University of Alberta

THE GENDERED NATURE OF VOLUNTEER WORK

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Department of Sociology

Edmonton, Alberta

Fall 1996

ISBN 0-612-18173-1

University of Alberta

Library Release Form

Name of Author: Sabrina Park

Title of Thesis: The Gendered Nature of Volunteer Work

Degree: Master of Arts

Year this Degree Granted: 1996

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Date: August 16 1996

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ABSTRACT

Popular conceptions of volunteer work closely align volunteer work with issues of gender. Despite being a gendered activity, the volunteer work literature infrequently addresses this aspect of volunteer work. This thesis makes three contributions to the issue of gender and volunteer work by examining how volunteer work is socially constructed within a patriarchal society.

First, how volunteer work is perceived and defined within a patriarchal, capitalist society is examined. Problematic issues of volunteer work being unpaid, a free choice and a social responsibility are discussed.

Secondly, the extent to which volunteer work exists in society and the gendered patterns of participation are determined. Over one-quarter of the Canadian population volunteers with the majority of volunteers being women. Gendered patterns of participation are evident in the types of organizations men and women volunteer for and the types of volunteer work they perform.

Thirdly, the extent to which gender is addressed within the volunteer literature is analyzed. A quantitative and qualitative content analysis of two volunteer journals revealed that the vast majority of articles did not address gender and most of the

articles which did mention gender did so in a superficial, rhetorical manner thus not significantly advancing our knowledge regarding gender and volunteer work. Additionally, women authored more gendered articles than men.

Acknowledgements

I would like to take this opportunity to thank all of those who have positively contributed to my graduate school experience.

Dr. Saram and Dr. Hackler for seeing my potential, for supporting my bid for admission and for being friendly and supportive during my time in the department.

Dr. Krahn for accepting me and my project, for allowing me to work at my own pace and for allowing me to develop my own project. Your guidance and suggestions helped me realize my goal of completing a fulfilling piece of work.

Dr. Sydie and Dr. Hughes for being on my committee and offering helpful suggestions and commentary.

Dr. Hayduk for attempting to help a band of struggling students realize their goal and for listening to a group of very disgruntled and discouraged students.

Kerri Calvert for always showing a genuine and friendly interest in my progress.

Stephen Baron for holding court and sharing his insights into life in the department as we knew it. Thank you for making my days a little brighter with your unyielding commentaries, tongue-in-cheek repartee and your warmhearted conversation. Running into you was often the highlight of my day. You made it all just a little more bearable.

Tami Bereska for listening, being supportive and giving endless encouragement throughout the many years. Thank you Tami - you have a very special talent and I am lucky to count you amongst my friends.

Barbara Allen - we were not one of the chosen ones, we were not taken under anybody's wing but we still persevered and attained our goals. Thank you for always being there and for sharing the good times, the bad times and the very bad times. The many heart-to-heart conversations which we have had have helped me to gain perspective and to see the forest for the trees. Your friendship is cherished - thank you.

Wes Park for your unwavering support and belief that I could attain my goals whatever they may be. You nurtured in me the strength and courage I needed to persevere when the going was the toughest. You celebrated my accomplishments and sustained me during times of trial. In a perfect world we all could do perfect things - but we do the best we can under the circumstances.

To all the various people who brought a little bit of friendliness and sanity to my world including Colin Reid, Jo Lamba, Barbara Heather, Marla Peters and a variety of others. Being friendly and helpful to someone can have a long lasting and important impact on those it touches.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

"The days of the stereotypical portrait of the perfect volunteer - the housewife with the school age children seeking to occupy spare time with good works - are gone." (Zimmer, 1990:40)

"In the past, the public attributed an underdog role to volunteer agencies based on their perceptions of the purposes, administrative style, female gender orientation, and financing of volunteer agencies." (Wilson and Simson, 1993:17)

"It is also reasonable to assume that most Australians have a stereotype of volunteers as being female, mature-age, middle class and therefore in a position to be able to live comfortably outside the paid workforce, have time on their hands, need some fulfilment, and, because of the nature of their morality they believe they can contribute by doing "good works" for the poor in the community. This 'lady bountiful' image is invalid, a myth in Australia in the 1990s." (Helman, 1992:22)

These quotations all provide us with a sense of who a typical volunteer was / is thought to be. While some of the quotations do indicate that these images are no longer valid, I submit that these images are in fact still widely held and used. The terms 'woman' and 'volunteer work' are often thought to be complementary and, at one time, ""volunteer" was synonymous with "woman"" (Gold, 1971:385).

Volunteer work has often been equated with femininity which in turn was equated with morality. I suggest that vestiges of these sentiments still exist and enshroud volunteer work, to a certain extent, with a feminine prerogative. I have found that although many women point to their heavy volunteer burdens, many of them see this as a badge of honour. Also, they can be quite perturbed to find men invading 'their' space. For example, one man had volunteered for his local food bank only to find his participation was unwelcome. As it turned out, this food bank was comprised of all female volunteers and the women were hostile to 'outsiders' - in this case male volunteers. This male volunteer was felt to be impinging on 'their' organization.

Volunteer work has often been associated with women's work. In fact, one of the commonly used terms to describe volunteers had been the 'Lady Bountiful' and there is no male equivalent to this term. But, what can not be overlooked, is the substantial contribution which men make to volunteer work as men account for over 43% of all Canadian volunteers.

Popular conceptions of volunteerism closely align volunteer work with issues of gender and predominantly with women. All social phenomena including volunteer work are heavily influenced by the social forces in which they exist, and, one of the fundamental forces within western societies is the significance of gender within social structures. Gender is in essence a theme which weaves its way through all social structures to varying degrees. To ignore or discount the importance of gender within these social structures would jeopardize one's full understanding as to the formation, maintenance and functioning of these structures.

Hence, the need to address issues of gender within volunteer work.

Through my own personal observations, I have found volunteer work to be a significantly gendered activity. For example, of 10 community leagues in one part of my city, eight have male presidents and two have female presidents. On the other hand, eight have female secretaries and two have male secretaries. I found that many of the volunteer jobs are often sex-typed according to perceived gender traits and / or along traditional gender lines. For example, I was once told that we can not ask men to stuff envelopes a this is repetitive and boring work. "Men will not stand for it. Women are tougher this way. Women will do the work until it is done and not complain."

Through the course of my project, many individuals directly involved in volunteer work have made comments to me which allude to gender differences. Such comments included "women do all the volunteer work" and "women do all the hard work while men just sit back and watch". What I found particularly interesting is that despite these comments and the obvious gendered nature of volunteer work, individuals within the volunteer field (volunteers and volunteer managers) do not appear to seriously question this gendered aspect of volunteer work. They may state that volunteer work is done primarily by women, but they do not question why this is and how / or if this should change.

Interestingly enough, when I suggested or addressed issues of gender to practitioners, I was often greeted with ambivalent to hostile responses. Any suggestion that these gender differences were structural in nature (due to patriarchy) or perhaps that these gender patterns may not be advantageous to women was often flatly denied or disputed.

