluntaristics as a discipline. There are perhaps less than 50 academic disciplines by those criteria referred to (cf. Krishnan 2009). For voluntaristics to reach objective, academic discipline status in so short a time is unusual in the global history of academia and scholarship. This Handbook also advances the new discipline of voluntaristics, by summarizing substantial amounts of both empirical research and also theory in our field.

Certain features of the Handbook take on special importance in this larger, global context of voluntaristics. Having contributors from 73 birth-nations is both impressive, and unique, but *clearly suggests the global nature not only of this Handbook but also of voluntaristics as the academic discipline it represents* (though not totally, of course). This Handbook has consciously tried to avoid the *WEIRD nation fallacy*, coined here by Smith. Henrich, Heine, and Norenzayan (2010) have shown that people who live in Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, Democratic (WEIRD) nations are generally *unlike* most people on earth, either now or ever. Drawing on this research conclusion, the WEIRD nation fallacy consists of assuming implicitly or asserting explicitly that research on samples from WEIRD nations tell us about humans, rather than just about WEIRD humans from certain nations. Though we have not have succeeded perfectly by any stretch of the imagination, we have at least sought to understand MAs and volunteering/civic participation *in all nations* in this Handbook, not merely in WEIRD nations. Like the *International Encyclopedia of Civil Society* (Anheier, Toepler, and List, 2010) before us, with contributors from over 40 nations, this Handbook, with its contributors from 73 birth-nations, is one further step toward truly global voluntaristics, not merely WEIRD-nation voluntaristics.

An essential feature of voluntaristics is its interdisciplinary and interprofessional approach to the phenomena it studies. Smith (2016a) characterizes the objects of study by voluntaristics as follows (quoted with permission of the author):

> The object of study of the emerging academic discipline of voluntaristics is the range of individual and collective human phenomena at various levels of analysis that involve relatively non-coerced, free-will decisions and behaviors, based on values and belief systems which usually involve some aspects of altruism, morality, or other higher (i.e. non-financial) values in the eyes of the participants, whether groups or individuals (see Rothschild and Milofsky 2006). Voluntaristics phenomena mainly involve normative-voluntary compliance structures, not mainly remunerative or coercive compliance structures, using terminology of Etzioni (1975).

Hence, voluntaristics examines those aspects of any society which usually are relatively distinct (a) from families/households, where kinship and close personal relationships dominate exchanges and activities, and communal sharing is the norm; (b) from the market system of exchanges, where market pricing of scarce resources is the norm (business and commercial activities seeking to maximize profits and financial resources), and (c) from the coercive system of exchanges and activities that characterize governments at all territorial levels, where the physical control/dominance of government and government representatives, agencies, and laws/rules control events and activities (Smith 2000:15–32; Smith, Reddy, and Baldwin 1972a; Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:159, 237–239; Wolfenden Committee 1978:22–26). Levels of analysis in voluntaristics range from whole societies, to major segments/sectors of society, to groups and organizations, down to individual motives/dispositions, affects/emotions, goals/outcomes, intellectual abilities, cognitions, serious pain, the self, [examined both explicitly/consciously and implicitly/unconsciously] and resulting behaviors.

Although we have not counted all the academic disciplines besides voluntaristics that are represented by our Handbook contributors, we clearly cover many established disciplines, realizing that any given contributor may represent two or more such disciplines. In addition, our contributors represent collectively many different, recognized professions, mostly social professions, such as social work, public administration, business administration, management, law, education, international relations, policy sciences, labor relations, association management, volunteer administration, etc. Thus, the Handbook is both inter-disciplinary and inter-professional by any objective standard, seeking to capture the total reality of MAs and volunteering/civic participation, unconstrained by academic, professional, and intellectual boundaries.

In our effort to be comprehensive in terms of topics covered, we freely admit that we have had to omit various relevant topics, most of which are noted above under Section B, a, #1–15. Smith especially regrets having to omit here, for practical reasons, a review chapter on the impact of MAs on their communities and larger societies (but see Smith 2017), as well as a chapter on special methodology for studying MAs and volunteering/ civic participation (planned for future publication in the new academic journal, *Voluntaristics Review)*. Various other chapters that had to be omitted include the following, as a disclaimer by the Editors, lest we be thought naïve, ignorant, or out of touch:

(a) community improvement- protection and problem-solving MAs/voluntee ring;
(b) economic development and poverty-alleviation MAs/volunteering, including developing nations;

  (c) infrastructure-support MAs/volunteering;
  (d) sports-recreational-exercise MAs/volunteering;
  (e) arts-music-culture-study MAs/volunteering;
  (f) sociability-conversation-conviviality MAs/volunteering;
  (g) environmental-ecology-flora/fauna preservation MAs/volunteering;
  (h) separate chapters on major aspects of philanthropic-service MAs/ volunteering: social service/welfare, health-medical, educational MAs;
  (i) alternative futures of MAs and volunteering;
  (j) separate chapters on labor/trade unions, professional MAs, academic-scientific societies, farm owners and (usually separately) farm workers MAs;
  (k) inter-governmental organizations/treaties as MAs of national governments;
  (l) religious cults/new religions;
  (m) service learning in schools and universities;
  (n) cyber/virtual/online associations and online advocacy/clicktivism;
  (o) board/policy volunteering;
  (p) episodic/occasional volunteering;
  (q) volunteering in small nonprofit agencies;
  (r) incentives in/by associations;
  (s) ideologies and belief systems of associations;
  (t) association dysfunctions and ineffectivenss.

   In sum, research on voluntaristics, as partially represented by the contents of this Handbook, has come a very long way in the past 45 years, tackling thoughtfully and repeatedly every topic contemplated by Smith (1972), as above, and many others he did not contemplate back then. This is very gratifying to Smith and also to most voluntaristics scholars who become aware of this fact.

   Academic disciplines, and especially social professions, need to have some practical utility and applicability to survive and prosper. They have to be useful to some people for some significant purposes. Voluntaristics is no different in this regard. With this fact in mind, the Handbook Chapters 9–53 have Section E on *Usable Knowledge*, in which chapter authors suggest practical applications of knowledge/information in their chapters. This is an innovation here, for academic handbooks usually neglect this matter.

   We hope that various practitioner publications (e.g., *Nonprofit Quarterly*, *The Chronicle of Philanthropy, and The Nonprofit Times*) will examine systematically these Handbook sections to see what potentially usable knowledge might be worth following up with chapter authors. Similarly, we hope that faculty teaching about the VNPS and especially about MAs, VSPs, and/or volunteering/civic participation will study our chapters, seeking relevant practical information and conclusions that constitute usable knowledge. As this is likely one of the

first attempts at providing usable knowledge in an academic handbook, we ask interested practitioners and *pracademics* to give us feedback on how helpful this approach has been, if at all, and how it could be made more useful in the future.

D. Some further conclusions about complexity and theory

It should be abundantly clear to the conscientious reader of this entire volume, if there be any, and even to readers of a few chapters, that like all human behavior, individual and collective, these phenomena of MAs and volunteering/civic participation are extremely complex. As Smith (2017a) notes in the introduction to his book on S-Theory (quoted here with permission of the author):

> Some scientists believe that human brains and human minds (which are distinct but related systems) are the most complex phenomena in the universe discovered so far (e.g., Eagleman 2011:1; Gribbin 2004:xix; E. Wilson 1999:199). The author agrees, and similarly believes that human *behavior*, based on the ultra-complex human mind and brain, also constitutes one of the most complex sets of phenomena in the known universe. To explain such complexity of behavior, a deeply and comprehensively complex, fully interdisciplinary, integrative, consilient, and quantitative theory is necessary. S-Theory (Synanthrometrics) is advanced here as one such theory, with no other such theories known to the author. Other such theories may exist, but could not be found so far, although some partial candidates are discussed in Chapters 1, 3, and 4.

With the same logical and empirical basis, a similar conclusion could be stated for theories about collectivities, such as networks, groups, organizations, and societies. They are very complicated indeed, based always on the hyper-complex human mind, brain, and individual behavior. Various chapters in the Handbook have presented theories (and also typologies, which are related to theories) relevant to the main topics here, as noted previously. But theory in voluntaristics has had a rather bad reputation among scholars, especially in regard to MAs. For instance, Knoke (1986:2) stated in his *Annual Review of Sociology* chapter on MAs,

> "Put bluntly, association research remains a largely unintegrated set of disparate findings, in dire need of a compelling theory to force greater coherence upon the enterprise. Without a common agreement about central concepts, problems, explanations, and analytical tools, students of associations and interest groups seem destined to leave their subject in scientific immaturity."

