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Social Cohesion and Voluntary Activity: Making Connections

Frances Woolley
Carleton University

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Frances Woolley
Associate Professor
Department of Economics
Carleton University
Ottawa, Canada
K1S 5B6
tel: 613 520 2600 x 3756
fax: 613 520 3906
e-mail: frances_woolley@carleton.ca

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Summary

Rising inequality in earnings and labour market opportunities, globalization, the Internet, changes in Canadians' ethnic and cultural heritage, and separatism are all calling into question Canada's social cohesion. The voluntary sector holds out the promise of building greater cohesion through creating social norms of altruism, trust, and reciprocity. Furthermore, many have argued that trust, the social capital created through voluntary activities, promotes economic growth and technological development by lowering economic "transactions costs".

This paper is about making connections. First, it explores the connections between social cohesion and voluntary activity. Is there more voluntary activity in cohesive societies? Does a strong voluntary sector build social cohesion? Second, it is about people making connections with each other. If there is a relationship between social cohesion and voluntary activity, it may well be because both are based on, and in turn strengthen, the connections between people.

This paper has two parts. The first part develops a conceptual framework. It

- explores alternative understandings of social cohesion
- sets out what is meant by voluntary activity. When people are volunteering, what is it that they do?
- surveys economic theories of voluntary activity. Why do people volunteer? What is the conceptual connection between social cohesion and voluntary activity?
- discusses potential positive and negative impacts of the voluntary sector. Does the voluntary sector create cohesion or exclusion?

The second part of the paper surveys empirical evidence on the level of voluntary activity in Canada, and the relationship between social cohesion and voluntarism. In particular this section

- draws on the World Values Survey, the National Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating, and the General Social Survey to create a picture of voluntary activity in Canada
- explores the determinants of voluntary activity, in particular, it asks,
  - Is there a connection between voluntary activity and cohesion indicators such as "tolerance"?
  - In particular, does the voluntary sector reach out to people at risk of social exclusion?
  - Are differences in voluntary activity across provinces explained by differences in social cohesion?

Part I: Conceptual Framework

The aim of this part of the paper is to provide a conceptual analysis of social cohesion and voluntary activity. It begins with discussion of "what is social cohesion". The purpose of this section is to identify indicators of social cohesion, such as the frequency of social interaction, or the prevalence of poverty. It goes on to discuss "what is voluntary activity", and identifies three key types of voluntary activities, which may differ in their relationship with social cohesion. The third section discusses a number of ideas about why people participate in voluntary activity, and makes the connections between social cohesion and voluntary work. It sets up the framework for answering the big policy questions: Does voluntary activity foster social norms of trust and reciprocity? Do these social norms lead to greater economic growth, or to a better quality of life? Does voluntary activity lead to greater economic equality? Or can increasing reliance on the voluntary sector for provision of social services reinforce social exclusion, as the universalistic norms governing the public sector are replaced by more discriminating private charity?

1.1 What is social cohesion?

> The term social exclusion "seems to have gained currency in part *because* it has no precise definition and means all things to all people" (Atkinson, 1998: 6).
>
> Bowling in a league or having coffee with a friend embodies and creates social capital (Putnam, 1995: 665)

These two quotations indicate three major difficulties that arise in talking about social cohesion and voluntary activity. First, social cohesion has no precise definition. Second, social cohesion is often taken to be the same as voluntary activity: voluntary activity "embodies" social cohesion. This identification makes it hard to discover any causal relationships between cohesion and voluntarism. Third, there are three terms in common use -- social capital, social exclusion, and social cohesion -- which refer to similar, but different, social phenomena. For these three reasons, it is useful to thinking carefully about the question: "What is social cohesion?" In discussing social cohesion, one can differentiate *processe*s, the way that social cohesion is created, and *outcomes*, that is, whether a particular society is cohesive or not. One can think of this as the difference between "How do we get there?" and "Where is 'there' anyway?"

Heritage Canada's paper "Canadian Identity, Culture and Values: Building a Cohesive Society" (Strategic Research and Analysis Directorate, July 15th, 1997), describes social cohesion as both a process and an outcome:

- building shared values and communities of interpretation
- reducing disparities in wealth and income in a diverse society

- engaging in a common enterprise with shared values and communities of interpretation

In summary, *Social cohesion is the ongoing process of developing a community of shared values, shared challenges and equal opportunity within Canada, based on a sense of trust, hope and reciprocity among all Canadians* (Strategic Research and Analysis Directorate, July 15, 1997). This describes both a plan of action for creating cohesion in a divided society, for example by reducing disparities in wealth and income, and a description of what a cohesive society would look like, that is, a society based on a sense of trust, hope, and reciprocity.

For the purpose of an economic analysis, this definition is somewhat broad. Unfortunately, neo-classical economists are in a bad position to answer the "Where is 'there'?" -- what is social cohesion -- question. Social cohesion is a property of *societies*. It is "the act or condition of sticking together, a tendency to cohere" (Allen, R.E. 1990). Economic analysis, however, is about *individuals*. As Britton (1998: 26) writes "In economic theory there is...no such thing as society, and a term like 'social cohesion' has no real meaning at all." Even the best economists working in this area (for example Helliwell, 1998) do not measure social cohesion directly. Instead, social cohesion (or social capital) is proxied by individuals' attitudes, behaviour, socio-economic characteristics. In the remainder of this section I will take some very simple ideas about what social cohesion means for Canada, and attempt to identify factors and processes that create -- or hinder -- these outcomes. Describing these processes will prove useful in connecting social cohesion with economic theories of voluntary activity, and also in looking for an empirical relationship between cohesion and voluntarism.

First, for Canada as a whole to be a cohesive society, no one individual or group can be marginalized, or shut out of the common enterprise. Social cohesion may, therefore, be interpreted as absence of social exclusion. Viewing cohesion as non-exclusion focuses attention on the factors which break down cohesion. Atkinson (1998) identifies u*nemployment*, *social security policy* and *social exclusion in consumption* as three key mechanisms of social exclusion. In an obvious sense unemployment creates social exclusion because the unemployed are excluded from the labour market and also face loss of income. However, as Atkinson (1998: 11) points out:

> The link between employment and social inclusion is a complex one. Creating jobs can contribute to ending social exclusion, but success depends on the nature of these new jobs. Do they restore a sense of control? Do they provide an acceptable relative status? Do they offer prospects for the future?