The impetus behind this thesis was to examine the role of women within volunteer work and how volunteer work is a gendered activity. The object of this thesis is to examine how, within a patriarchal society which has specific patterns of gender, volunteer work is socially constructed. How do issues of gender affect volunteer work? To examine this concern in a comprehensive manner, this thesis will make three distinctive contributions to the issue of gender and volunteer work.

First, how volunteer work is perceived and defined particularly within a patriarchal society will be examined. Secondly, the extent to which volunteer work exists in society and the gendered patterns of participation will be determined. Thirdly, the extent to which gender is addressed within the volunteer literature and how these gender references advance our knowledge regarding gender and volunteer work will be analyzed.

Defining Volunteer Work

The first section of this thesis will discuss and examine how volunteer work is perceived and defined within a patriarchal society. Volunteer work will be conceptualized as a form of work and the value of such work will be determined. Given volunteer work's close connections with women's work, I suspect that volunteer work will be valued (or not valued) to similar degrees as other forms of women's work.

Volunteer work is a social act and, as such, is subject to and influenced by the social norms and values prevalent in society. In order to understand how volunteer work is defined and perceived, we must be aware of the patriarchal

structures within the society and how these gender patterns affect volunteer work. Additionally, volunteer work changes over time. It changes with the varying forms of patriarchy and is affected by the rapidly changing political context and the role of government.

This section will also discuss and problematize aspects commonly associated with volunteer work: its unpaid nature, the issue of free will, and social responsibility. Is volunteer work in fact unpaid? How is an unpaid activity such as volunteer work valued within our society? To what extent is our choice to volunteer an issue of free will? To what extent do social structures affect our ability to choose? How do social and economic pressures affect those decisions? How do patriarchal divisions of labour and societal expectations structure volunteer patterns?

Volunteer work is a complex, varied and socially constructed phenomenon. It can be agitative and revolutionary in nature. It can also be stabilizing and 'community building'. Therefore, in order to fully understand this aspect of social life, the role which patriarchy and gender patterns play in conceptualizing volunteer work must be addressed.

Profiling Volunteers

The second section of this thesis will address who does in fact volunteer. Using the most recent nationwide survey on volunteer work (Duchesne, 1989), this section will produce a statistical profile of the volunteer population and will note any gender differences.

The common stereotype of a volunteer (as outlined at the beginning of this chapter) is often that of a woman. Do the numbers bear this out? What types of organizations do men and women volunteer for? What types of work do they perform when they volunteer? Given the gendered patterns of behaviour within our society, we should expect to see similar patterns within volunteer work.

The division of labour within a patriarchal system is divided in three separate manners. First, labour is divided between public and private work. Men are found primarily in public work and women in private work. Secondly, horizontal segregation divides various types of work into either women's or men's work. Thirdly, vertical segregation divides work into a hierarchical manner. This hierarchy often places men's work in a superior position to women's work.

Are these same patterns evident within volunteer work? Does volunteer work allow for greater movement between these various types of men's and women's work? To what extent are gender patterns evident within volunteer work? These are the types of issues to be addressed within the second section of this thesis.

Research and Volunteer Work

The third section of this thesis will analyze the extent to which gender is evident within the volunteer literature. A brief literature overview will be included along with a content analysis of two contemporary volunteer journals. The literature overview will provide a brief summary of the types of issues addressed within the volunteer work

literature and the extent to which gender appears to be addressed.

Following this literature overview, a content analysis will be performed on two volunteer journals (The Journal of Volunteer Administration and Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly). Through the use of a quantitative and a qualitative content analysis, these journals will be analyzed for gender content. The quantity as well as the quality of these gender references will be examined.

Much of the knowledge which is produced tends to be androcentric in nature (Bourdieu as referenced in Stanley, 1990; Chafetz, 1989; Harding, 1987; Stanley and Wise, 1990). As knowledge is socially situated and socially constructed, social structures such as patriarchy can and do influence the development of knowledge (Lyddon, 1991; Stanley and Wise, 1990; Tomm, 1989; Weskott, 1990). If this is the case, to what extent is gender addressed within the volunteer literature? How does the existing literature on volunteer work advance our knowledge regarding volunteer work and gender?

It is critical to acknowledge and to examine these gender patterns as they can be self-perpetuating. The patriarchal system affects the production of knowledge. This knowledge can then in turn have an impact on the practice of volunteer work. If volunteer management and practices are based on gender biased research and articles, the practice of volunteer work can perpetuate and reproduce these very same gendered patterns of behaviour.

In addition to examining what types of knowledge are being produced, the content analysis will also note who is producing this volunteer knowledge. It has been argued that

women are generally excluded from being agents of knowledge or knowledge producers (Harding, 1987:3). Most agents of knowledge are upper-class, white men (Acker, 1989; Chafetz, 1989; Harding, 1987; Smith, 1989; Stanley and Wise, 1990; Ward and Grant, 1991) with social institutions, sociological discourse and theory being heavily dominated by men (Acker, 1989; Chafetz, 1989; Smith, 1989).

Who produces volunteer knowledge? Does the sex of the author affect what types of knowledge are produced? Do women produce more articles on gender than men? Are researchers or practitioners more aware of gender patterns within volunteer work? Who produces the knowledge can have as much as an impact as what types of knowledge are being produced. These are the types of issues which will be examined in section three.

Conclusion

Gender is a significant factor to consider when examining volunteer work. Issues of gender affect most social structures to at least some degree and this would include volunteer work. In an effort to go beyond stereotypes and rhetoric, this thesis will examine issues of gender and volunteer work in a comprehensive manner. The three contributions which this thesis will make include how volunteer work is perceived and defined, the gender patterns evident within volunteer participation and the extent to which gender is addressed within the volunteer literature.

CHAPTER 2

Defining and Conceptualizing Volunteer Work

What is volunteer work? While the answer to this question may appear at the outset as being self-evident, upon closer examination we come to appreciate just how obscure and ambiguous this phenomenon actually is. Much of the literature on volunteer work simply uses 'volunteer work' as having a taken-for-granted definition; these articles do not attempt or poorly attempt to define what they are studying. If a common understanding of the term did exist, this definitional oversight would only warrant a footnote. However, due to the lack of a commonly accepted and recognized definition, I must address this issue on a more comprehensive level.

Volunteer work is a poorly defined abstract concept. In order to clarify its meaning, four different but interrelated aspects of the term will be discussed. First, volunteer work will be defined and linked to work in general. Secondly, I will discuss the value of this type of work. Thirdly, problematic aspects of the definition will be discussed which include its unpaid nature, the issue of free will and social responsibility. Finally, I will contextualize volunteer work within a patriarchal, capitalist society. By discussing these four aspects of volunteer work, we shall gain a better understanding of this complex phenomenon.