Some 20 years later, Tschirhart (2006:535–536) agreed, although she pointed with some optimism to the possibility of "integrating paradigms for specific types of membership associations – for example, grassroots organizations (D. Smith 2000)." Not surprisingly, Smith agrees to the latter point here, but sees even more grounds for optimism (see Handbook Chapters 2 and 55). In addition to the over 100 hypotheses/generalizations about grassroots associations (GAs) in Smith (2000), various other extensive theories applying to MAs were reviewed in Handbook Chapter 2, especially regarding social movement MAs and fundamentally deviant MAs (DVAs). Note too that GAs (Handbook Chapter 32) are not really a *specific type* of MAs as Tschirhart states, but rather are by far the most common and thus *general type* of MAs in all societies ever studied for the past 10,000 years (Smith 2014b; see also Handbook Chapters 1 and 32). Social movement MAs, by contrast, are more clearly a *special type* of MAs (see Handbook Chapter 24), as are national MAs (Handbook Chapter 32) and various other types of MAs reviewed in Parts II and III of the Handbook, plus Chapter 34.

Two other clear points of optimism for Smith regarding theories of MAs are the following, as discussed in the Handbook:

(1) The fact that two, highly multi-national (90–140 nations) and independent studies of MA prevalence among contemporary nations both are able to explain 70%–89% of the variance with similar theories shows that, at this level of analysis, we have made huge progress in understanding the extent to which national and international MAs exist in such nations, which include most of the world's population (Schofer and Longhofer 2010; Smith and Shen 2002; see also Handbook Chapter 50). There is, of course, much more to be done in understanding the prevalence of MAs at the state/province level and also local level MAs as GAs, given the practical problems of adequate sampling, but the same theories should work reasonably well with adjustments, as shown by similar studies at those system levels (see Handbook Chapter 50).

(2) The fact that many studies of MA participation by individuals have explained 30%–40% of the variance in such participation (see Handbook Chapter 31) is also heartening, showing that we understand reasonably well this participative aspect of MAs, which is absolutely crucial to their existence. Nearly all MAs depend on volunteers to a significant extent, and GAs (and supra-local volunteer-based MAs) do so uniquely and almost totally (see Handbook Chapters 30–32). Even more promising is the finding that Smith's S-Theory, when applied to a national adult sample in Russia, could explain 67%–71% of the variance in a highly reliable index of formal volunteering/FV in MAs (see Handbook Chapter 31), and about 52% of the variance in an index of informal volunteering (see Handbook Chapter 9).

We note that, unlike many studies of pro-social behavior and FV by psychologists, the Russian survey used to test S-Theory does not study a convenience sample of university undergraduates, but instead uses a random national sample of adults, lending more credibility and validity to the results reported here briefly in various chapters, especially in Handbook Chapters 9, 23, 30, and 31.

We also noted that by including a very wide variety of types of S-Theory predictors in the Russian interview, our conclusions are less susceptible to the methodological problem of failing to include other relevant predictors that might explain any apparent relationship. The best example of how this has helped us understand FV in Russia is that while demographic factors *appear* to explain FV when used by themselves or with a few other predictor types as in thousands of prior studies elsewhere, when used with the full set of 58 S-Theory predictors we measured, such demographic predictors of FV nearly all fade to unimportance and statistical insignificance, with the sole exception of working part time.

S-Theory can be expected to improve still more its very high level of variance explained in FV when both behavior genetics and implicit measurement of psychological variables are included in the empirical regression analyses, as required by S-Theory. However, there will always be limits of randomness of events/behavior and measurement errors, so that perfect explanation of FV will likely never be accomplished. Still, we may soon get to 85%–90% for individual participation, and are nearly there already for MA prevalence at the level of nations.

E. Usable knowledge

All review chapters have included some focus on usable knowledge in Section E. While such sections vary in length, specificity, and utility for practitioners/leaders, we have at least urged chapter authors to think and write about this issue. People interested in usable knowledge might follow up with the authors of those chapters that seem to have the most promise for yielding more details on usable knowledge.

F. Future trends and needed research

As to future trends, research in Handbook Chapter 50 makes it clear that the prevalence of MAs in the world is generally growing over decades and centuries, as is the frequency of FV in MAs and VSPs – Stebbins to the contrary earlier in this chapter to the contrary about a two-year trend notwithstanding. Further, *research in the emergent academic discipline of voluntaristics is growing even more rapidly than the phenomena that the field studies* (Smith 2016a*)*. Paid/occupational work in the discipline of voluntaristics is thus a growth industry. Increasingly,

academic disciplines and professions other than voluntaristics, with established university departments/schools, are hiring researchers and faculty in this field, and interdisciplinary voluntaristics researcher associations, research centers, and academic/research journals in the field continue to proliferate (ibid.; see also www.icsera.org, under Resources).

Summarizing what research most needs to be done next is not easy. Each chapter of the Handbook from #9–59 has Section F where needed research is briefly discussed. We note especially here that in the future we need more of the following:

(1) More meta-analyses need to be done, rather than the simpler literature reviews we have done in this Handbook. Such meta-analyses can yield estimates of the average strength and range of strength of relationships studied, which are quite valuable.

(2) Far more longitudinal/panel studies need to be done. Although many were found in a few chapters (e.g., Chapters 52 and 53), these were seriously lacking for most other chapters (crucially, Chapter 23, 24, 30, 50, and 51). Panel studies will also permit greater understanding of the details of the stages/phases of volunteering and of association development, and of the interactions and intricacies of variable interactions and feedback effects over time.

(3) Although a very wide range of relevant variables affecting volunteering and associations have been studied, more large sample studies need to be done that include the widest range of potential influences/variables relevant to the criterion of interest. Various alternative theories need to be tested. Only in this way can proper conclusions be drawn about the influence of particular concepts and variables, controlling for many possible confounds. Measuring more variables also permits the construction of more reliable indicators as multi-item indices/scales for the most theoretically important concepts/constructs. Only interview surveys and time diary methods lend themselves to this approach, as neither experiments nor experimental games lend themselves to testing many variables simultaneously.

(4) To approach a global version of knowledge about voluntaristics, whether for volunteering and associations or for other nonprofit sector phenomena, we need highly comparable multi-national studies that examine a substantial sample of nations (e.g., 30–40), probably with some quotas to include nations of very different structural and cultural characteristics. Such studies need to attend to the other three points made above.

Only two further points about needed future research will be made here:
(5) At the level of individual behavior: Volunteering and civic participation:
What we mainly need to do to understand better individual participation in MAs and VSPs is *not* to perform ever more minor studies with convenience

samples and a few of the relevant predictor variables already known. There are almost endless examples of these, as *normal science* (Kuhn 1962), and more of these will not much advance our understanding/explanation, if any at all (with a few exceptions, such as using implicit measures of psychological predictors and also measures of relevant behavior genetics and epigenetics to explain FV). Instead, we need more replications of the outstanding S-Theory results in the Russian survey data reported by Smith (2015a, 2017b).

Translating Smith's interview into other languages than English, especially testing the theory in other non-WEIRD (and also WEIRD) nations on national samples, will move us far regarding testing the empirical validity of S-Theory as the proposed Theory of Everyone and the new Standard Human Science Model, which it may or may not be. If resources permit, many more measures could be added to the current interview to explore other criterion variables than FV (in terms of both predictors and criterion variables) and to improve the reliability of key predictors now measured with too few items (sometimes only one question). Most importantly, *these replication studies need to be panel or time series studies*, with multiple waves of data collection on the same individuals through time (especially years) to study causation (see more ideas about S-Theory testing in the Conclusion of Smith 2017a).

The key problem in performing the foregoing program of S-Theory testing with many national samples will likely be financing the program. Human society has spent about USD 9–10 billion on the Large Hadron Collider in Switzerland to further test quantum theory and especially to find the Higgs boson and to test quantum entanglement, among many other experiments. Would it be possible to test S-Theory with USD 1 billion to understand human behavior *much* better and more reliably/quantitatively – to make a quantum leap forward in such understanding, so to speak? We shall see.

Human survival on earth may depend on this happening, as *we are now clearly involved in the sixth extinction of nearly all species on earth, likely including ourselves*, according to various scientists (e.g., Kolbert 2015). We seem collectively unable to stop this from happening, suggesting we need to know much more about human behavior than we do if humans are to survive much longer as a species (ibid. and Costa 2010).