Exclusion from social security occurs when, because of means testing or non-take-up of benefits, people are excluded from social security programs. On the other hand, to the extent that there is a stigma attached to the receipt of means tested benefits, people receiving benefits may be excluded from the respect of society at large. Social

exclusion in consumption occurs when people do not have the resources to participate in the customary consumption activities of the society in which they live. For example, not being able to afford a telephone may mean being cut out from social activities, disadvantaged in looking for jobs, and even becoming statistically and politically invisible, as increasing numbers of surveys are conducted through telephone interviews. Not being able to afford the required equipment means children being excluded from sports, and denied a certain pattern of social intercourse. Understanding social exclusion in consumption means recognizing the structures of constraints which are exogenous to each individual. These in turn reflect incomes relative to the cost of expenditures necessary to participate in society, and on firms' pricing and location decisions, which may mean more expensive, lower quality, or even no goods are available to people living in poor neighbourhoods.

Atkinson's work is important because it identifies individuals and groups who may be excluded from a cohesive society. When we test empirically the relationship between social cohesion and voluntary activity, we will use unemployment, social security, and other indicators to see if voluntary activity brings those in the center of society closer together, or if it reaches out to those in danger of marginalization. The promotion of cohesion through ending exclusion fits together with Heritage Canada's goals of reducing disparities in wealth and income in Canada. Reducing income and wealth inequalities, together with fighting poverty, is one way of preventing social exclusion in consumption. Cohesion as lack of exclusion is a positive goal for Canada.

A second way of describing what a cohesive society looks like is *cohesion as interaction*. Jon Elster argues that social cohesion can be measured by the frequency of social interaction: "There are no societies, only individuals who interact with each other" (Jon Elster, 1989: 248). Interaction is both a process and an outcome; it defines and creates social cohesion. It is both positive and negative: "the interaction that defines a society can be destructive — the war of all against all — as well as cooperative" (Elster, 1989: 248).

Cohesion as interaction is closely connected to Putnam's work on social capital. Putnam defines social capital as the "features of social life -- networks, norms, and trust -- that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives." Voluntary activities such as bowling in a league both "embodies and creates social capital" (Putnam, 1995, pp 665-665, 665). Putnam (1995) argues for causal relationships between voluntary activities and trust, "the more we connect with other people, the more we trust them, and vice versa" (p. 665). Putnam argues - not uncontroversially - that television, by keeping people indoors and decreasing membership in various associations, is a key reason for the decline in trust in the US over time. Because Putnam found such a strong relationship between voluntary activity and social capital, other writers have tended to treat the two as synonymous: if there is social cohesion there will be a strong voluntary sector, if there is a strong voluntary sector there must be social cohesion. The challenge-- which is one of the

key goals of this part of the paper -- is to untangle the causal relationship between voluntarism and, say, trust.

A third type of cohesive outcome is shared values and communities of interpretation. Values and interpretations are derived from language, religion, culture, literature, and tradition, and many other sources. Values evolve and, because they are not static, when people come together in -- to use that hackneyed metaphor -- a "melting pot", they can create a new common community. However, at any point in time, there may be *cohesion based on group identity*, that is, social groups that cohere on the basis of ethnic, race or class identity. Ethnic cohesion can provide positive benefits. For example, a study by Borjas (1995) argues that "people raised in advantageous ethnic environments will be exposed to social and economic factors that increase their productivity" (p. 365). Yet cohesion based on ethnic, race or class identity is negative when it becomes a source of social exclusion or social conflict. If "shared values and communities of interpretation" means, for example, shared religious beliefs, people of other religions are excluded from the community. A shared community of interpretation based on shared experiences at schools such as Upper Canada College is, arguably, how Canada's political and economic elite is created (Porter, 1965). Is Quebec separatism unrelated to the linguistic, religious and racial cohesion of Québécois society? Northern Ireland is an extreme example of the tragic effects of conflict between two very cohesive religious groups. It is important to distinguish between "bridging" (to use Putnam's 1995 term) cohesion, which spans underlying social cleavages, and "ghettoising" or "elitist" cohesion which reinforces marginalization, social division, or both.

The divisive potential of group identity has long been recognized. It can be seen as part of the motivation for Canadian policies of the '60s and '70s which attempted to foster a new and distinctly Canadian identity: the adoption of a Canadian flag, national anthem, official bilingualism, and so on. Canada, Australia, and other multicultural societies face an ongoing struggle to replace old nationalisms, for example the "White Australia" policy, with symbols which create a more positive, more inclusive, basis for social cohesion. While this is a valuable project it is also, in a sense, a nationalistic one. It is, for two reasons, not the subject of this paper. First, because this paper is concerned with cohesion and the voluntary sector, not (except in passing) cohesion and the state. Second, a number of factors, including "globalization", and the rise in supra-national organizations such as the EU, are decreasing the power of sovereign nation states. Writers in international relations theory describe this phenomenon as "cosmopolitanism". We are all members of a many communities, some global, some local.

If we do not identify "social cohesion" with "Canadian cohesion", we can picture other types of cohesive social arrangements. For example Goodin (1996) suggests model where the nation state is complemented by many other levels of organization:

The alternative which I have in view...can be conceived as a system of clubs....

> On this alternative model, any given person can be a member of several clubs at once. There is no thought that we should (much less should have to) rely upon one club, alone, for all that we might need. There is no thought that we should give our full allegiance to one club alone. Instead, on this alternative model, we could be members of many different clubs, drawing on them and contributing to them in turn for many different purposes and many different kinds of support and assistance (Goodin, 1996: 364).

What I take from this is that, for example, ethnic and religious groups are one sort of "club", providing people with support and assistance. However people may be members of several different and overlapping "clubs", drawing support from and contributing to each. In Goodin's world view, the state is not the first place to turn when a person needs support, but a safety net, a residual source of support, when other sources are not are not available.

> the state, as presently conceived, is *too inclusive*. It is not necessarily itself the only source of social succour available to any given citizen. But it claims a monopoly on the power to legitimate any other sources of social succour (Goodin 1996: 363)

Instead, there should be many complements to the nation state:

> ..operating alongside and in conjunction with public assistance are various forms of assistance from family and friends, charities and churches, public and private insurance and pension schemes, and so on (Goodin, 1996: 365).