Defining Volunteerism

Various authors have commented on and discussed this definitional void surrounding volunteer work (Abrahams,

1993; Cnaan and Amrofell, 1994; Ellis and Noyes, 1990; Smith, 1982). These authors recognize that defining volunteer work is problematic, but failing to address this problem simply perpetuates the situation. This lack of definitional knowledge has an impact on how volunteer work is perceived. It is often perceived to be associated with middle / upper class white women's benevolence (Abrahams, 1993; National Advisory Council on Voluntary Action, 1978) or with altruism (Smith, 1982). On both counts, these types of definitional associations misrepresent and minimalize the complex and varied dimensions of volunteer work.

Associated with this lack of a commonly accepted definition of volunteerism is the lack of a specific vocabulary. There is an abundance of terms used to describe the phenomenon of volunteerism. In reading through the volunteer literature, I was confronted with a diversity of terminology, some of which included: volunteer work, voluntarism, volunteerism, voluntary action, voluntary participation, community action, community development, community service, community participation, social action, social participation, service learning, advocacy and activism. These various terms often describe the same phenomenon - volunteerism, but sometimes they describe similar but distinctively different phenomenon.

By not pursuing definitional clarification, these types of perceptions will persist. To this extent, volunteer work has fallen prey to the same affliction as both domestic labour and caregiving (it is interesting to note that all three types of work are typically performed by women). These terms in general suffer from a lack of a uniform and comprehensive definition. The meanings attributed to phenomena such as caregiving and volunteer work are inconsistent at best and usually address only certain

aspects of the entire term. The danger of non-comprehensive definitions lies in the fact that generalizations based on these definitions may not be valid.

Over the years, a variety of definitions of volunteering have been developed (Cnaan and Amrofell, 1994; Duchesne, 1989; Independent Sector, 1986; Karl, 1984; National Advisory Council on Voluntary Action, 1978; Robichaud, 1985; Sieder and Kirshbaum, 1977; Smith, 1981; Smith, 1989; Thomas, 1993). Yet, no one definition has been formally accepted or acknowledged. Definitional attempts range from the simplistic to the complex. For example, a volunteer has been defined as someone "working in some way to help others for no monetary pay" (Independent Sector, 1981:1). In contrast, a complex definition defines a volunteer as "an individual engaging in behavior that is not bio-socially determined..., nor economically necessitated..., nor socio-politically compelled..., but rather that is essentially... motivated by the expectation of psychic benefits of some kind as a result of activities that have a market value greater than any remuneration received for such activities" (Smith, 1982:25).

Ellis and Noyes (1990) provide us with one of the few comprehensive discussions regarding definitional concerns. Not only do they outline a clear definition, they also discuss the various terms used in the field of volunteer work. One of the more common terms in current usage, and one of the terms used in this thesis, is 'volunteerism'. Volunteerism is defined as "[a]nything relating specifically to volunteers and volunteering" (5). As volunteerism is defined as anything related to volunteers and volunteering, we are still left with the question of what is volunteering.

Ellis and Noyes (1990) define volunteering as "to choose to act in recognition of a need, with an attitude of social responsibility and without concern for monetary profit, going beyond one's basic obligations" (4). I chose to use this definition of volunteering as it is succinct; it encompasses many of the elements considered to be of importance to volunteerism and yet is still manageable.

A further distinction must be made between formal and informal volunteering. Formal volunteering is characterized by volunteering for and within an organization - for example, volunteering for the Red Cross. Much of the information available regarding volunteerism is focused on formal volunteering. Informal volunteering, on the other hand, is done by individuals on their own and is not part of an organization. An example of informal volunteering would be helping your neighbour fix his or her fence. Unfortunately, this type of volunteering is very difficult to document and, as a result, very little information is available regarding informal volunteering. This thesis will focus primarily on formal volunteering. (Duchesne, 1989; Ellis and Noyes, 1990; Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1992; National Advisory Council on Voluntary Action, 1978; Rice, 1990; Smith, Macaulay, and Associates, 1980).

An interesting side-note to this discussion is that many of the individuals who by definition are volunteers do not categorize themselves as such (National Advisory Council on Voluntary Action, 1978). Instead, they prefer to use other terms such as activist, advocate or helper. This reluctance to be associated with the term volunteer could stem in part from a lack of understanding of what volunteer work is or from a rejection of what the term 'volunteer' stands for. As suggested previously, volunteer work has often been associated with middle / upper class white women's

benevolence. This phenomenon has been encapsulated by the term 'Lady Bountiful' (Boles, 1985; National Advisory Council on Voluntary Action, 1978; Rose, 1994; Schwartz, 1982; Walby, 1990).

Depending how and by whom these various volunteer terms are used, their meanings can vary. An example of this is the varying uses of volunteerism and voluntarism. Volunteerism is a fairly new term which is used exclusively to describe volunteering. Voluntarism on the other hand is "[t]he generic term for all that is done in a society voluntarily" (Ellis and Noyes, 1990:5).

Voluntarism is in a sense an umbrella term which encompasses volunteerism. As all volunteeristic acts are done voluntarily, all acts of volunteerism are by definition also acts of voluntarism. But, not all acts of voluntarism are defined as volunteerism. For example, choosing to attend a post-secondary institution is a voluntary act but would not be considered an act of volunteerism.

Defining Volunteerism as Work

For the purposes of this thesis, the following two terms will be used: **volunteerism** and **volunteer work**. Volunteer work is the less commonly used term, but I chose to include this term in order to highlight and emphasize this notion of work. I discovered through my perusal of the literature that the attributes often associated with volunteer work were ones of service, participation, freely given and altruism. But yet, the notion of work was very infrequently mentioned.

'Work' often conjures up images of effort given and energy expended - images which are not often linked with

volunteering. But yet, in order to fully understand and appreciate the nature of volunteerism, I suggest that these are precisely the images which one should associate with volunteerism. Work "refers to activity that provides a product or service used or valued by others in society" (Krahn and Lowe, 1988:1). And, as voluntary activity does in fact provide products and services used and valued by others, volunteerism clearly fits into this definitional realm of work (Dabrowski, 1984; Daniels, 1987; Jenner, 1982; Milroy and Wismer, 1994).

Classifying volunteerism as work contradicts many articles which categorize volunteerism as leisure or as a free time activity (Harvey, Marshall and Frederick, 1991; Henderson, 1984; Kosberg and Garcia, 1985; Parnes and Less, 1985). Henderson (1984) suggests that leisure is an umbrella term under which volunteerism can be found. She equates the concept of leisure (freely choosing an activity from which one gains intrinsic or extrinsic rewards) with that of volunteering. Interestingly enough though, her study revealed that the majority (86%) of volunteers felt that volunteering was like both work and recreation. Perhaps, volunteer work can be classified as both work and leisure (Pearce, 1993).