(6) The level of organizations and societies: Membership associations and volunteer service programs

As with the current research on volunteering/citizen participation seen as individual behavior, current research on MAs and VSPs is deeply inadequate for both theoretical and methodological reasons. The theoretical reason is the failure of many voluntaristics researchers and most policy makers to understand the importance and global impact of both MAs/VSPs and of volunteering/civic participation. Most MA or VSP research focuses on one or a small convenience sample of MAs or VSPs. Adequate, random, national sampling of MAs has been

very rare. Knoke (1990) randomly sampled nationally and analyzed data on US national associations, but investigated only a few issues, especially incentives. Random national samples of *all* US organizations have also been very rare; the only known example did little to analyze how MAs differ from other work organizations, mainly focusing on the small proportion of larger, paid staff MAs among all MAs, along with businesses (Kalleberg, Knoke, Marsden, and Spaeth 1996).

National random samples of state/province level or local level MAs have very rarely been done properly anywhere (e.g., using hyper-network sampling; exceptions include Grønbjerg 2002). Such samples are very expensive to do properly, mainly because no complete lists of relevant MAs are available from which to draw accurate random samples. The only correct way to draw a national random sample of MAs at the state/province and local levels is by hyper-network sampling, as done for ten cities by McPherson (1982). This involves random area probability sampling of individuals in a nation (or other territory), then asking these respondents about the MAs they belong to or know about. Such nominated MAs are formed into local sampling frames/lists, and MAs to study are sampled from such frames, aggregating the subsequent results to represent a national sample.

As for studying individual behavior, such hyper-network sampling of MAs in nations would need to be done for a careful and moderately large sample of WEIRD and especially for non-WEIRD nations (N = at least 30–40 nations, stratified into WEIRD and non-WEIRD categories) to gain an accurate sense of how MAs operate in contemporary societies, rather than in only in a few prominent WEIRD nations, as is now mainly the case. Also, similar to the individual level study program, such MA studies would need to do several waves of data collection on the same set of respondent MAs over many years to understand causation properly.

However, unlike the situation for the individual level, there is no successful and comprehensive example of a data collection instrument for MAs as units of study, whether an interview or other data collection technique. The interview schedule used by Knoke (1990) would be a beginning, but would need to be expanded in many topical areas. The set of analytical typologies in Handbook Chapter 3 would be one good place to begin with additional MA variables. So also would be many other Handbook chapters. Empirical results from Smith (2017) on the impacts of MAs would also be wise to include.

A similar multi-national set of national sample studies of VSPs could also be done, but with two alternative potential types of sampling. As a part of the national sampling of MAs using hyper-network methodology, as above, nominations of VSPs could also be gathered and special VSP local sampling frames (VSP lists) could be created and sampled separately, using a somewhat different interview and other data collection processes. Alternatively, one could

use existing lists of nonprofit agencies, government agencies, and businesses to study VSPs, sampling from such frames (lists) created in local sampling territories/units.

Financing such a highly multinational research program on MAs and VSPs will again be very difficult. However, if the individual level S-Theory multinational research program can be successfully financed, then the organizational level research might also be financed from the same sources. Specifically, since FV occurs almost totally in such organized contexts, individual volunteering/participation can be better understood by also studying the organizational contexts that are the sites in which FV occurs and that affect such activity and its outcomes, as shown by Handbook Chapters 15, 16, chapters in Parts II and III, Chapter 27, and chapters in Parts V, VI, and VII. Such organizational context research will likely lead to substantially improved effectiveness and impacts by both MAs and VSPs, and to the conservation/optimal use of the human resources involved (cf. Smith 1999b, 1999c).

Coda: Smith (1997b) entitled his *NVSQ* article in part, "Grassroots Associations as the Dark Matter Ignored in Prevailing 'Flat-Earth' Maps of the Sector." In a companion article, his title was in part, "Grassroots Associations Are Important." Both statements remain true today. Many voluntaristics scholars in many nations today give most research attention to paid-staff based nonprofit agencies (cf. Smith 2015c) and their relations to government at different levels, often attracted by the paid staff, the money and power involved, and the apparent solidity of bureaucratic work organizations. That is fine, but such scholars often ignore the *associational subsector* (Smith 1991), thus accepting an inadequate *nonprofit agency flat-earth paradigm* of the VNPS which fails to do intellectual justice to the whole VNPS system.

For Smith, such ignorance in voluntaristics theory and research is the equivalent in chemistry to studying *only* inorganic compounds, perhaps with persisting prejudice against and ignoring organic compounds. No intelligent professional chemist does that today, even if not actually doing research on organic compounds. But *many* intelligent, professional researchers worldwide currently do that in voluntaristics, whether because of prejudice or lack of awareness. If this Handbook accomplishes nothing else, we hope it successfully alerts many voluntaristics researchers who practice the nonprofit agency flat-earth paradigm to the importance of associations/MAs and volunteering/civic participation as part of the round-earth paradigm of the VNPS and of voluntaristics as an emergent academic discipline.

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Part X
Appendix

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Glossary of Key Concepts and Terms

David H. Smith (USA), Robert A. Stebbins (USA), and Colin Rochester (UK)

A. Introduction

Unlike the earlier Handbook chapters, this Appendix presents a glossary of 92 important terms and concepts for the reader to understand, with 85 of them defined. Nearly, all the terms and concepts included have been defined earlier in *A Dictionary of Nonprofit Terms and Concepts* of 1,767 terms and concepts (1212 defined; 555 cross-references), written by Smith, Stebbins, and Dover (2006). But the definitions of some of these have been updated. A few concepts have been added, not present in that version of the *Dictionary*, such as *voluntaristics*. For definitions of concepts and terms not included here, the interested reader should consult the *Dictionary* noted. Terms defined there have an asterisk as an initial superscript. The definitions of terms in this Appendix are reprinted here by permission of the authors and of the Indiana University Press, the publisher.

When chapter authors differ or believe that variations (e.g., for specific world regions, languages, or nations) or clarifications are needed, they have noted these in their specific chapters. Similarly, chapter authors have added definitions of terms, *not* defined here, that are relevant and necessary for their specific chapters. The definitions in this Appendix, thus, are more of a general guide that sets both the chapter authors and the reader "on the same page," rather than a "straightjacket."

B. Definitions

active member (of an association)
A member of a *nonprofit group who regularly provides *services that help meet the *operative goals of that group (Smith 2000:7), also termed technically an "analytic member." Any active member of an association is an associational volunteer. Contrasts with inactive members (passive members, nominal members, "paper" members) who do nothing except pay dues/fees to the group. Also

termed an *association volunteer* or *associational volunteer*. Often overlooked by scholars and lay people who only consider volunteer service programs, ignoring associations as the principal global context of *formal volunteering for the past 10,000 years (Smith 1997).

advocacy in or *by nonprofit groups*
The act of pleading, speaking, or interceding for a *cause supported by a person or group.

altruism
An attitude and feeling of disinterested concern for the *welfare of others outside an individual's household or immediate/nuclear family, expressed by a person, or by a *nonprofit group, in giving money, *goods, time, blood or body organs, or other property to increase the welfare of those others. Altruism is often expressed by some *sacrifice to the giver or *donor. Altruism is an attitude that disposes a person to help others, because of "empathic concern" (empathy) for their welfare or felt *satisfaction ("warm glow") or both. *Philanthropy and giving behavior are some behavioral expressions of this attitude, but not the only ones. Research makes clear that there is a self-serving, self-helping aspect to altruism generally, often involving reciprocity – it is *relative altruism, so *pure, other-serving altruism is very rare (Smith 1981).

altruistics
A new term that refers to the organized field of research and theory on all of the phenomena of the nonprofit sector, individual and collective, emphasizing that many such phenomena involve altruism, though clearly not all (Smith 2013).

association (voluntary association, membership association, nonprofit association)
A relatively formally structured *nonprofit group that depends mainly on *volunteer *members for *participation and activity and that usually seeks *member benefits, even if it may also seek some *public benefits (cf. Smith 2015a). Associations nearly always have some degree of formal structure, but most of them are informal groups, not organizations (see *formal group; Smith 1967). An association is frequently referred to as a "voluntary association," but some scholars recently have termed them "membership associations" or "nonprofit associations," as in this Handbook's title. Associations are the most common type of nonprofit organization in the United States (Smith 2000:41–42) and in all other nations or earlier types of societies ever studied. Their total numbers are never reflected accurately in government statistics and registries of nonprofit organizations. Hence, many scholars unknowingly make false statements about "all nonprofit organizations" or "the nonprofit sector" based on samples from such incomplete government NPO registries. Many other scholars simply ignore associations because of their myopic focus only on nonprofit agencies with paid staff.