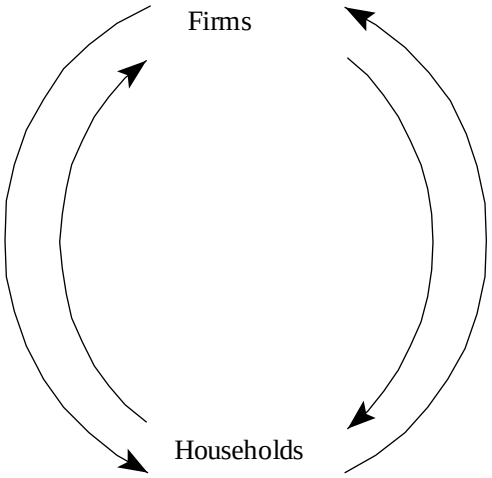
The cosmopolitan conception provides another way of linking social cohesion and the voluntary sector. We can examine the level of voluntary activity, the patterns of voluntary sector membership, and who is left out of the voluntary sector to see to what extent the voluntary sector creates an alternative network of overlapping clubs, if it complements or substitutes for the state, if voluntary and state reach the same or different people, etc. The "overlapping clubs" model also suggests that societies in generally will not be uniformly cohesive. Family cohesiveness may substitute for the institutions of civil society in politically repressive or violent societies (Cuba is a good example). Rural outports may be rich in social cohesion, while large urban centres are not. Some people participate in multiple, overlapping groups, others are excluded, marginalized. Possibly even seeking a single measure of "social cohesion" may be misguided.

The Heritage Canada document creates a positive image of social cohesion: cohesion as trust, shared values, reciprocity, and equality. Social cohesion, at best, means the creation of communities which include everyone regardless of their differences; where there is both commonality and acceptance of diversity. These alternative definitions, unlike the Heritage Canada definition, are not unambigiously positive: Social cohesion can be viewed in a positive, neutral, or even a negative, light.

1.2 What is voluntary activity?

Figure 1 shows a circular flow diagram of a classic market economy. The inner circle shows the flow of goods and services in the economy: households provide firms with labour and capital as inputs to the production process, firms provide households with goods and services from shoes to sofas. The outer circle shows the financial flows: households pay firms for the goods they produce; firms pay households wages, salaries, and dividends.

Figure 1



In this paper I define voluntary activity by the absence of direct, financial exchanges -- flows only move in one direction. I consider gifts of time, money or in-kind donations such as blood all to be "voluntary activities". For example, when people give time and money to organizations without a direct exchange of goods and services this is voluntary activity, even people likely receive other important benefits, such as a warm glow, or enjoyment of a public good, from their gift. Voluntary organizations provide goods and services, from food to spiritual support to recreational opportunities, without directly charging the beneficiaries (although again, there may be a moral obligation to support the organization, for example, by selling Girl Guide cookies). This definition excludes some activities within what is usually known as the "voluntary sector" of the economy, for example, I will not be considering those working for pay in organizations funded through voluntary donations. On the other hand, it includes activities based in the public or private sector of the economy, for example, coordinating the office United Way campaign. I will not be considering non-profits or cooperatives, except in as much as they are places where people volunteer.

Many authors have developed typologies of voluntary activities. Here I distinguish what I consider to be three key types of voluntary activities: activities which provide public goods, charitable activities, and activities which provide personal goods.

Pure *public goods* have two features. First, they benefit several people simultaneously or are *non-rival*. Second, they *non-excludable*, which means that people cannot be prevented from enjoying the good, even if they have not paid for it. When goods are non-rival and non-excludable, there is no necessary link between real

and financial flows. Firms find it difficult to charge for the use of a public good, because they cannot exclude those who do not pay. Even if firms could charge for the use of a public good, it would not be efficient to do so. Charging for a good always stops some people from using it, and because the non-rivalness property of public goods means that the marginal cost of an extra person using the good is close to zero, the benefits of additional users exceeds the costs. Many voluntary donations and activities go towards funding and providing public goods. For example, voluntary donations to medical research can potentially fund new discoveries that will benefits millions of people.

A second type of voluntary activity is "charity". Charity is giving voluntarily to those in need. A large number of voluntary associations are charities, aiming to reach out to the excluded, for example, food banks and social welfare organizations such as the John Howard Society. Churches also do a great deal of charitable work.

A third category of voluntary activity revolves around what I call *personal goods*. Personal goods are goods for which personal characteristics of the person providing the good or service matter. Blood donation is one such a good. The health of the donor is extremely important. Caring work, for example child care and elder care, are another example. A personal bond between caregiver and child is essential to a child's well-being. Once that bond is formed, one caregiver cannot simply be substituted for another. For goods such as these voluntary provision may be superior to other forms of provision for several reasons. In the case of blood there is a adverse selection/moral hazard problem -- if people are paid to donate blood, people may have an incentive to hide conditions such as hepatitis, and the quality of blood donated may fall. Commercializing a service may change the nature of the service provided -- we want people to care for children because they love children, not because they want the money. Finally, when a price is put on blood or care, it reduces the worth of something which would otherwise be "invaluable". Caring for children or other family members is so wide-spread and enforced by such strong social norms that we do not even regard it as "voluntary" work -- caring for one's children is a responsibility, a commitment, a moral and legal obligation. Social cohesion and the family is the subject of another contribution to this conference (Phipps, 1998); however I will refer to caring for family as a "limit case" of volunteer work.

The examples in this section provide a basic link between voluntary activity and social cohesion. Voluntary activity promotes social cohesion by making society work better through provision of public and personal goods, and by providing charity to the marginalized, thereby preventing social exclusion. Yet none of this gives a satisfactory explanation of why some people volunteer so much, others so little; why more blood is donated in Newfoundland than Toronto; or how to strengthen the voluntary sector. In the next section I describe economic theories as to why people volunteer.

1.3 Why do people volunteer?

Reading the social cohesion/capital/exclusion literature there is -- despite the key role attributed to volunteer activity in building social capital -- a striking absence of any theory as to why people choose to volunteer (see, for example, Putnam, 1995; Helliwell and Putnam, 1995). There is no connection to the huge economic literature on the private provision of public goods, clubs, and other explanations of voluntary behaviour. This section is a first attempt to remedy this deficiency. I find that answering the basic question "why do people volunteer?" provides a rigorous explanation of *why* certain factors influence the level of voluntary activity in the economy. I begin with the economics of the private provision of public goods, then turn to commitment, reciprocity and clubs as explanations of voluntary activity.

1.3.1 Private provision of public goods

One common way of modelling voluntary activity -- charitable donations, volunteer time, and so on -- is that individuals volunteer so as to provide public goods. In the "private provision of public goods" models, people, by volunteering, essentially "buy" more public goods. For example, a person would donate $100 to a breast cancer foundation in order to buy an extra $100 worth of breast cancer research. In this view, what people are concerned about is the total amount of private consumption and the total amount of, say, breast cancer research, but do not care about the size of their own donation per se.