In contrast to Henderson, volunteer work has been also categorized as productive work (Goldschmidt-Clermont, 1994; Herzog and Morgan, 1992; Macredie, 1994). While productive work has often been associated with "goods and services produced in the market" (170), this definition has been expanded to include "most forms of activities that produce valued goods or services, whether they are formally paid or not" (Herzog and Morgan, 1992:191). This definitional expansion was imperative in order recognize significant amounts of work which produced valued goods and services but

which were not located in the market (e.g., volunteer work, domestic work).

Ironmonger (1994) differentiates between productive work (e.g., volunteer work) and leisure in the following manner. Any activity for which you can pay someone else is productive whereas leisure activity, due to its intrinsic nature, must be done by oneself. But, this definition in itself does not simplify the matter of defining volunteerism as work versus as leisure. Volunteer work can contain both extrinsic (productive) and intrinsic (leisure) values. Also, the attribution of extrinsic and / or intrinsic values to an activity is highly subjective and depends on the perspective of the person(s) involved.

Defining an activity such as volunteerism as work has significant implications for how that activity is conceptualized. In North American society, work is a highly prized activity. The association with work is important because "[a]ny recognition of an activity as work gives it a moral force and dignity - something of importance in a society" (Daniels, 1987). Thus, any activity not considered work takes on a secondary status.

Volunteer work much like caregiving and domestic labour often suffers from this secondary status. Daniels (1987) contends that when an activity is not paid or is called altruistic (as in the case of volunteer work) the activity is not recognized as work. This lack of recognition results in a devaluing of the activity. Volunteer work is devalued due to its connection with benevolence (Abrahams, 1993) rather than with work.

This devaluation can take several forms. First, as noted previously, the activity is not viewed as instrumental to

society as 'work' is and hence takes on a secondary status. Secondly, the activity is not seen as requiring any effort, energy or skill to perform. Frequently, our society correlates level of pay with level of skill required and, as volunteer work is unpaid, the skill level required to perform these tasks is often undervalued (Daniels, 1987). Thirdly, individuals performing this type of activity are not recognized as contributing a valued service. Finally, the activity is most likely unpaid or at best very poorly paid. This aspect of pay is significant in that North American society correlates the amount an activity is paid with its perceived value to society.

Volunteer work is an integral part of North American society and should be valued for its contributions. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, volunteerism will be defined as work and the term volunteer work will be used extensively.

The Value of Volunteer Work

Productive work such as volunteer work produces goods and services valued by society. But, as volunteer work is an unpaid activity, what value is attached to this work? Generally, the market is used to determine the value of an object or activity. And, if that activity does not have a price attached to it (e.g., it is free), that activity is seen as having no value (Cassels and Philipps, 1994). As a result, unpaid activities such as volunteer work (and domestic work) are often invisible and devalued (Daniels, 1987; Evans, 1991; Harvey and Narvaez, 1994; National Advisory Council on Voluntary Action, 1978; Neysmith, 1991). In order to reverse this trend, a market value will be placed on volunteer work.

In this market-driven economy, it is important to establish a 'worth'. Economically, this 'worth' can be established in several ways. The first way to value volunteer work is called the market price technique. This technique assigns the unpaid work the same rate of pay as it would cost to hire a person to do the job (Fellegi, 1994; Goldschmidt-Clermont, 1994; Herzog and Morgan, 1992). In a sense, this establishes a fair market value for the volunteer work.

The second technique used to calculate the value of volunteer work is the opportunity-cost model (Fellegi, 1994; Goldschmidt-Clermont, 1994; Herzog and Morgan, 1992). This method estimates the value of the volunteer work on the wage or salary which the volunteer forewent as a result of volunteering versus working at his / her job.

A third method of valuing volunteer work is to use an average wage (Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1990; Ross, 1990) and multiply it by the number of volunteer hours worked. Ross (1990), by using the average service sector wage, estimated the value of Canadian volunteer work to be 12 billion dollars. This amount exceeded the value of six other Canadian industries (trapping and fishing, agriculture, mines and oil wells, forestry, utilities, and communications). This estimated cost does not even include the 841 million dollars of out-of-pocket expenses which the volunteers also contributed and for which they were not reimbursed (Ross, 1990). In the United States, this value balloons. In 1987, American volunteer work was valued at $149 billion (US) and, in 1989, it was valued at $170 billion (US) (Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1990). Based on the above methods of calculation, volunteer work is found to be as productive as average paid work (Herzog and Morgan, 1992).

Many argue that placing an economic value on unpaid activity such as volunteer work obscures the intangible values attributed to such work (Knapp, 1994; International Conference on the Measurement and Valuation of Unpaid Work, 1994; Ross, 1994). They are concerned that an emphasis on monetary value will overshadow the non-monetary attributes of volunteer work and, as a result, devalue such contributions. This argument is ironic in light of the concerns noted previously regarding the devaluation of 'non-work' activities.

I am not discounting the importance of the intangible values associated with volunteer work. It is just that in a world which relies heavily on quantification and on economic values, it is, in part, necessary to quantify this phenomenon. This quantification enables us to understand and appreciate the magnitude of volunteerism and it allows us to compare and contrast volunteerism with other phenomena. Placing an economic value on volunteerism simply gives us another tool with which to work. Thus, we need to recognize both the tangible and the intangible aspects of volunteerism.

The Problematic Dimensions of Defining Volunteer Work

As was noted previously, a commonly accepted and recognized definition of volunteer work has yet tc be entrenched. Despite this lack of a concise definition per se, I found that volunteer work is frequently asscciated with three elements. The three elements which continually surfaced are: the unpaid nature of volunteer work, the concept of free will or choice and the social responsibility of volunteer work. In essence, these three elements form a commonsensical notion of volunteer work.

A problem arises in that these elements are often simply adopted into common usage without examining the implications. This section will examine and problematize these three elements in regards to volunteer work.

The Unpaid Nature of Volunteer Work

In the previous section, I discussed the uneasy relationship between the unpaid nature of volunteer work and how it is valued in society. What I would like to examine here is the problematic premise that volunteer work is unpaid.

Most definitions of volunteering include in some form or another the concept that volunteer work is unpaid. Ellis and Noyes (1990), on the other hand, take a slightly different approach. They suggest that volunteering includes no concern for monetary profit. They elaborate by stating that this means "no personal economic gain but allowing for some form of reward or reimbursement (monetary or other) that is not meant to equal the value of the service given" (1990:4-5).

This aspect of reward or reimbursement is important to address. Many volunteers are recompensed for their services in some form or another. For example, some board members receive honorariums, service volunteers in programs such as Katimavik (Canada) and Peace Corps (United States) received stipends and parents can defray registration fees for their children (e.g., hockey, soccer leagues) by volunteering. In addition, a significant amount of non-monetary rewards can also be found. Volunteers often receive free T-shirts, food, free admissions and a whole host of other side benefits. Widmer (1985) refers to these types of rewards as material incentives.