associational form of organization
Manner of operating a *group (Smith 1967) that usually involves having *official members who are mostly *volunteers, some elected *formal nonprofit leaders, often a *board of directors with *policy control, financial support mainly from annual *dues or donations (but may also include *fees and occasionally *grants), often one or more *committees as part of the *leadership, and regular face-to-face meetings attended by active *official members and informal participants. Form used in *associations, *transnational associations, *national associations, *state associations, and *grassroots associations (Smith 2000).

associational volunteer (association volunteer, active member)
See *active member*

board of directors in nonprofits
The highest *policy-making unit in most Western *nonprofit groups. In the United Kingdom, it is often called the "Committee" or "Steering Committee" in associations. Also termed the "Board of Trustees," especially for foundations of other large and wealthy NPOs. Such boards are nearly always present in *nonprofit agencies, but are less common in *associations, especially *grassroots associations.

board volunteer (policy volunteer)
An individual serving as *volunteer *member of a *board of directors of a *nonprofit group. Board volunteers may be compensated for travel expenses incurred for board meeting attendance and related activities, but are usually not paid for their services. A type of volunteer often overlooked in *nonprofit sector studies.

citizen participation
Individual *participation as service activity in a *citizen group or in other local *political voluntary action, whether group or individual, conventional or deviant. In general, this term is a synonym for "local *political participation." Citizen participation is broader than *civic engagement, in that, unlike the latter, the former is not centered strictly on duty, responsibility, or obligation. Citizen participation is narrower than *community involvement; however, since the second also refers to nonpolitical action while it, too, is not confined to matters of duty or responsibility.

civic engagement (civic participation, civic involvement, community involvement)
1. Act or result of performing local *voluntary action based on a felt civic duty, responsibility, or obligation (see *civic obligation/responsibility) fulfilled by working toward amelioration of a *community concern. Such terms as citizen engagement and civil engagement are, at bottom, synonymous with "civic

engagement," as variations of the first term. Other synonyms alter the second term, using "involvement" or "participation."

2. Recently, the term "civic engagement" (or synonyms as above) has been used more broadly by some to include all forms of volunteering, formal and informal, and other participation (as social involvement or social participation), whether focused on a community concern or not, political or not (e.g., Cnaan and Park 2016).

civil liberty (civil liberties)
A basic human right that is supported by law or custom and permits a variety of important social and political activities necessary for a *civil society. Sometimes the term is referred to as a "civil right." Civil liberties include the freedom of assembly, association, religion, peaceful dissent, the press, and speech as well as rights like due process, peaceful redress of grievances, and privacy. "Civil right," a near-synonym of "civil liberty," differs only in its emphasis on equality.

civil society (sector)/civil sector
1. A national society with a well developed, diverse, free, and actively functioning *nonprofit sector serving as a counterbalance to its governmental and business sectors (see sector of society). A civil society is the democratic opposite of *dictatorship and involves extensive *citizen participation and associational life (O'Connell 1999:5). Moreover, as Beck (2000:3–5) argues, civil society, which is sometimes known as "voluntary society," runs parallel to a nation's "work society," where people do things mainly because they are paid to do so, or even made to do so (e.g., complying with laws requiring national service, voting, and taxation).

2. Another name for the nonprofit sector itself (see Naidoo and Tandon 1999:2), especially when stated as the "civil society *sector*." Places special emphasis on the role of voluntary associations and freedom of association in contributing to a healthy public life (*the public interest).

club
1. An *association, usually locally based, which has sociability (fellowship and friendly social relations) as its primary purpose. It is a social club. Many *associations ostensibly formed for other purposes (e.g., veterans' associations, civic service clubs, hobby or garden clubs, alumni associations, ethnic or nationality associations) are in fact mainly social clubs.

2. A nonprofit association (*nonprofit group) whose principal *goal is to foster social relations and *sociability, but which pursues as significant secondary goals either *service or *leisure if not both. Sometimes of these are "service clubs," but others are openly "social clubs."

continuous-service volunteer.
See *habitual volunteer*

conventional (mainstream) nonprofit group or *organization*
A nonprofit group whose *leaders and *members generally respect the current moral norms of the society of which the group is a part (Smith 2000:86–87), pursuing socially acceptable goals and using socially acceptable means to achieve them. Contrasted with deviant nonprofit groups.

deviance by nonprofit groups
Behavior enacted by leaders or other members in the name of a *nonprofit group that violates one or more of the current moral norms (Stebbins 1996:3) of the society in which the group is embedded. Nonprofit groups that have persistent deviant goals or deviant means of achieving group goals are termed *deviant nonprofit groups.

deviance in nonprofit groups
Behavior by leaders or members of a nonprofit group that serves personal goals but that violates one or more of the current moral norms of the society in which the group is embedded. Examples could include fraud, embezzlement, misuse of funds, theft of group property, and so on.

deviant nonprofit group (DNG; or *deviant nonprofit organization, DNO)*
A *nonprofit group (Smith 1967) which deviates significantly from one or more current moral norms of the society. Smith (2000:87) notes that nonprofits may be "partly deviant," as when a leader or another member temporarily violates a moral norm regarding group goals or means, or "fundamentally deviant," as when a nonprofit group is formed to mainly pursue deviant goals or uses deviant means to pursue conventional goals.

deviant voluntary association (DVA)
A *deviant nonprofit group that uses the *associational form of nonprofit organization, rather than being a *nonprofit agency or *foundation.

disaster volunteer (crisis volunteer, spontaneous volunteer)
1. A formal *volunteer affiliated with a disaster relief *nonprofit group (e.g., the Red Cross), who is trained in this specialty and who, on a moment's notice, is ready to go to disaster sites.

2. A person who experiences or learns of a disaster or other crisis affecting many people and spontaneously tries to help victims as an *informal volunteer. Such spontaneous disaster/crisis volunteers usually act as informal volunteers, but may form or join (often *ad hoc*, temporary and informal) groups of other disaster volunteers.

dissent (collective dissent)
Disagreement that may remain unexpressed, be expressed individually, be expressed collectively in a nonprofit group, or take the form of public opinion. Dissent sometimes occurs within *nonprofit groups, but is at least as likely to be observed in *advocacy nonprofit groups that attempt to influence the government at some level regarding a particular *policy *issue. The latter is a form of *political voluntary action.

episodic volunteer (occasional volunteer)
A *formal volunteer committed to working only for a short time for some *association, *nonprofit group, or other organization usually for a limited number of days or weeks, rather than committed to working for, say, six months to a year or longer on specific days in a regular long-term pattern (Macduff 1995:188). Episodic volunteers may do the same short-term volunteer work on a regular annual basis, or may do it only once. Contrasts with a *regular volunteer or *continuous-service volunteer.

formal volunteer
A *volunteer serving in a formal *nonprofit group or *volunteer program (department) of a larger *parent organization that sponsors or directs the individual's *volunteer action (Smith 2000:25). Examples include volunteers in a *volunteer program or an *association.

giving (charitable giving)
1. Charitable allocation of money or goods to one or more individuals or *nonprofit groups outside the household or immediate/nuclear family, *not including* the allocation of service time (e.g., volunteering). This is *charitable giving, as compared with general *giving, and that which is given is a *charitable gift. See also **philanthropy*.

2. Allocation of money or goods to anyone else, including relatives, family, or other household members, or any group, without immediate reciprocal material benefits. This is general *giving.

GONGO
A Government-Organized (or -Owned) NGO. A form of association common in totalitarian and authoritarian societies, but present to a small degree even in robust democracies, like the United States and the United Kingdom. Usually involves continuing government control of the GONGO association. Most common for national associations, and least common for local grassroots associations (LGAs or GAs), operating at a local level, by definition.