The simple model has, it turns out, a number of predictions, which suggest a number of possible links (or non-links) between social cohesion and voluntary activity. The first prediction is that government crowds out private provision. If what people care about is the total level of public goods, then if the government is providing public goods, people will spend money to provide the goods themselves. Whether this is in fact true has been the subject of much research and debate. Evidence against this can be found in Putnam (1995). Using the World Values Survey, he finds a positive correlation (r=.48) between public expenditure as a percentage of GDP and people's membership in voluntary organizations. However this finding is partially explained by the coincidence of high membership and high government spending in the Nordic countries. Economic studies generally find some degree of crowding out, but at levels of between 5 and 28 percent -- much less than the 100 percent crowding out suggested at the theoretical level (Ferris and West, 1998: 15). Whatever faith one puts in the crowding out story, it does provide some reason to be cautious about inferring too much about a society's level of social cohesion from observing the amount of voluntary activity in that society: voluntary activity may simply indicate the absence of government activity in a particular area. For example, as Canada becomes more religiously and ethnically diverse, there may be an increasing demand for, say, denominational Islamic or Chinese language education, as immigrants struggle to preserve their ethnic heritage in a predominately Christian and English or French society. However, without public funding for these services, minority groups may turn to privately funded voluntary or non-profit institutions. Diverse values and cultures,

combined with an absence of government funding, may lead to a plurality of voluntary sector institutions.

A second prediction of the model is that there may be a positive relationship between income inequality and private provision of public goods. Without a Nelson Rockefeller, would there be a Rockefeller Foundation? If Susie Smith spends all of her income on food and clothing, while Nelson Rockefeller gives his away to charity, wouldn't we expect the total amount of charitable donations to go up if Susie became a little poorer and Nelson became a little richer? Again, this is an empirically testable relationship. However it suggests a *negative* relationship between one aspect of social cohesion (reduced disparities in income and wealth) and voluntary activity. There is very little empirical evidence on the relationship between income inequality and voluntary activity. However Chan, Mestelman, Moir and Muller (1996), using laboratory experiments, do find that redistributing income from people who do not contribute to the public good towards people who do contribute does tend to increase the level of public goods provision. However at an individual level their findings do not confirm the private provision of public goods model – low income individuals contribute more than the model predicts, whereas high income individuals contribute less.

Finally, the model predicts that in large economies there will, in equilibrium, be very little public goods provided (Andreoni, 1988). It makes little difference to me whether the amount of money spent on breast cancer research in Canada $10 million or $10.0001 million, so why would I choose to spend $100 to get that extra $0.0001 million of research spending? This prediction is hard to reconcile with the large amount of voluntary activity that we observe in the Canadian or other economies. Therefore while this model generates some thought provoking predictions, it is at best a partial explanation of voluntary activity in Canada.

A way of refining this view is to suppose that people care, not only about the total amount of breast cancer research, but about the size of their own donation. People get a "warm glow" from making donations. People make a rational choice - they maximize utility, U, defined as

$$U=U(x_i,G,g_i)$$

where x_i is private consumption, G is the total amount of public good provided and g_i is the individual donation to the public good (see, for example, Andreoni, 1995). This model, unlike the simple private provision of public goods model, does not predict that government spending crowds out private dollar for dollar, it also explains why voluntary activity still exists, even in large economies. However there is no exploration of the origins of this utility function - it is given, fixed, unchanging - nor any psychological, philosophical or sociological explanation as to why utility is increased by donating to, say, charities. Simply by observing that people volunteer we have no way of knowing whether they are motivated by factors linked to social cohesion -- trust, reciprocity, etc. -- or factors unrelated to social cohesion -- a desire to control other's behaviour (as per Becker, 1974), a desire for social status, etc.

1.3.2 Cohesion and Commitment

Philosophically minded economists have challenged the idea that people's behaviour can be explained as a simple rational choice, and have developed richer theories of people's motivations. One of the deepest challenges to the simple rational choice model has come from Sen (1982). Sen suggests that people's behaviour can be seen as motivated by "commitment" - we do things because it is the right thing to do, rather than because it maximizes utility.

As noted earlier, much - if not most - unpaid work is not considered "voluntary" activity. Most parents do not regard picking their children up from school on time as voluntary work. Strong commitments supported by strong social, moral and legal sanctions are duties or responsibilities, not voluntary activity. Voluntary activities then fall in between duties, on the one hand, and purely self interested behaviour, on the other. Voluntary activity is a sign of both cohesion and disintegration: without some cohesion, some sense of shared values or commitments, people would not volunteer at all; on the other hand, in a truly cohesive society, there may not be much "volunteer" work, as obligations to others are seen as responsibilities which must be fulfilled, not something that is chosen. For example, we have volunteer services like "Meals on Wheels" in Canada in part because generally the elderly live on their own instead of in extended families, and many do not have family living close by.

Recognizing that voluntary activity is only one part of the social support network, one form of social interaction, is crucial to understanding the relationship between social cohesion and voluntary activity. Arguably, one reason for the weak relationship found in empirical research between the level of government intervention/activity and the level of voluntary activity is that these studies have failed to control for underlying social structures, which influence both government and voluntary sectors. For example, it is entirely possible, as Todd (1985) has argued, that socieeties with smaller, more fragmented family units tend to create strong non-family institutions, including both social democratic governments and the voluntary sector, which are unnecessarily in societies with other family structures. In section 2 below I examine how Canada's social and cultural diversity is reflected in substantial inter-provincial variations in the level of voluntary activity. At this point, what needs to be emphasized is that the voluntary sector is only one of many social institutions, and the strength of the voluntary sector may indicate either (a) a healthy society with many strong institutions or (b) instability and contradictions within other social institutions.

One way of thinking about whether the voluntary sector represents strength or weakness is to examine the commitments underlying involvement in the voluntary sector. Voluntary activity may be motivated by commitment to an abstract ideal of

doing the right thing (this abstract voluntarism runs through Titmuss's work on blood donation). It may be motivated by a commitment to a particular individual, for example, one might volunteer to coach the local soccer team because one's children were involved. Or it may be motivated by commitment to community. I am not aware of any existing economic research which has attempted to use information about people's motivations to distinguish between different theories of voluntary activity. However it is possible to use data from the World Values Survey to discover what commitments are important to people. This survey asked volunteers why they did voluntary work. The motivation with the highest average importance score was "compassion for those in need", followed by "an opportunity to repay something, give something back" and "to make a contribution to my local community". Abstract commitment "a sense of duty, moral obligation" ranked fourth, well ahead of self-interested reasons such as "to gain new skills and useful experience". This is evidence for the importance of commitment, as opposed to self-interest, but it suggests that commitments tend to be concrete – to other people, to the local community – rather than abstract moral imperatives. This raises a recurring question – what is the "society" that "coheres" through "social cohesion"? It does not seem to be Canadian society, but a more local, more personal community that is motivating voluntary activity.