In general, the recompense for the volunteers is not significant and is usually simply a showing of volunteer recognition and appreciation. Yet these rewards force us to question the 'unpaid' aspect of volunteering. A strict adherence to the 'unpaid' definition would eliminate many activities which are now considered to be volunteer work.

Another interesting aspect of the 'unpaid' nature of volunteer work is that volunteers in many cases incur expenses for doing this unremunerated work (Knapp, 1994; Vaillancourt and Payette, 1986). A recent survey showed that a majority (55.6%) of all Canadian volunteers experienced out-of-pocket expenses in the course of their volunteer work. And, 21.4% were expected to purchase uniforms, equipment and / or supplies in order to perform their duties. (Duchesne, 1989)

Not only do volunteers incur out-of-pocket expenses, they also incur time costs (Herzog and Morgan, 1992; Knapp, 1994; Vaillancourt and Payette, 1986). Time spent performing volunteer work as opposed to paid employment results in a loss of wages. Therefore, volunteer work is not only an unpaid activity but it incurs two forms of liabilities: out-of-pocket expenses and lost wages.

The Concept of Free Will or Choice

The second problematic aspect found in common definitions of volunteer work is the free will / free choice issue. To what extent is our choice to volunteer an issue of free will? To what extent do social structures affect our ability to choose? Instead of engaging in an extensive agency versus structure debate, I will just suggest that the social environments in which we function do influence our choices and decisions - even what we perceive as choices.

Some of these structural forces will be discussed in the following section, but for now I will just highlight three ways in which the ability to freely choose can be placed in question.

The first manner in which one's freedom of choice can be affected is through indirect social pressure. This indirect social pressure often stems from cultural socialization. Covelli's (1985) study of female volunteer board members indicates this cultural expectation or social pressure. These women volunteered out of a sense of 'noblesse oblige', out of an obligation to serve and contribute to their community. This sense of obligation was instilled in them early on and prompted them to volunteer. Covelli suggests that "the dominant class culture ... prepared them for participation in voluntary sector work" (1985:25). If such women have been socialized to volunteer and feel that it is their obligation to do so, is this a free will choice or a foregone conclusion? Are these women even aware that a choice exists? The flip-side to this argument is that if it is socially acceptable / necessary to volunteer, do people who want to be socially included really have a choice NOT to volunteer? Various costs and benefits accompany the decision to volunteer and the approval or disapproval of others weigh heavily in this decision (Jackson, Bachmeier, Wood and Craft, 1995).

Secondly, one's freedom of choice can be affected through direct social pressure. Hougland and Shepard (1985) note in their study of middle-level managers that direct social pressure in the form of a company policy regarding community involvement did affect the managers' voluntary activities. In this case, managers were 'encouraged' to become active in local voluntary activities. Can this type of situation be

construed as free will if the decision can affect your career advancement or even your position?

Other examples of direct social pressure include pro bono work of lawyers and "executive sharing" such as is undertaken by the United Way. Some proponents of volunteer work suggest that this type of 'volunteering' would more accurately be described as donations in kind by the firms rather than volunteerism by individuals (Smith, 1989).

Another example of direct social pressure to volunteer is court-ordered community service. Community service, although ordered by the court, is often found within the realm of volunteer work (Hanson and Henderson, 1983; Hart, 1989). The suggestion is that the offender 'volunteers' to participate in the program. To this extent, community service is considered to be a free will choice.

But, much like the indirect social pressure discussed previously, if the alternative to not volunteering is less palatable than the act of volunteering, does a free will choice actually exist? Hougland and Shepard (1985) discuss this issue and suggest that "external pressure may link "voluntary" action to prospects for future remuneration [and] and an absence of "voluntary" action ... may be linked to the denial of future remuneration" (65). Programs which clearly delineate this type of relationship are student service programs. In these programs, students are required to perform some volunteer work in order to either graduate or to receive educational awards (Battaglia, 1988; Harel, 1992; Nonprofit World Updates, 1993; Serow, 1990; Saunders, 1989).

The third manner in which one's freedom of choice can be affected is through economic pressure. Due to the economic

climate in Canada at this time, many individuals are volunteering in hopes of gaining new skills to improve their job opportunities. For example, 39% of the Canadian volunteers in a recent survey felt that improving their job opportunities was a "somewhat" or "very important" reason for volunteering. And, 65% of the volunteers felt that learning new skills was a "somewhat" or "very important" reason for volunteering (Duchesne, 1989).

These reasons may still contain the element of free choice but when the majority (52%) of work organizations look at volunteer experience when considering a candidate for employment (Hart, 1986), or when the government actively supports using volunteer work as a criterion for hiring and promotion (National Advisory Council on Voluntary Action, 1978), this freedom of choice can be turned into an employment prerequisite. In a sense, individuals may have to complete an unpaid 'apprenticeship' by accumulating volunteer hours and work experience in the desired field in order to obtain employment.

Generally, volunteer work is recognized as and believed to be a useful avenue for increasing one's employability (Hart, 1986; Janey, Tuckwiller and Lonnquist, 1991; Schram, 1985; Vaillancourt and Payette, 1986). What many proponents of this idea do not address are the actual returns garnered by this type of experience. Day and Devlin (1993) examined the labour market returns on volunteer work and found the following conclusions. First, male volunteers systematically received higher returns than female volunteers. Secondly, the type of organization for which one volunteered also had an impact on the labour market returns. Volunteering for economy-related groups (e.g., Chamber of Commerce, Better Business Bureau) was more beneficial than volunteering for environmental or religious

groups. They conclude "that on average women receive little or no return to volunteering" (48).

Another economic pressure for volunteering is the exchange of volunteer hours for a variety of goods and services. In Edmonton, many of the community leagues have initiated the practice of giving sports vouchers to bingo volunteers. These sports vouchers can be exchanged for lower registration fees when enrolling their children in various sports leagues. For individuals who are economically disadvantaged, is this exchange a viable choice or is it the only way they may be able to provide for their families? If the parents' volunteer activities enable their children to participate when it would otherwise not be possible, does this represent a true freedom of choice?

The Social Responsibility of Volunteer Work

The third definitional element of volunteer work to be problematized is the concept of social responsibility. Various proponents of volunteer work strongly believe that voluntary action is a citizen's right and responsibility and that it is an integral and fundamental aspect of social life (Harel, 1992; Johnson, 1988; Mill, 1978; Peters, 1993; Serow, 1989; National Advisory Council on Voluntary Action, 1978). The National Advisory Council on Voluntary Action (1978) even went so far as to suggest that social upheaval may be a result if voluntary activity was not supported. Community work, or volunteer work, is a social glue which holds a community together (Heller, 1991; Milroy and Wismer, 1994).