*government (*or *public or statutory) sector*
See *sector of society*.

grassroots association/group (GA; or local grassroots association/LGA)
1. A locally based, significantly autonomous, volunteer-run *formal or *informal nonprofit group (Smith 1967) that manifests substantial *voluntary altruism as a group and uses the *associational form of organization. Thus grassroots associations (GAs) have an official *membership of volunteers who perform most, and often all, of the work/activity done in and by these nonprofits (Smith 2000:8). Such groups may be local chapters or branches of supralocal *associations, often *state (provincial, county) associations or of *national associations, in which case they are termed *polymorphic nonprofit groups. Or GAs may be essentially unique and unaffiliated with any supralocal association, in which case they are termed *monomorphic nonprofit groups (Smith 2000:80–81). GAs, both in the present and in earlier times, form a web of social ties through memberships and participation in most communities and neighborhoods in America and in all other contemporary nations studied so far. GAs are thus found frequently elsewhere in developed nations (Smith 2000:44) and also in less-developed and developing nations.

2. In some nations (e.g., China), the terms "grassroots association," "grassroots organization," and "grassroots group" refer to refer to relatively *independent* local or regional associations that have arisen from "the ground up," not the "top down" (meaning the government). Such grassroots groups are viewed as *not* created or strongly influenced or controlled by the central government or by some other territorial level of government, as contrasted with other local associations or non-associational nonprofit groups that are really extensions of the government.

habitual volunteer (regular volunteer; continuous service volunteer)
Literally, one who makes a habit of *formal volunteering, of serving a *nonprofit group or *volunteer program on a regular basis (e.g., 3 hours per week on Thursdays) for a year or more. Viewed from the *leisure perspective, one for whom volunteering is a main *leisure activity pursued either *regularly* (e.g., more or less every week, fortnight, or month in, say, friendly visiting at a hospital or attending monthly *board meetings) or *frequently*, albeit irregularly (e.g., working in different *volunteer roles and nonprofit groups or volunteer programs). Regular and frequent habitual volunteers contrast with *episodic volunteers and *sporadic volunteers, or people who volunteer only occasionally, and irregularly at that.

helping
Act of giving time, *goods, money, blood or body organs, or other property to people or groups. Helping usually refers to formal or informal provision of one's time or services to benefit the welfare of one or more others. Helping can be contrasted with *giving, but both are forms of *philanthropy when the

helping behavior is aimed at one or more persons outside one's household or at one or more nonprofit groups.

informal (personal) sector
Broader view of the *household/family sector, expanded to include also personal friendship, neighboring, religious congregation activities, coworker relations, and other *informal interpersonal activity (e.g., Billis 1993). The concept of informal sector also includes *informal leisure activity, but only where the latter is carried out with others. Nonetheless, this conception is problematic, for by treating the area of household and family activities as part of the broader field of informal interpersonal activities, theorists tend to obscure the importance of the former (Van Til 1988:141–143).

informal volunteer (informal service volunteer)
The type of *service volunteer who performs their direct services for others outside of any group or formally organized context (i.e., an organization), except for the structured context of one's society as a whole. Informal volunteers engage in "informal volunteering."

infrastructure organization (support organization)
An organization that has the primary purpose of assisting, supporting, or facilitating other nonprofit groups, volunteer programs, volunteering, *civic participation, and related nonprofit sector activities by individuals or groups. Infrastructure organizations may be based in the nonprofit, business, or government sectors of society, or be *hybrid organizations spanning two or more sectors.

leisure
Un-coerced, contextually framed activity engaged in during *free time, which people want to do and, using their abilities and resources, actually do in either a satisfying or a fulfilling way or both (Stebbins 2012:4). "Free time" is time away from *unpleasant (disagreeable) obligation, with *pleasant obligation being essentially leisure. Further, as un-coerced activity, leisure is a pleasant expectation and recollection; a minimum of involuntary obligations; a psychological perception of freedom; and a range of activity running from inconsequence and insignificance to weightiness and importance (Kaplan 1960:22–25). Both formal and informal volunteering are leisure activities, while *quasi-volunteering is best regarded as *devotee work (see Quasi Volunteer) because of substantial remuneration.

leisure general activity pattern (LGAP)
The positive and statistically significant inter-correlations of individual participation in most kinds of socio-culturally approved *leisure activities in a given society at a certain historical period. Refers to a fairly consensual set of

leisure activities that tend to cluster (inter-correlate) empirically in the general population, especially for middle or higher status individuals.

member
1. A person who belongs to or forms a group (Smith 1967), *association, or other assembly as a *formal collectivity (including a *religious congregation; Harris 1998:215). Some members of associations are "active;" that is, they participate in some way in affairs of the group (cf. Smith 2000:51–52). The rest are termed "nominal," "inactive," "passive," or "on-paper-only" members (ibid.:181). "Official members" are those listed on the group's *membership roll (digital or hard copy), those who, if required, have paid their member-ship *dues. But in associations, some active members may belong informally; they are neither listed on the membership roll (if any) nor have they paid dues (if any) (cf. Smith 1992).

2. A group or organization that belongs to a network, federation, umbrella organization or other "group of groups." Some associations have both types of members, individual and collective, but most associations mainly have one type of member, not both.

membership
1. The condition of being a *member of a particular *association or *formal collectivity; that is, having mere affiliation with a group, religious congregation, or other organization, formal or informal. Membership is usually a concept applied mainly to associations. However, some businesses (*for-profit organi-zations) use the term and concept of member to attract and retain customers (e.g., health clubs, Weightwatchers Inc.) by establishing a relationship stronger than merely being a *consumer, *customer, or *client. Membership may or may not involve *giving or *volunteering over and above the requirement of official affiliation and often payment of annual dues/fees.

2. The total set of *members of a group or association.

membership association
See *association*

misconduct by nonprofit groups
Behavior enacted by leaders or other members in the name of a *nonprofit group that violates one or more of the current customs or consensual rules of the society in which the group is embedded, but that does not necessarily violate the society's current moral rules (Stebbins 1996:3) or laws. Broader term than *deviance by nonprofit groups*, but includes such deviance.

misconduct in nonprofit groups
Behavior by leaders or members of a nonprofit group as individuals that violates one or more of the current customs or consensual rules of the society in

which the group is embedded, but that does not necessarily violate the society's current moral rules (Stebbins 1996:3) or laws. Broader term than *deviance in nonprofit groups*, but includes such deviance.

mutual aid (group)/mutual help (group)
1. People in a locality helping each other from time to time in a neighborly way.

2. People in a *member benefit nonprofit association helping each other from time to time with a life *problem, especially in the group context.

3. The practice of people helping each other deal with a common problem.

4. *Self-help (group)/self help (group)

non-governmental organization (NGO)
1. A *nonprofit group, particularly a *nonprofit organization, *nonprofit agency (Smith 2015b), or *association (Smith 2015a), whose characterization or classification emphasizes the *nongovernmenta*l character of organizations in the nonprofit sector.

2. This is the preferred term by many who deal with international associations, often called international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs), and with *transnational associations that provide aid to developing countries (*Third World), including indigenous Third World nonprofits. This is also the preferred general term referring to domestic (indigenous) Nonprofit Organizations in some specific countries and languages (e.g., China and Mandarin). There is a problem in some languages (e.g., Mandarin), where the prefix term "non" in English translates with the connotation of "anti" (against).

nonprofit agency (NPA)/voluntary agency (Volag)
A nonprofit organization that provides a public service or public benefit (*non-member benefit) and is mainly based on activities by paid staff (cf. Smith 2015b). Such agencies have a *corporate structure, not an *associational form of organization (Smith 2015a). Generally speaking, the nonprofit agency relies mainly on paid staff to accomplish its *goals rather than on *members, not having any members. However, *service program volunteers may also be used to achieve NPA goals. The term "voluntary agency" is more commonly used, even if for conceptual consistency, nonprofit agency is preferred. Both large and small agencies usually have a *board of directors. This Handbook is *not* mainly concerned with nonprofit agencies, but some chapters focus on volunteer service programs (VSPs) that may be present in such agencies, or in government agencies or certain businesses (e.g., in Chapters 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 38, 39, 48, and 52.

nonprofit governance
1. The activities and processes of top *policy *leadership or *management of a *nonprofit group, usually mainly the province of the *board of directors and to a lesser extent, between board *meetings, the *Executive Director or President, certain other Officers, plus the Executive Committee or other committees.