One final question/observation related to the idea of commitment is the idea that participation in voluntary activity strengthens commitment, as well as the other way around. This is close to Putnam's idea that voluntary activity builds social capital, but not the same -- social capital is something that is supposed to lower the costs of economic transactions and thereby promote growth; commitment is about the motivations underlying people's choices. The idea that voluntarism strengths some sort of altruistic/giving/commitment actually pre-dates Sen's work considerably. Titmuss, in his pioneering study of blood donation, *The Gift Relationship*, argues that a world of giving may actually increase efficiency in the operation of the economic system (Arrow, 1975). The idea is that altruistic action in, for example, blood donation, strengthens social relations and is "an expression of confidence by individuals in the workings of a society as a whole" (Arrow, 1975: 26).

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1.3.3 Reciprocity

Commitment is about doing things because we are obliged, or have a duty to do them. Commitment is about the motivations of our moral self, rather than our utility maximizing self. Reciprocity is involves a different and more explicit social contract. I do something for you; you do something for me. The contrast between the two terms can be found in their application to voluntary activity.

Robert Sugden (1984) develops the idea of "reciprocity" to explain voluntary contributions to the public good. Reciprocity is a norm which says that, if other people are contributing to the public good, you are obligated not to "free ride" on their

contributions. Sugden argues (I will not reproduce the technical details here) that, if such a norm exists, an equilibrium will exist. However - and this is important - public goods will be underprovided *except* in the case when everyone is identical in both incomes and taste for the public good. Sugden's work is interesting because it suggests that reciprocity - an important part of social cohesion - can be part of the support for a strong voluntary sector - but only in a homogeneous (in preferences) and equal (in incomes) society. A norm of reciprocity in a society where people greatly differ in their tastes for public goods, or where there is substantial income inequality, is not enough to create a strong voluntary sector. It also suggests that, to the extent that we do have a voluntary sector, it may be supported by a homogeneous community, rather than society at large.

1.3.4 Clubs

Amartya Sen's work on commitment can be described as a "social choice" theory - it is about the choices we as a society could and should make. In contrast is work in "public choice" theory, which attempts to explain public (government, voluntary) phenomena purely as the outcome of individual rational choices. In public choice theory, the epitome of voluntary activity is the "club". A club is "a voluntary association established to provide excludable public goods" (Mueller, 1989). Sports and recreational associations are the best examples of clubs, although professional associations, trade unions, cultural organizations such as local theatres, and perhaps even churches can also be seen as clubs. For the purpose of the analysis in this paper I am interested in clubs which share three key characteristics: (1) they provide a public good, e.g., sports facilities, professional accreditation, collective negotiating power, music. (2) There is not a direct "fee for service" -- even though a fee may be required for membership, the fee is not directly related to benefits received (members may use the club facilities frequently or infrequently) (3) the club is constituted as a volunteer organization, as opposed to a for-profit "club Med" or "Price Club". Firms and advertising agencies do not use the "club" terminology because, say, Price Club differs in some fundamental way from any other warehouse store. It is more likely that the word "club" is being used to appropriate a social norm, to try to capture some idea of reciprocity and, especially, create customer loyalty (Reichheld, 1996)

The club approach to volunteering has strong implications for the link between social cohesion and voluntary activity. First, there is no reason to expect any link between trust, care, concern or any other social value and club membership. If people join a swim club it will, in all probability, be because they enjoy swimming and are prepared to pay the membership fee, not because of any intrinsic concern for other swim club members. On the other hand, there will be interaction between club members, and club members are engaged in a common enterprise, and this is one element of social cohesion. However clubs will be more efficient when the membership is homogeneous, for example, when club members have similar incomes or similar demands for the public good (Mueller, 1989). This suggests that, while clubs

may build social cohesion through engagement in a common enterprise, it will be cohesion among a homogeneous subset of the population. It is true that there are many clubs, such as children's soccer leagues, which draw together people from diverse backgrounds, and create new social ties, rather than building upon those which already exist. Yet research by Kathleen Day and Rose Anne Devlin (1996) found that more educated Canadians and Canadians with household incomes above $20,000 (in 1987) are more likely to volunteer. This observations suggest several research questions examining connection between social cohesion and voluntary activity: What is the pattern of club membership? What sort of ties are fostered through club membership? Even if clubs build cohesion, will they help prevent social exclusion?

1.3.4 Self-Interested Volunteering

Another way of thinking about voluntary activity is as just another form of labour or consumption, influenced by the same considerations as other types of labour supply or consumer demand. This is the approach taken by Menchik and Weisbrod (1987). Volunteering is seen as something that either gives immediate enjoyment, or something which has long term investment benefits. They find that voluntary activity increases with full income, also married people, people with children at home, especially people with older children, some women and people whose parents had more years of schooling were more likely to volunteer. People who were frequent church goers volunteered less hours, and the wage rate also had a negative effect on volunteer hours. Francois Vaillancourt (1994) found that Canadians whose family or career is likely to benefit are more likely to do volunteer work, suggesting that volunteer activity may, for some people, be a form of human capital investment - however these results, while statistically significant, were not empirically dominant.

2. Social Cohesion and Voluntary Activity: Looking for the Connections

The Data

There are three major sources of information about voluntary activity in Canada. Statistics Canada has carried out two major surveys of voluntary activity: the Survey of Volunteer Activity (VAS) in 1987 and the National Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating (NSGVP) in 1997. The VAS has been the subject of extensive analysis by Kathleen Day and Roseann Devlin (1996) and by Francois Vaillancourt (1994). Summary results from the NSGVP have recently been released (Statistics Canada, 1998); however at the time of writing the public use microdata file is not available. The World Values Survey was carried out in 1981 and again in 1991. Each time the survey

asked over 1600 Canadians about their participation in a wide range of voluntary activities. Because this data set remains relatively underexplored, and also because it provides rich information on people's motivations and values, it will form the core of our analysis of social cohesion and voluntary activity.

Who volunteers?

Table 2.1 summarizes the most recent information available on who volunteers in Canada. Who volunteers? It turns out that most Canadians do. In 1997, according to the National Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating, 78 percent of Canadians made a donation to a charitable or a non-profit organization, 31 percent of Canadians volunteered their time, and 51 percent were members or participated in civic organizations.