An interesting aspect which these documents unwittingly delineate is the complex contradiction found within volunteer work. On the one hand, volunteer work is

perceived as being a strong and vital part of Canadian life which government should encourage and support (National Advisory Council on Voluntary Action, 1978). Ginzberg (1990) notes that volunteer work is perceived as the spirit of America. In this light, volunteer work has a stabilizing and regulating effect on behaviour. Articles such as Covelli (1985), Hougland and Christenson (1985) and Hougland and Shepard (1985) all directly or indirectly describe how certain volunteer activities are used to either regulate behaviour and / or socialize individuals into the dominant values of society. In general, much of this type of volunteer work is performed out of a sense of obligation (Widmer, 1985) and community responsibility.

On the other hand, the National Advisory Council on Voluntary Action (1978) also outlined three aims of volunteer work which would counter these regulating and stabilizing effects. First, it was suggested that voluntary organizations and volunteer work would attempt to influence and change established institutions. Secondly, these volunteer efforts would create a countervailing force to government (Mill, 1978) . Thirdly, volunteer work would represent and support minority concerns. Volunteer work which falls into these categories would likely be more revolutionary in nature and, as a result, face increased social pressures and stigmas. Programs and movements such as AIDS volunteerism (Kayal, 1991), the Company of Young Canadians (Daly, 1970), VISTA (Oldfield, 1988) and universal suffrage (Ellis and Noyes, 1990) all represent agitative volunteer work.

The issue of social responsibility becomes problematic when attempting to define socially responsible behaviour. Volunteer work is often implicitly associated with positive social values, but the definition of volunteer work does not

restrict the act of volunteering to these positive values (Cnaan and Amrofell, 1994; Ellis and Noyes, 1990; Fischer, 1995). Volunteer activities can be found along a continuum encompassing all types of activities.

How would you define the actions of Greenpeace activists (volunteers)? How about Pro-Life or Pro-Choice volunteers? Are these volunteers acting in a socially responsible manner? Smith (1982) takes this argument one step further by suggesting that an underground resistance fighter who performs terrorist activities could be considered a volunteer according to the above accepted definition. To this extent, volunteer work is both "conserving and subversive" (Abrahams, 1993).

The term 'volunteer work' is enshrouded with symbolic and emotional meanings (Pearce, 1993), often positive in nature. These symbolic and emotional meanings often include lofty ideals such as freedom (Pearce, 1993), democracy, social responsibility, and civic participation. Another term which has been closely identified with volunteer work is altruism. Defined as "the principle of unselfish regard for the needs and interests of others" (Abercrombie, Hill and Turner, 1988:10), altruism often forms the definitional underpinnings of volunteer work. Assuming for a moment that true altruism even exists, this common association of altruism with volunteer work can be problematic.

This association is problematic in two ways. First of all, I suggest that only acts perceived by the dominant social culture to be altruistic are in fact designated as such. At times, society may even designate certain activities as volunteer work (e.g., women factory workers during the war - Braybon and Summerfield, 1987) in part to capitalize on this image of altruism and giving (Pearce, 1993). Thus, altruism

is as much a social construct as it is an internal causal mechanism.

Secondly, when an action is deemed to be altruistic there is often an automatic inference that the motivational impetus behind that action is also altruistic. There is an on-going debate within the volunteer literature as to whether or not volunteerism is motivated by altruism and / or self-interest (Latting, 1990; National Advisory Council on Voluntary Action, 1978; Pearce, 1993; Schervish, 1992; Smith, 1982; Story, 1992; Van Til, 1985). Based on the many surveys which list multiple motivational factors, I would concur with Story (1992) that volunteer activities possess both self-regarding and other-regarding (altruistic) components. Rather than viewing volunteer work as either self-regarding or other-regarding in a dichotomous and mutually-exclusive relationship, perhaps it would be more advantageous to view various volunteer activities along a continuum from altruism to self-centredness (Flashman and Quick, 1985).

The whole question of whether volunteerism is an altruistic act or, for that matter, an act of free will, unpaid social responsibility depends to a certain extent on who defines the process. As noted previously, society can and does define the act. In addition, both the volunteer her/himself and the recipient of the act can also affect this definition. Shure (1991) outlines how each voluntary act is comprised of three parts: the volunteer, the recipient of the voluntary act, and society. He believes that in order to fully understand and appreciate what a voluntary act is, one must identify and understand the act according to each of the three perspectives.

Identifying and understanding the voluntary act according to each of the three perspectives does not alleviate the need

for a comprehensive definition. Thus, regardless of the flaws associated with any definition, we are still left with the need to adopt and utilize a workable definition.

Thus, for this project, the working definition of volunteering is "to choose to act in recognition of a need, with an attitude of social responsibility and without concern for monetary profit, going beyond one's basic obligations" (Ellis and Noyes, 1990:4). Ellis and Noyes (1990) chose terms broad enough to cover many of the different aspects of volunteering while attempting to circumnavigate some of the issues of concern. As a result, I believe that their definition of volunteering is one of the more useful ones. But, despite the utility of their definition, we must always be conscious of the problematic aspects associated with defining volunteerism.

Volunteerism within a Patriarchal, Capitalist Society

The foregoing sections are important in order to establish a basic definition and understanding of volunteer work. But, volunteer work is not an ahistorical, static phenomenon. In fact, volunteer work itself changes over time. Therefore, to fully understand the complexities of modern volunteer work, we must contextualize it within a twentieth century patriarchal, capitalist system. By rooting volunteer work within this social structure, we can come to appreciate the role which volunteer work plays and how these structures impact on volunteer work.

Both patriarchy and capitalism form systems and structures within which our society develops. To this extent, I agree with the feminist dual-systems theory that contends that both patriarchy and capitalism shape our society and, as a

result, both must be incorporated into an analysis of society's structural relations - especially gender relations (Walby, 1990). Thus, in order to analyze the gendered nature of volunteer work, it is imperative that I include at least a brief discussion of these overarching structures. The intent of this section is not to present an exhaustive discussion of capitalism and patriarchy or to thoroughly debate the current theories. Rather, it is to give a brief overview of two systems which have shaped and formed volunteer work as we know it today.

Patriarchy and Volunteering

Patriarchy has been defined as "a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women" (Walby, 1990:20). All social structures within a patriarchal society are imbued, perhaps to varying degrees, with these tendencies - including volunteer work. However, volunteerism, with all its connotations of altruism, charity, helping and giving, often is not associated with patriarchal tendencies.

One of the more predominant aspects of patriarchy is the division of labour or the occupational sex segregation which accompanies it. This occupational sex segregation predates capitalism (Cockburn, 1988; Middleton, 1988) and it can take two forms - horizontal and vertical.

Horizontal Segregation: The first form of segregation is horizontal in nature. Horizontal segregation divides most work into either male or female designated work (Bradley, 1989; Krahn and Lowe, 1988; Walby, 1988; Witz, 1988). In essence, different occupations are sex-typed and are considered to be socially suitable only for the assigned sex

(Bradley, 1989). This type of segregation occurs between different types of work.