2. Loosely, *nonprofit management generally.

nonprofit group
A *formal or *informal group (Smith 1967) of people joined together to pursue a common not-for-profit *goal. That is, it is not the intention of the *group to distribute excess *revenue ("profits" of nonprofit organizations) to *members or *leaders or to operate mainly according to personal attachment as to a house-hold or family. Nor is a nonprofit group a government agency. Such groups, which are sometimes referred to as "voluntary groups," do enjoy substantial levels of *autonomy and are usually inspired by a significant level of *voluntary spirit or, more broadly, *voluntary altruism (Smith 2000:24–26, 64). Further, nonprofit groups may offer one or more public benefits (non-member benefits) or one or more *member benefits or both. "*Nonprofit group" is the broadest and most accurate term referring to *all* *nonprofit sector groups, not just to nonprofit *organizations* as formal groups. Nonprofit groups have been present in all contemporary societies so far studied.

nonprofit leadership
Role of being a leader in a nonprofit group and proving guidance to its col-lective activities, as the person responsible for development, approval, and implementation of *policy, achieved in good part by working with other *analytic members of the group. The term *nonprofit leader generally refers to people holding official *leadership positions in *associations, but is also used at times to refer to influential people (*see* INFLUENCE) at any level in a nonprofit.

nonprofit management/administration
1. The action and manner of managing or administering a nonprofit organiza-tion; application of skill, experience, knowledge, or care in the use, treatment, manipulation, or control of things or people or in the conduct of a *nonprofit organization, usually involving mainly paid staff.

2. The set of individuals in a nonprofit *organization responsible for managing or administering that NPO.

nonprofit organization (NPO)
A *nonprofit group that was founded or has achieved the status of being a formal group, and hence is an *organization (Smith 1972). The term "*non-profit* organization" emphasizes the not-for-profit (in French, "sans but lucra-tive") character of organizations in the nonprofit sector by virtue of the

"non-distribution constraint." This broad constraint on nonprofit organizations requires that such organizations not distribute any literal profit (or surplus/excess revenues) to leaders, staff, or members. This term serves poorly as an umbrella word for *all* the groups comprising the *nonprofit sector, because it omits semi-formal and informal nonprofits, many of which play an important role there (Smith 1992). However, many scholars are unaware of or ignore this problem of precise terminology, and incorrectly use the term "nonprofit organization" to refer to all kinds of nonprofit groups. In general, a synonym for "non-governmental organization" (NGO).

nonprofit sector/NPS (voluntary nonprofit sector/VNPS)
Preferred general term for the analytical sector of society between (or distinct from) the business (commercial, for-profit, private) sector or market, the government (public, statutory) sector or state, and the family/household sector.

1. Narrow definition: sum of all types of volunteer altruism, *volunteer action, *volunteers, and *volunteer groups.

2. Broad definition: sum of the four components set out in sense 1 in addition to all types of *quasi-volunteer altruism, *quasi-volunteer action, *quasi-volunteers, and *quasi-volunteer groups (Smith 2000:27). Generally, the nonprofit sector encompasses all aspects of all *nonprofit groups in a society, including nonprofit organizations as formal nonprofit groups, in addition to all *individual voluntary action found there. Some sort of nonprofit sector, at least with *associations, has been found in all societies studied so far that are more complex than hunting-gathering bands of nomads (Nolan and Lenski 2006). The terms "*voluntary sector," "*independent sector," "*third sector," "civil society sector," "civil sector," "tax-exempt sector," "not-for-profit sector," "the commons," "*philanthropic sector," "charitable sector, "philanthropic sector," and others are generally used synonymously with sense 2, though in case of the last three terms, emphasis is on charitable nonprofits, such as those registered in the United States with the Internal Revenue Service as 501 (c) (3). Burlingame (2004:355–56) presents distinctions among the various near-synonyms for the nonprofit sector. The nonprofit sector is one of the four main *sectors of society (or five sectors, in one scheme), and definitely includes *many* groups and organizations NOT listed or registered by the IRS in the United States or by equivalent government registration agencies in other nations.

occupational-economic association
A widespread kind of *association formed to further the interests of *members of a given *occupation or industry. Includes trade (labor) unions, farm laborers' associations, farmers' (farm owners') associations, business peoples' associations (e.g., chambers of commerce; Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions Clubs; businesswomen's associations), trade associations, industry associations,

professional associations, and scientific societies. One kind of economic association.

online volunteer (virtual volunteer, cyber-volunteer, e-volunteer)
A volunteer who uses the Internet to enable and facilitate *formal volunteering at a distance from any group, association, or organizational base. Also known as a virtual volunteer, cyber-volunteer, or e-volunteer. The term usually refers to *formal volunteers, but could in principle be applied also to *informal volunteers.

paid-staff nonprofit group (PSNPG)
A *nonprofit group with mainly *paid-staff who work to achieve group goals. As Smith (2000: 7) points out, no precise rule exists as to the proportion of a group's *membership that must be remunerated for it to qualify as a paid-staff nonprofit group. Smith (2000:7) suggests as a cutting point for *paid-staff nonprofit groups (versus *volunteer nonprofit groups) the point at which 50% or more of the total work done in and for the group (e.g., in the past year) is done by *paid staff, not *volunteers.

paid-staff nonprofit organization (PSNPO)
A *nonprofit group that is formally organized (*organization) and that operates primarily with *paid-staff (Smith 1981:28) to accomplish its *goals in terms of total hours per year of useful activity performed to seek the goals of the organization.

philanthropy
Allocation of one or more of the following to one or more individuals or *nonprofit groups outside one's household or immediate/nuclear family: money, *goods, other property, blood or body organs, or *services (time, as in volunteering). Such allocations are usually made because of altruistic (*altruism) values or pro-social attitudes seeking public *service purposes and are made without expectation of a high probability of similar *benefits in return. However, philanthropy can also be performed for such self-interested reasons as reciprocity, tax benefits, prestige, family benefits, and so on. *This Handbook is concerned essentially with volunteering as the giving of time/effort, the service-form of philanthropy, and also with associations, not with giving money or things as philanthropy*.

policy volunteer
See *board volunteer*

political participation (political volunteering)
Individual *political voluntary action intended to affect the formation of governmental *social policy, policy implementation, and *decision-making, whether at a local (i.e., *citizen participation), regional, national, or international level. Political participation ranges from voting to involvement in

*political nonprofit groups. It may be motivated by selfish (*selfishness) or altruistic (*altruism) *goals, sometimes both.

program volunteer (service program volunteer)
A *formal volunteer who works in a *volunteer service program or VSP (Smith 2000:224).

pure volunteer
A *volunteer who receives no remuneration at all (no stipend) and no reimbursement for out-of-pocket expenses (*expense reimbursement; Smith 2000:24). This person, who therefore gains only *psychic benefits for *volunteer work, is the most prevalent type of volunteer in *volunteer nonprofit groups, *associations with individual members, and *volunteer service programs, as well as on nonprofit group boards.

quasi-volunteer
1. A person who works for a *public service *goal is recognized socially as a type of *volunteer and is labeled as such and receives a substantial stipend (pay) that is significantly less than market value of the labor provided in his or her native country (e.g., Peace Corps volunteers). Sometimes referred to as a "stipended volunteer" or "full-time volunteer."

2. When paid employees in the *nonprofit sector receive less pay than employees in the business or government sector for doing the same or similar jobs, these paid staff in nonprofit organizations can viewed as "career quasi-volunteers" or what Stebbins (2004) calls "occupational devotees." Inspired by *voluntary altruism, *psychic benefits or rewards, and various special, highly attractive conditions of their work, they forego higher pay. When paid staff who work in nonprofit organizations are paid at nearly the business sector market rate or more, they are *not* quasi-volunteers, but merely paid staff.

regular volunteer
See *habitual volunteer*

religious congregation
A local nonprofit *association (*grassroots association) that is affiliated with a *church, *mosque, *temple, *synagogue, or other *religious organization offering regular worship services or the equivalent. The congregation usually supports the activities of the association financially, including paying all or part of the salary of the leader (minister, priest, rabbi, monk, etc.), costs of the building or other physical facility, and related expenses.

sector of society
This term refers to a distinct analytical part of the social organization or social structure of any society; in economics, an area of industry or economic activity. 1. Before the mid-1960s, social scientists tended to subscribe to a two-sector

model of modern society: the government (public, statutory) sector and the private (nongovernmental) sector. The latter included both businesses and *nonprofit groups, with businesses receiving by far the most attention. This approach reflected the *nonprofit sector is unimportant flat-earth paradigm (Smith 2000:219–221).