Demographic characteristics make a difference. Women are more likely to make donations than are men (81 percent of women donate, compared to 75 percent of men), and women are also more likely to volunteer (33 percent as opposed to 29 percent). Men, on the other hand, are more active as members and participants of organizations (53 percent as opposed to 49 percent).

People who are married are more involved in all dimensions of voluntary activity: they are more likely to make donations (85 percent), to volunteer their time (33 percent), and to participate 54 percent). People who are widowed are more likely than single or separated people to make donations, and their average level of donation is particularly high, however single and separated people are more likely to volunteer, and to participate in organizations.

Volunteer activity also rises with education. People with higher levels of education donate more, are more likely to volunteer (although they do not volunteer for longer hours), and are more likely to participate.

Putnam (1995) has argued that there is a long "civic generation" of people raised prior to the television era who have higher levels of community participation, and that civic participation is declining over time. This is not borne out by Canadian data. Volunteering peaks in the 35 to 44 age group, as does the frequency of donations. Volunteering has soared in the 15 to 24 age group from 18 percent in 1987 to 33 percent in 1997. Membership and participation in organizations peaks in the 45 to 54 age group.

The likelihood that a person is involved at some level with voluntary activity increases with household income – people in higher income households donate more often, volunteer more often and participate more often. However the total number of hours volunteered actually peaks in households with incomes between $20,000 and $39,999, and donations relative to gross household income falls as household income increases.

Moreover, household income is closely tied to marital status, age, education, and many other factors which influence engagement in voluntary activity. So without doing a multiple regression analysis, it is hard to isolate the effects of income *per se*.

The data necessary to do a multiple regression analysis using the NSGVP is not yet available. However there is an extensive body of research based on earlier surveys which provides information on the factors determining volunteer activity. Table 2.2 summarizes the results of these studies.

How does this compare with the predictions of the theoretical section? Most of the theories surveyed

What do volunteers do?

One of the key differences between the various theories surveyed in the theoretical section was the variation in how voluntary activity was perceived. Is voluntary activity essentially joining a club? Or is it altruistically providing a good that has benefits to everybody?

One way of answering these questions is to find out what sorts of organizations people belong to, donate to, and volunteer for. Analysis of the NSGVP, summarized in Table 2.3, points to a number of patterns. One pattern is the consistent importance of religion. While religion only dominates one category – religious organizations receive 51 percent of the total amount donated to charities according to the NSGVP – it is of lesser but persistent importance in all other types of voluntary activity, accounting for 15 percent of the total number of donations, 14 percent of the total volunteer events, 18 percent of volunteer hours and 13 percent of memberships. Moreover, people who were active in religious organizations in their youth are more likely to be volunteers (45 percent versus 31.4 percent for the overall population – Statistics Canada, 1998: 34), and people who are very religious or attend church weekly volunteer more often and for more hours.

The recurring role of religion in volunteer activity suggests two observations. First, to the extent that religion tells us to love our neighours as ourselves, praises the virtue of charity, and restrains profit motives (for example through prohibitions on usury), religion may increase people's intrinsic motivation to give to others. This is tentative evidence in support of "intrinsic motivation" explanations of voluntary behaviour. Second, the importance of religion suggests that that measures of, say, membership may reflect more than anything else the strength of religious conviction in a given society. What Putnam (198x) uses as an indicator of "social capital" may simply measure religiosity. It is of course possible, as Becker (199x) has argued, that religion is a key source of social capital. The main point is to be fully aware that religion may be the link connecting social cohesion and voluntary activity, and is something we need

to control for before drawing any conclusions.

A second finding is that – with the exception of religious organizations – donating, volunteering and participation tend to centered around quite different types of organizations. For example, sports, recreation and social club account for over a quarter of volunteer work and 18 percent of memberships, but a negligible portion (not reported in the NSGVP summaries) of donations. Unions and professional associations account for almost one in five memberships, but are unimportant in terms of *voluntary* donations and *volunteer* work. This confirms that it is difficult to define precisely what is voluntary – why should membership in a trade union be counted as part of civic participation, but dues paid to a trade union not counted as support of a voluntary organization? (one obvious answer – that union and professional dues are a deduction claimed on one part of the tax form, while charitable donations are recognized by a credit, and reported on another part of the income tax form – seems hardly satisfactory). It also suggests that it will be hard to find a theory which explains all forms of voluntary activity, when the types of organizations involved – and presumably people's motivations for joining and supporting the organizations – are so different.

One possible hypothesis is that groups people are members in are more like "clubs", while donations go more towards "pure public goods". This is in a sense obvious. A key part of the definition of a club is that people can be excluded from enjoying the public good produced by the club – it is for "members only". Membership is meaningless unless non-members are excluded. In contrast, organizations such as the Heart and Stroke Foundation collect donations rather than memberships. Any medical breakthrough made through Heart and Stroke Foundation funded research would be available – one hopes – to all Canadians, donors and non-donors. An analysis of the NSGVP does provide tentative support to this hypothesis. Membership is focused around activities which provide benefits to their members first and foremost: unions and professional associations (19 percent), sports and recreation (18 percent), religion (that cross cutting variable – 13 percent), and then community and school related (9 percent), cultural or educational (8 percent), service club/fraternal (4 percent), and political parties (3 percent) (the percentage figures here give percentage of Canadians who are members, not percentage of total memberships these organizations account for, in contrast to the volunteer activity and donation figures). Donations go, as shown in Table 2.3, much more towards pure public goods, such as health. If this is indeed true, it means that motivations for joining and for donating are likely to be very different, with joining being more self-interested, and donating motivated by altruism, etc. This in turn means that any social cohesion/membership connection will have an entirely basis from a social cohesion/donations connection.

Trends over time

Table 2.4 provides more detailed trends over time in voluntary activity, based on the

World Value Survey (WVS). The nice thing about this table is that it provides trends over time, and it also allows more direct comparisons of membership/unpaid work and men's/women's activity than does the summary information, all that is currently available from the NSGVP. Membership patterns changed significantly between 1981 and 1991. Membership of religious organizations fell dramatically, as did membership in social welfare organizations. At the same time, membership in most other types of organizations increased, particularly education and cultural organizations, community action groups, environmental organizations and professional associations. In 1991 religious organizations still had the broadest membership, with about one quarter of Canadians belonging, however sports and recreational organizations had almost as many members, with education and cultural organizations and professional associations being the next. Unfortunately the 1981 survey did not ask about membership in sports and recreation organizations, so it is hard to see how membership in this important type of voluntary group has changed over time.