As volunteer work is not socially isolated from such patriarchal structures, it too can be affected by horizontal sex segregation. This type of segregation affects volunteer work in three ways. First, volunteer work, much like caregiving and domestic labour, is generally associated with being women's work. Thus, volunteer work itself is sex-typed. Secondly, the type of organization for which one volunteers is also often sex-typed. In the past, literature has indicated that women often belong to expressive groups and men to instrumental groups (McPherson and Smith-Lovin, 1986; Wilson, 1990). Expressive volunteer groups are essentially accommodative and nurturant in nature with internally oriented activities whereas instrumental volunteer groups are focused more on the political and economic environment with externally oriented activities (Booth, 1972; Hanks, 1981; Pearce, 1993).

The third manner in which horizontal sex segregation affects volunteer work is in the sex-typing of the various volunteer tasks. One of the more striking sex-typed tasks is caregiving. Caregiving is perceived to be women's work (Baines, Evans and Neysmith, 1991; Gallagher, 1991; Graham, 1983; Reitsma-Street, 1991; Rimmer, 1983; Swift, 1991; Taylor, 1991; Thomas, 1993; Ungerson, 1983; Walker, 1983) and volunteer work is often considered to be an extension of caregiving (Gallagher, 1991; Renzetti and Curran, 1989). As volunteers women are primarily concentrated in caring, direct service positions in the areas of social work, nursing and teaching whereas men are often found in political and economic affiliated positions (Baines, 1991; Booth, 1972; Ellis and Noyes, 1990; Marchant, 1985; Odendahl and Youmans, 1994).

Male fraternal orders encapsulate both forms of sex segregation. Male fraternities were established to meet the social needs of men (Ellis and Noyes, 1990), to "promote solidarity among men, to reinforce men's separation from women" and to exercise male power (Clawson, 1986:41; McPherson and Smith-Lovin, 1986). As a result, many of these fraternities often excluded women. In lieu of granting women membership in their fraternities, these male fraternities often established women's auxiliaries within which women volunteered their work (McPherson and Smith-Lovin, 1986). Horizontal sex segregation forms the basis of these fraternal orders.

Vertical Segregation: The second form of segregation which these fraternal orders also exemplify is vertical sex segregation. Vertical segregation refers to the "sexual division of tasks, status, and responsibilities [which exist] within specific occupations" (Krahn and Lowe, 1988:133). The women's auxiliaries are generally governed by the male primary associations and restrict women's participation in the administration and governance of the association. In essence, these auxiliaries are complimentary support systems for the primary association.

This gendered hierarchy in which women work in subordinate and inferior positions to men is apparent within many forms of volunteer work. For example, women volunteers generally hold front-line service positions whereas men hold decision-making positions such as board members (Baines, 1991; Chambers, 1986; Marchant, 1985; Odendahl and Youmans, 1994). Various historical researchers have documented how women's voluntary work, even when it was originally established by women, would often be usurped by male administrators (Baines, 1991; Burbridge, 1994; Chambers, 1986; Ellis and Noyes, 1990; Ginzberg, 1990; Lott, 1994; O'Neill, 1994;

Reisch and Wenocur, 1982; Walby, 1990). Even today, we find a disproportionate number of male volunteers holding the positions of power within the volunteer sector. A distinctive example of this is noted in the 1987 survey on Canadian volunteer work where over 70% of the front-line health-care volunteers were female but three-quarters of the board volunteers were male (Kent, 1989).

Women's work has often been perceived as secondary to men's work (Bradley, 1989; Evans, 1991; Renzetti and Curran, 1989) and this secondary status has simply been transferred to volunteer work. Often women's work and especially caregiving has been perceived as being "natural" for women. And, as it is natural, the assumption which follows is that caregiving, and its extension volunteer work, require few skills. As a result, much of this type of work is invisible and undervalued. (Baldwin and Glendinning, 1983; Bradley, 1989; Daniels, 1987; Renzetti and Curran, 1989; Steinberg and Jacobs, 1994)

Within this discussion of vertical sex segregation, it has been suggested that volunteer work enables women to establish parallel power structures within which they can assert their influence (Rose, 1994). However, within these 'parallel' structures, women may appear to have power, but this power may only be gendered power - available only in sex appropriate areas (McCarthy, 1994; Odendahl and Youmans, 1994; O'Neill, 1994).

In light of the foregoing discussion, it is evident that volunteer work has perpetuated and sustained gendered divisions of labour. To this end, in 1971, The National Organization of Women condemned the act of service volunteering. They asserted that this type of volunteering exploited women's labour. "[S]uch volunteering is an

extension of unpaid housework and of women's traditional roles in the home ... which have been extended to encompass the community [and that] such volunteering reinforces a woman's low self-image by offering work which, because it is unpaid, confers little status" (Ellis and Noyes, 1990:265). Later, the N.O.W. softened its views acknowledging some of the benefits which women do reap by participation in volunteer work.

Women and Volunteer Work: Two beneficial aspects of women's volunteering include the acquisition of work experience and the socially acceptable nature of volunteer work. The acquisition of work experience is an important aspect of volunteer work for many women; they can use volunteer work as a stepping-stone to paid employment (Rose, 1994; Stephan, 1991). While I agree that this can be an important avenue to gain work experience, references and access to job networks, I have some reservations regarding the quality of the work experience. As was noted previously, volunteer work is subjected to horizontal and vertical sex segregation. As a result, many of the job skills learned while volunteering are likely to be gendered in nature. Employment to which a woman wishes to apply these job skills will more than likely also be gendered. This self-perpetuating cycle will continue to restrict women to sex segregated occupations and secondary positions. In addition, the actual labour returns on volunteer work appear to be negligible for women (Day and Devlin, 1993).

A second beneficial aspect of women's volunteering is the socially acceptable nature of volunteer work. With the rise in affluence and leisure time amongst middle and upper class women, volunteer work became a socially acceptable outlet (Baines, 1991; Elkind, 1992). In the late 19th century, women (especially middle and upper class women) were

severely restricted in their career choices. Only a small percentage of jobs were deemed to be socially respectable for women. Thus, volunteer work provided some women with a socially acceptable avenue to escape the confines of the home environment. To this extent, volunteer work was utilized by some women as a employment substitute (Baldwin and Glendinning, 1983; Chambers, 1986; Covelli, 1985; Lichtenstein, 1992; National Advisory Council on Voluntary Action, 1978; Steinberg, 1990; Stephan, 1991). These experiences left women feeling 'let out of the cage' of domesticity (Abrahams, 1993; Braybon and Summerfield, 1987). Although volunteer work was and is restrictive to women due to its patriarchal underpinnings, it still enabled women to experience endeavors perhaps not otherwise possible.

Patriarchy has and continues to affect the development of volunteerism. Women's volunteer roles are restricted and often subordinated to men's roles. In addition to these patriarchal restrictions, the whole notion of caregiving which is intrinsically linked with volunteering places an additional burden on women. Women are socialized to be the primary caregivers whether at home or in society. So, as noted in the earlier discussion of free choice and social responsibility, there is a societal expectation that women provide caregiving.