2. Since approximately 1970, a three-sector model of society has been recognized: the government, public, or statutory sector (all territorial levels of government agencies and individual political roles, with their corresponding individual activities), the business, commercial, or for-profit sector (all for-profit groups and for-profit individual activities in a society), and the *nonprofit sector, with the latter often being referred to as the *third sector, voluntary sector, voluntary nonprofit sector, civil society sector, etc. This view reflected the *three-sector model of society flat-earth paradigm (Smith 2000:221–222).

3. Somewhat later, the family and household were added in nonprofit sector scholarship, thereby giving birth to the four-sector model common today among scholars with a comprehensive view of societal sectors.

4. Finally, Smith (2000:225) has proposed a fifth sector, dividing the nonprofit sector into the *volunteer (associational) subsector and the *paid-staff (nonprofit agency) subsector, reflecting the major differences between these two alternative forms of compliance structure in groups and in individual activities (Etzioni 1960; Smith 2015a, 2015b).

self-help group (mutual aid group)
A relatively informal *member benefit group (Smith 1967), in which *members have an admitted personal problem or defect (e.g., addiction, health problem, behavioral problem, "bad habit") and seek to overcome it by drawing on the skills and experiences (experiential knowledge) of others in the group. Twelve-Step groups like Alcoholics Anonymous and Gamblers Anonymous are common examples.

service volunteer (traditional philanthropic volunteer)
A *volunteer whose activities are seen as providing *service or benefits directly to others outside the volunteer's household and immediate/nuclear family and contrasts with political volunteers and other types of volunteers for whom there are no direct recipients of the volunteer's activities. *Service volunteering includes *informal volunteering and *formal volunteering, including *board (policy) volunteering, and most *associational volunteering as well as traditional *service volunteering, whether in volunteer service programs or associations. The service volunteer is sometimes confused with a much narrower conception: the *service program volunteer, who works in a *volunteer service program (VSP), thus ignoring associational volunteers who may also

provide direct services. Usually refers to formal volunteers, but also includes most informal volunteers as well.

sociability (pro-sociality)
1. Quality of being pro-social and sociable, of having a friendly disposition, of being inclined toward friendly interaction with others. This sense of sociability involves mainly emotional or expressive activities. The opposite of being anti-social (anti-sociality).

2. Activities of individuals that involve pro-social interactions, whether expressive or instrumental or both. Some *nonprofit groups, especially *associations, have as their principal *mission promoting sociability (both senses) among *members.

social capital
Connections or relationships among individuals, as manifested in social networks, trust, trustworthiness, acts motivated by the norm of *reciprocity or altruism, and the like. Used by analogy to the concepts of *human capital and physical capital (e.g., natural resources, *financial resources) to emphasize that human groups of all kinds also benefit from and advance their interests according to the salutary interconnectivity of their members. Putnam (2000: 18–24) provides a history of the concept of social capital, while relating it to the *nonprofit sector. He distinguishes "bonding social capital" (which links similar people) from "bridging social capital" (which links dissimilar people). Smith (1998) further distinguished "positive social capital," the usual type identified, from "negative social capital." He defines the negative social capital of an individual or group as that entity's substantially negative, net, perceived stock of significant, relatively enduring, non-instinctive, *potentially harmful or destructive social relationships* between that entity (individual or group) and a specified, non-zero, non-overlapping set of other individuals or groups for some specified point or period of time.

social economy (économie sociale, otra économia, solidarity economy)
In the North America and Europe, social economy refers to ways the business sector can be made more conscious of *public service, *philanthropy, and *altruism, including such business activities as workplace *democracy, employee stock ownership, corporate social responsibility (CSR), *socially conscious investing/social investing, and worker *participation. Beyond conventional businesses, the social economy also includes as special/hybrid organizations *producer cooperatives, *consumer cooperatives, social enterprises, *credit associations/credit unions, and the like. In France, this is *économie sociale*. In Spain and Latin America, this is the "otra économia" ("other economy").

social movement group (SMG)
A *nonprofit group that is usually a small, often independent, unit in a larger *social movement. Based on a shared *ideology and common goals, but not usually a common bureaucratic structure or even formal affiliation with the larger movement, an SMG tries to effect change (or maintain the status quo, in "anti-movements) on a particular *issue. The SMG is actually a subtype of *political nonprofit. Sometimes incorrectly referred to as *social movement organizations (SMOs), most SMGs are informal or semiformal groups (Smith 1967).

social movement organization (SMO)
A nonprofit *social movement group (SMG) that is formally organized. SMOs are usually associations, not nonprofit agencies.

structure of nonprofit group
Ways in which *nonprofit groups, especially nonprofit organizations (NPOs), are set up in lasting social patterns and relationships. Refers to the bureaucracy in nonprofit groups, to the extent it is present, designating who is responsible for what decisions and specific activities, often defined in terms of officers and other roles. Such structure is more detailed and extensive by definition in *formal nonprofit groups or NPOs, based on documents such as *charters, *constitutions, articles of incorporation (*articles of organization), and *by-laws (Smith 2000: 107).

supra-local association (SLA)
An association that includes members from a larger territory than a locality. This approach views local/grassroots associations (GAs or LGSAs) as having the maximum territory of a single metropolitan area or a single county (or equivalent). Supra-local associations include *state/provincial associations* (whose members come from a single state or province), *regional associations* (with members from a major geographic region of a nation), *national associations* (with members from most or all areas of a nation), and various forms of *transnational or international associations* (with members from two or more nations, and sometimes the whole world).

tax-exempt organization (TEO)
In the United States, nearly all *nonprofit groups are *exempt organizations, even if only a minority are officially recognized as such by either the Internal Revenue Service (IRS; e.g., category 501 [c] [3]) or the state taxation agencies. Tax-exempt status means that federal and state taxes on *excess revenues ("profits" in nonprofit groups) need not be paid. Certain tax-exempt groups (e.g., IRS category 501 [c] [3]) can also receive *donations that are tax-deductible to the *donor. Tax-exemption is often given to nonprofit groups in nations of

the world, although usually only to nonprofit organizations registered with the government, and the nature and extent of such exemptions vary considerably. Tax-exemption is granted to some nonprofit organizations in most nations in order to encourage such organizations and their useful activities serving the public interest and general welfare of their societies.

third sector
In general, a synonym for *nonprofit sector, albeit one stressing that *nonprofit groups in this sector differ from groups comprising the *business and *government sectors. The term "third sector" does, however, omit consideration of the household/family sector, which came first historically. "Third sector" is thus a mis-numeration (error). The term "*fourth sector" is the historically more accurate ordinal label for the nonprofit sector. Some scholars also criticize the term "third sector" for failing to state positively what is special about the nonprofit sector. Being "third " is a rather lackluster and weak characterization (like calling lettuce *non-animal*; Lohmann, 1989), and still lets the business and government sectors set the standard of definition.

voluntarism
All people and groups involved in *voluntary action, formal and informal *volunteering, *paid employment in a *nonprofit group, associational activity (Smith 2015a), *nonprofit agency activity (Smith 2015b), and all other types of *nonprofit groups and *nonprofit organizations and their activities. This term is roughly synonymous with the *nonprofit sector. This term emphasizes the distinctiveness of the *voluntary sector, as based on people's voluntary choices to seek goals because of *humane social values, not based primarily on seeking money, remuneration, or profit, nor seeking mainly to comply with government laws, regulations, rules, coercion, and directives.

voluntaristics
A new term that refers to the organized field of research and theory on all of the phenomena of the nonprofit sector, individual and collective, emphasizing that many such phenomena involve the voluntary pursuit of goals and purposes that please those involved, going beyond economic remuneration or government coercion (Smith 2013, 2016).

voluntary action (voluntary activity)
1. Action by individuals or *nonprofit groups stemming from *voluntary altruism (Rochester 2013; Smith 2000). In voluntary action, individuals, alone or in groups, reach beyond their own personal, often selfish (*selfishness), often economic, *interests or coercion by government or powerful others to act in harmony with a combination of the following: *service, *citizenship, socio-religious *values and other humane values. In their broadest sense, such

humane values motivate people to act as if the welfare of others in their community, society or elsewhere mattered. National societies vary, albeit with some overlap, as to the nature of these values and how they are expressed within their legal systems. People in business and government act using mainly an economic calculus, while in the *nonprofit sector, people act mainly from a social value calculus. "Voluntary action" is broader than the concepts of *volunteering and *volunteer work, in that voluntary action can also refer to certain informal activity motivated by voluntary altruism, such as informal volunteering (see *individual voluntary action) and informal philanthropy or charitable giving. Voluntary action includes *quasi-volunteering. Indeed, voluntary action is the most general, all-embracing concept at the behavioral and interactional levels of individuals acting as part of the *nonprofit sector. Broadly speaking, voluntaristics studies voluntary action, individual and collective.