There are also significant differences in men's and women's organizational membership. Men are more than twice as likely to belong to a trade union, and fifty percent more men than women reported belonging to a sports and recreational organization. For religious organizations, the situation was reversed: fifty percent more women than men reported membership of religious organizations. Membership of women's groups is, not surprisingly, mostly female, and women also account for the majority of the membership of social welfare organizations, education and cultural organizations, peace movement and animal rights groups, and health-voluntary organizations. Men account for more than half of the membership of political parties, professional associations, and other groups, while there is little significant difference between male and female membership of community action groups, third world development, environment and youth work groups.

Table 2.4, unlike the NSVGP data, provides a direct comparison between unpaid work and membership patterns for different types of organizations. The figures for voluntary work are uniformly lower than the figures for membership. The most common type of voluntary work is for religious organizations, but only 15 percent of Canadians surveyed reported doing such work. The contrast between membership and activity is particularly dramatic for trade unions and professional associations, which in 1991 had three times more members than voluntary workers. So, while the three dominant types of organizations are still religious organizations, sports/recreational organizations and educational/cultural organizations, fourth place is now a three-way tie between social welfare, youth work and health-voluntary organizations.

Interprovincial Variations in Volunteer Activity

So far I have been reporting Canadian data. This data hides substantial variations within provinces.

Table 2.5 shows different measures of voluntary activity by province. This table shows wide variations among the provinces. The first two columns are taken from charitable donations data compiled from income tax records (people claiming the charitable donations tax credit). Newfoundland has the lowest percentage of taxfilers (22 percent) donating, but the highest average donation ($260); Quebec has the lowest average donation ($100) and an only slightly higher percentage of taxfilers donating than does Newfoundland (25 percent). There are some remarkable consistencies in the pattern of inter-provincial variation. Whatever data source is used, and whatever measure of voluntary activity is taken, Quebec has lower levels of voluntary activity than the Canadian average and – with one or two exceptions – lower levels of voluntary activity than are found in any other province. At the other end of the scale Saskatchewan stands out as being a province of volunteers.

This is a major challenge to the idea that voluntary activity is in some way linked to social cohesion. Quebec is arguably one of the most cohesive provinces in Canada. Quebec social and economic policy, for example the progressive income tax system, reflects a public commitment to reducing disparities in income and wealth. Quebec has a distinctive linguistic and cultural heritage, expressed in the works of writers such as Michel Tremblay and Marie Claire Blais, providing a shared community of interpretation. Francois Vaillancourt (1994) may be overstating the case somewhat when he writes that "On the basis of language, ethnicity, or religion, Quebec is a much more homogeneous region of Canada than the other four, which in decreasing order are the Atlantic region, Ontario, British Columbia and the prairies region" (Vaillancourt, 1994: 818). However, compared to the other large provinces (BC, Alberta, and Ontario) it does have much lower levels of immigration (less than 10 percent of the Quebec population are immigrants, compared to about 20 percent for the other large provinces), and a smaller visible minority population.[1] To the extent that recent immigrants and members are visible minorities are likely to have different values and cultures from other Canadians, Quebec's smaller immigrant and minority population would be expected to enhance the sense of shared values. Quebec is also remarkably religiously homogeneous. According to the 1991 census, 86 percent of the Quebec population is Catholic. The only other provinces which come close to this level of religious homogeneity are Newfoundland, with 61 percent Protestant, and Saskatchewan, with 54 percent Protestant (and this ignores the divergence among Protestant religions).

There are a number of possible explanations for the low level of voluntary activity in Quebec. Francois Vaillancourt (1994) has argued that perhaps we would expect to find *less* volunteer activity in homogeneous regions, because "voters in more homogeneous reasons are more likely to agree on what goods and services they wish the public sector to provide and thus need less volunteer work" (Vaillancourt, 1994: 818).

A second explanation is that the people of Quebec have a strong identity, but do not merge/blend their identity with others. The people of Quebec are not hyphenated Canadians. In the 1996 census, 83 percent of the people in Quebec reported a single ethnic origin, the most common ones being "Canadian" at 2.6 million or "French" at 2.1 million. This is substantially higher than the level of non-hyphenated Canadians in any other province (Newfoundland is the next closest, with 73 percent), and well above the Canadian average of 64 percent. That Quebecois have a strong but divided sense of identity – some seeing themselves as French, others as Canadian – is supported by the intense debate over sovereignty in Quebec. Quebec may be in some sense a homogeneous society, but in other respects it is a deeply polarized society. Homogeneity is not the same thing as social cohesion. John Helliwell (1998) gives further support of this point with the finding that trust, his measure of social capital, is lower in Quebec than elsewhere in Canada.

A third possibility is that voluntary activity is a Protestant approach to solving problems, and Catholic countries use other institutions – church or government or family – to do what Protestants voluntarily. Regression analysis (reported in Table 2.2) does find that Protestants volunteer more than Catholics. Catholics make up a much greater percentage of the population in Quebec than of any other province in Canada. This underlines the point made in the theoretical section: lots of voluntary activity may be seen as a sign of strength in the voluntary sector or of weakness in other social and economic institutions. This connects with Vaillancourt's observation on the effectiveness of collective action through voting in Quebec. One might ask why regressions such as Vaillancourt's which control for religion still find a negative relationship between residence in Quebec and volunteering. I would answer that by arguing that when there is a strong Catholic majority – as in Quebec – collective action and the creation of social institutions is possible in a way that it is not when Catholics make up, say, one third of the population, as in Ontario.

Finally, the Quebec data on voluntary activity may simply mean that in this, as in other things, Quebec is a "distinct society". This is in line with work by John Helliwell (1998) on social capital in Canada, which has suggested that European differences in voluntary activity (e.g. between France and Nordic countries) are mirrored in Canadian inter-provincial differences, reflecting the ethnic origins of Canadians across the country

The conclusion to draw from the puzzle of Quebec is that social cohesion is not a universal concept, and any relationship we might find between social cohesion indicators and voluntary activity may not cross cultural lines.

Are volunteers more tolerant?

Table 2.6 shows a measure of the relationship between membership of voluntary organizations and tolerance. Non-members are those who did not report belonging to any voluntary organizations, members are all those belonging to one or more voluntary organizations. The numbers in the columns give the percentage of non-members and members mentioning each of the named groups as someone that they "would not like to have as neighbours." What is striking about table 2.6 is the similarity in tolerance levels for members and non-members. Their attitudes towards living next to people of a different race, emotionally unstable people, Muslims, Jews and Hindus are almost identical. The greatest differences are in attitudes towards "left wing extremists" and "right wing extremists". Members are substantially more likely than non-members to report not wanting extremists as neighbours. Members are also less likely to want people with a criminal record, addicts or heavy drinkers as neighbours, though they are more tolerant to homosexuals and immigrants/foreign workers. What emerges from this is a picture of members of voluntary organizations as people who uphold social norms. They are the centrist "pillars of society", are relatively intolerant of extremists. However Canadians, as a whole, are tolerant, and when they are intolerant, it is of people's behaviour -- drug addicts, heavy drinkers -- and not of people themselves -- Jews, immigrants/foreign workers, people of a different race.

Table 2.6: Groups identified that "you would not like to have as neighbours"

	Non-members	Members
Criminals	41	43
Other Race	5	5
Left wing	23	29
Drinkers	52	56
Right wing	20	27
Large family	8	5
Unstable	29	30
Muslims	10	11
Foreigners	8	5
AIDS	20	21
Addicts	61	64
Homosexuals	31	29
Jews	6	5
Hindus	10	10

Canada, 1991. Source: Compiled from World Values Survey

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Table 2.1: Volunteering in Canada, 1997

	Donating Rate (%)	Median Donation	Volunteer Participation Rate (%)	Average Hours Volunteered	Membership Rate
Age					
15-24	59	20	33	125	44
25-34	78	55	28	133	48
35-44	84	83	37	142	55
45-54	83	105	35	157	57
55-64	83	108	30	160	54
65 and over	80	140	23	202	45
Sex					
Male	75	73	29	160	53
Female	81	83	33	140	49
Marital Status					
Married or common law	85	92	33	151	54
Single, never married	63	35	31	133	46
Separated, Divorced	73	70	29	186	44
Widowed	76	121	20	157	39
Education					
Less than high school	68	50	21	126	40
High school diploma	76	75	29	159	45
Some postsecondary	78	60	36	153	53
Postsecondary diploma	84	82	34	149	53
University degree	90	168	48	159	74
Labour force status					
Employed	83	81	34	138	57
Full-time	84	65	32	138	57
Part-time	79	85	44	139	57
Unemployed	64	29	29	121	36
Not in the labour force	72	78	27	176	42
Household income					
Less than 20,000	63	40	22	148	34
20,000-39,999	77	60	29	163	45
40,000-59,999	81	80	33	150	54
60,000-79,999	86	91	36	144	60
80,000 or more	90	150	44	136	71

Source: National Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating, Statistics Canada (1998)

Table 2.2: Socio-demographic characteristics linked to volunteering						
Authors	Data used	Findings				
Day and Devlin (1996)	VAS, Canada, 1987	Number of volunteers negatively related to government expenditures on economy-related activities, positively related to government expenditures on health care. No effect on number of hours donated. Probability of volunteering greater for females, and for those who are married, more educated (esp. women), stronger religious beliefs, health. Probability of volunteering is less for those who speak a language other than English or French at home, also for women who speak French at home.				
Vaillancourt (1994)	VAS, Canada 1987	Probability of volunteering greater for females, and for those who are more educated, in higher status occupations, who work fewer hours (except men who do not work), who have children between 3 and 15, live in smaller cities, speak English at home. Single women (men) do more (less) work than their married counterparts. Catholics and people with no religion participate less in volunteer work than Protestants and people with "other religions". Volunteering is lowest in Quebec and highest in the Prairies.				
Menchik and Weisbrod (1987)	US, 1973	Volunteer hours increase in full income, and are higher for women, married people, those with children, those with more educated parents, and those who are *not* frequent church-goers. Volunteering Increases with age until about 43, then decreases. Higher wage rates seem to decrease volunteering, local government expenditures seem to increase it. Single earner households only.				

Table 2.3: Distribution of volunteer activity in Canada, 1997.				
	Donations		Volunteer Work	
	Percent of total number of donations	Percent of total amount donated	Percent of total events	Percent of total hours
Health	38	17	13	10
Social services	21	11	21	21
Religion	15	51	14	18
Education and research	7	4	25	23
Philanthropy and voluntarism	5	6		
Culture and arts	4	3		
International	2	3		
Environment	2	2		
Sports	N/a	N/a	11	11
Other recreation and social clubs	N/a	N/a	16	17
Other	2	2		

Table 2.4: Trends in voluntary activity over time

	Membership (percentage reporting)		Unpaid work (percentage reporting)		Gender, 1991	
	1991	1981	1991	1981	Male	Female
Social Welfare	8.38	13.23	6.19	10.00	6.3	10.35
Religious organizations	24.99	32.90	15.52	15.81	19.66	30.05
Education/Cultural	17.59	9.50	9.22	5.56	15.65	19.44
Trade Unions	11.64	11.12	3.56	1.61	16.10	7.40
Political Parties	7.16	5.51	3.69	3.44	8.59	5.79
Community Action	5.15	1.38	4.06	1.24	4.53	5.73
Third World Development	4.57	3.13	2.71	1.66	4.7	4.39
Environment	7.47	4.81	3.53	1.87	8.83	6.19
Professional Association	15.91	12.25	5.24	4.15	17.41	14.48
Youth Work	9.55	9.64	6.97	7.86	8.63	10.42
Sports/Recreation	22.69		12.28		28.46	17.22
Women's Groups	6.72		4.54		1.13	12.03
Peace Movement	1.99		1.59		1.23	2.71
Animal Rights	2.57		1.43		1.88	3.22
Health-Voluntary	8.85		6.82		7.02	10.39
Others	12.73		8.74		13.53	11.98

Source: calculated by the author from the World Values Survey

Voluntary activity across provinces						
	Charitable donations (1996 Income tax statistics)		NSGVP			
	% of taxfilers donating	Median donation ($)	Donor rate	Volunteer rate	Membership rate	
Newfoundland	22	260	84	33	49	
Prince Edward Island	30	230	83	36	50	
Nova Scotia	26	200	83	38	55	
New Brunswick	25	230	82	34	47	
Quebec	25	100	75	22	43	
Ontario	29	180	80	32	52	
Manitoba	30	190	81	40	58	
Saskatchewan	29	240	83	47	62	
Alberta	27	170	75	40	55	
British Columbia	24	180	73	32	54	

[1] than the other large provinces – around 6 percent, compared to 10 percent in Alberta, 15 percent in Ontario, and 18 percent in BC