2. More broadly, any action by an individual that involves the voluntary muscles (i.e., not a physiological reflex) and that is usually based consciously (vs. unconsciously) on some future goal or outcome sought by the individual (cf. Maasen, Prinz, and Roth 2003). Hence, any act of will (free will, will power) by an individual. Only refers to individual actions, not to group actions or activities.

voluntary agency (Volag)
See *nonprofit agency*

voluntary altruism
A special set of values (*value, humane core) and attitudes that underlie *participation in all *nonprofit groups and the entire *nonprofit sector. According to Smith (2000:19–20), altruism (*altruism) is voluntary when there is (1) a mix of humane caring and sharing of oneself and one's resources; (2) at least a moderate freedom to chose the activity; (3) a lack of coercion from biophysical, biosocial, or socially compelling forces; (4) a sensitivity to certain *needs and wants of a *target of benefits; (5) an expectation of little or no immediate, reciprocal remuneration or payment in kind; and (6) an expectation of receiving some sort of satisfaction (psychic benefits) for action undertaken on behalf of the target.

voluntary organization (VO)
A synonym for the term "nonprofit organization" that emphasizes a positive and substantive definition of the concept, based in participants' voluntary choices to express their values and beliefs other than by seeking money/profit/remuneration or complying with government laws, rules, and regulations (Smith 2015b).

voluntary sector (NPS); voluntary nonprofit sector/VNPS
Preferred term in some nations for the *nonprofit sector, such as in the United Kingdom, because it emphasizes the non-compulsory and non-statutory (nongovernmental) aspect of that sector (Billis 1989). Unlike most other common terms for the nonprofit sector, this term states a positive and *substantive basis* for the distinctiveness of the nonprofit sector, not defining it relative to other sectors by exclusion (e.g., *non*-government, *non*profit) or by enumeration (e,g., *third* sector). The term "voluntary" refers to the fact that people and groups in the "voluntary sector" are voluntarily choosing to pursue their values without seeking full, or often any, immediate remuneration, and without being forced to do so by laws, regulations, physical coercion, or family ties. This term is also preferred by those scholars who want a more meaningful substantive definition of the sector (see Lohmann 1989), including those academics who espouse a positive, *humane core value-based definition of the sector (e.g., Smith 2000:chapter 1).

volunteer
An individual who performs, even for a short period of time, *volunteer work in an informal setting (see *informal volunteer) or a formal one (see *formal volunteer) as a *board member of a nonprofit group (*board volunteer or *policy volunteer), an active association *member or *leader (*associational volunteer), or as a participant in a *volunteer service program (VSP) of a nonprofit organization, government *agency, or certain types of business firms (e.g., for-profit hospitals, and nursing homes). The last-noted type of volunteer is a "*program volunteer" or "*service program volunteer." The volunteer seeks to provide a *service or benefit (*member benefit, *public benefit) to one or more individuals or groups outside that person's immediate/nuclear family (especially outside one's residential household unit), usually receiving no pay. However, some volunteers in *volunteer service programs are compensated for out-of-pocket expenses (e.g., transportation costs for low-income participants; *expense reimbursement), as are some nonprofit group board members who come from out of town. Quasi-volunteers are not true volunteers, receiving substantial (but not full) remuneration for their work as paid staff in a nonprofit organization.

volunteer administration (volunteer management)
1. The process of leading, administering, or managing *volunteers in *volunteer service programs.

2. Occupational role (paid, or partly paid) or volunteer role (unpaid) of managing volunteers in volunteer service programs (VSPs).

volunteer leadership
A concept encompassing three types of leader roles centered, partly or wholly, on coordinating *volunteer work: elected *leaders of a *volunteer nonprofit

group, especially a *grassroots association or supra-local association; salaried staff (*paid-staff) of a nonprofit organization who, as part of their jobs, supervise *volunteers in a *volunteer service program (VSP); and full-time *volunteer administrators whose central role obligation is supervising volunteers.

*volunteer nonprofit group (*or volunteer nonprofit organization)*
A *nonprofit group led and operated primarily by *volunteers striving to accomplish group *goals; usually an *association in structural form (*associational form of organization). Volunteer associations, usually grassroots associations, are the most common type of nonprofit group in all societies studied so far that are more complex than preliterate, nomadic, hunting-gathering bands (Smith 1997). Stands in contrast to *paid-staff nonprofit groups (PSNPGs) and *paid-staff nonprofit organizations (PSNPOs).

volunteer nonprofit group leadership (volunteer management)
The process or activities of providing leadership or management of a *volunteer nonprofit group, usually a *grassroots association or *supra-local association. This term refers to the volunteer group alternative to *nonprofit management, which deals with *paid-staff nonprofits. Laypeople who manage associations, and volunteer nonprofit groups more generally, often prefer to use the term "leadership" rather than "management," disliking the business connotations and formality of the latter term, while preferring an informal, leisure orientation to leadership

volunteer program
See *volunteer service program* or *VSP*

volunteer service program (VSP)
A *program designed for *service volunteers to work within a larger *nonprofit group, *for-profit organization, or governmental *agency, which runs the program. Volunteer programs can be properly seen as departments of the larger, *parent organization that operates them. They usually have a volunteer administrator or volunteer manager. Some volunteer service programs are special departments of government agencies, while others are departments of business firms, primarily volunteer services in *for-profit hospitals and other for-profit health institutions [*for-profit group], but more recently corporate volunteer programs. Most VSPs are departments of paid-staff nonprofit organizations as nonprofit agencies, not of nonprofit associations.

volunteer work (volunteer activity)
Valuable [or useful] activity by an individual that is (i) not remunerated (or at least not *fully* remunerated, given its market value), (ii) not coerced by biology, force, authority, or law, and (iii) is aimed at helping (a) the welfare/satisfactions of one or more other persons outside one's immediate family and household or

(b) the welfare of the larger society, the environment, or the whole of human society globally. This term is a synonym for any unpaid activity, effort, or work that has the characteristics of (i), (ii), and (iii) above. The term is also a synonym for *service* as in (iii) above. Volunteer work can be seen as the valuable activity of *volunteers, as they help provide a *public benefit (non-member benefit) or a *member benefit to another person or group outside the volunteer's immediate family/household or to help reach a broader philanthropic or altruistic *goal.

volunteering
The act of doing *volunteer work, whether in a formal or an informal context, whether in a *public benefit group or a *member benefit group, which is nevertheless done outside one's household or immediate/nuclear family (Rochester, Ellis-Paine, Howlett, with Zimmeck, 2010; Smith, 2000). Uncoerced *helping activity or *service for people outside one's household that is not done primarily for financial gain (Van Til 1988:6). Includes *formal volunteering, *associational volunteering, *board volunteering, *program volunteering, *service volunteering, *informal service volunteering, and other types of *volunteering (see below).

volunteering as unpaid work
An economic conception of *volunteering – which dominates in *nonprofit sector research – that defines volunteering and volunteer work as doing market-valued work in the absence of payment either in money or in kind (goods, reciprocal services). This definition largely avoids the messy but important question of *motivation, so crucial to the concept of leisure (*volunteering as leisure; Stebbins 2001:1; Stebbins 2013) and of volunteering as "serious leisure" (Stebbins 1992:3).

volunteer-involving organization (VIO)
An organization in any sector of society that involves at least one type of volunteer. The most common VIOs with many volunteers are volunteer/voluntary associations (usually grassroots associations, but also supra-local associations) and volunteer service programs (VSPs) in NPOs/nonprofit agencies (NPAs), government agencies, and (often, health-related) businesses. Nearly all Paid-staff NPOs (PSNPOs) have board volunteers also, but there are usually few of these board (policy) volunteers in any given PSNPO.

volunteerism
That part of the *nonprofit sector (also known as *voluntarism) centered specifically on *volunteering. Major components include *informal volunteering, formal volunteering, *associational volunteering. *board volunteering, *traditional service volunteering, *program service volunteering, and *informal (service) volunteering. Van Til (1988: 9) observes that this concept has a normative

side, in that it often presumes the goodness of volunteering and *volunteers in society.

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