Taken within a patriarchal framework, the issues of free choice and social responsibility develop a more restrictive connotation. If patriarchy is a system of male domination, oppression and exploitation of women, then the choices women make within this system will more often than not be confined by this very system. Whether or not women are themselves aware of these restrictions does not negate the fact that these restrictions do exist.

If women are charged with a social responsibility to care and are socialized to provide this care (often in the form of volunteer work), the assertion that volunteer work is a freely chosen activity is perhaps overstated. One could argue that within this system women do have a freedom of choice. However, as this system essentially excludes women, the 'free will' choices made are to be questioned.

The Interaction of Capitalism, Patriarchy and Volunteer Work

The second overarching system which shapes and forms volunteer work is capitalism. Capitalism can be simply defined as an economic mode of production in which employees who do not own the forces of production exchange their labour for wages paid by those who do own the forces of production (Krahn and Lowe, 1988). This mode of production allowed for the extraction of surplus value from labour and, as a result, allowed for the accumulation of wealth.

Much like patriarchy, and often in conjunction with patriarchy, capitalism has influenced and continues to influence the development of volunteer work. Three aspects of capitalism are especially instrumental in volunteer work's development. These aspects are the private / public dichotomy, the role of government and the 'volunteer ethic'.

Public and Private Spheres: The first aspect of capitalism's influence to be discussed is the private / public dichotomy. The private / public dichotomy refers to the separation of the private sphere of the household from the public sphere of employment. The public sphere of employment is often associated with men's work, while women's work is often associated with the private sphere of the household (Daniels, 1987; Ostrander, 1989; Taylor, 1991; Tuchman, 1981; Walker, 1983). Despite ongoing discussions

as to the validity and usefulness of maintaining this image of distinct and separate spheres (Abrahams, 1993; Baines, Evans and Neysmith, 1991; Milroy and Wismer, 1994; Ostrander, 1989), the concept of private and public spheres is still in popular usage.

Industrial capitalism intensified this polarization of the public and private spheres (Cohen, 1993) and this polarization further restricted women's work choices. These restrictions were in part due to the popular feminine ideal of the Victorian era. This feminine ideal "involved the absence of work outside the home for money" (Walby, 1990:105). This ideal further segregated women to work in the private sphere and such unpaid work was often undervalued and invisible (Baines, Evans and Neysmith, 1991; Bradley, 1989; Dabrowski, 1984; Evans, 1991; Ferguson, 1991; Krahn and Lowe, 1988; Lott, 1994; Renzetti and Curran, 1989; Walker, 1983).

One of the ways in which women are able to transcend this artificial barrier between the private and public spheres is through volunteer work. Volunteer work stands at the junction between the two spheres and links the individual to the society (Hunter, 1993) and the family to the community (Abrahams, 1993). Volunteer work is considered simply as "an expanded notion of 'women's private' sphere" (Walby, 1990:105) and, as such, is seen as a socially acceptable activity for women. Walby (1990) discusses how volunteer work, although done outside of the home, is able to circumvent a direct conflict with the feminine ideal as it is unpaid. Caregiving, for example, is a task which allowed women access both to the private and public spheres (Baines, 1991; Graham, 1983).

These public and private spheres of labour are instrumental for the operations of industrial capitalism. The private sphere of the household (through women's unpaid labour) and volunteer work provide services and products necessary for the continued success of capitalism (e.g., the reproduction of successive labour forces, the production of food and clothing for the workers and the healing of injured / sick workers). In addition, capitalism needs a surplus labour pool from which it can hire labour cheaply (Weber, 1930). In this capacity, both the private sphere and volunteer work can act as purveyors for this surplus labour pool - absorbing workers when redundant and supplying workers when needed. The private sphere and volunteer work often enable these surplus workers to acquire skills and training at minimal cost to capitalism (Close and Collins, 1983; Groves and Finch, 1983; Walby, 1990).

An interesting aspect of this shift from the private to the public sphere is the preservation of male dominancy. Leaving the private sphere does not reduce male control. Rather, it simply shifts it from private patriarchy to public patriarchy. Private patriarchy situates women's oppression within the private sphere of the household whereas public patriarchy situates it within the public sphere of employment (Walby, 1990) and public policy.

The Role of Government: The specific role of government as a regulatory and governing body within industrial capitalism highlights the second manner in which capitalism affects volunteer work. The classical model of early industrial capitalism was characterized by a non-interventionist government; the government did not regulate the market as much as in more recent times (Abercrombie, Hill and Turner, 1988). It was during this period (early to late 1900s) that volunteers and voluntary associations proliferated. This

expansion of voluntary services was due in part to the rising social needs caused by industrialization, women's availability for volunteer work (as discussed previously) and the absence of a governmental interventionist strategy to deal with the social needs. (Baines, 1991; Chambers, 1986; Ellis and Noyes, 1990; Ginzberg, 1990; Reisch and Wenocur, 1982)

This classical era of capitalism was followed by a period (late nineteen hundreds to late twentieth century) in which the government began to take a more active role in regulating the economy. This action was taken to control some of the excesses of capitalism and to preserve social order (Abercrombie, Hill and Turner, 1988). This 'interventionist' period coincides with the rise of the welfare state. The government placed more emphasis on providing citizens with social services through governmental agencies and, as a result, volunteerism did not garner as much attention as before. (Baines, 1991; Chambers, 1986; Ellis and Noyes, 1990; Ginzberg, 1990; Karl, 1984; Reisch and Wenocur, 1982)

The rise of the welfare state also coincided with the rise of professionalization. This process of professionalization slowly encroached upon the areas of social work, nursing and teaching (Baines, 1991; Chambers, 1986; Ellis and Noyes, 1990; Reisch and Wenocur, 1982) - areas which were initially developed and sustained by predominately female volunteers.

This process of professionalization was to some extent an attack on volunteerism as volunteers were eased out in favour of paid staff with supposed superior skills and knowledge (Baines, 1991; Cnaan, Kasternakis and Wineburg, 1993; Karl, 1984). The professionalization of these areas placed paid staff in direct conflict with volunteers (Reisch

and Wenocur, 1982) which alienated many volunteers. In essence, the unpaid services of female volunteers were being supplanted by paid services of female professionals.

The present form of capitalism in which North America now finds itself is one of government cutbacks and restraint. Governments, finding themselves in financial crisis and debt management, are drawing back from their previous responsibilities. They are abandoning many social programs while admonishing the citizenry to 'take up the slack'. More and more, the burden of providing services is being handed back to the volunteers and voluntary associations as governments attempt to cut costs and reduce the debt. (Britton, 1991; Brudney, 1987; Brudney, 1990; Burbridge, 1994; Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen, 1990; Cnaan, Kasternakis and Wineburg, 1993; Langton, 1982; Lichtenstein, 1992; Loewenberg, 1992; Ostrander, 1985; Torres, Zey and McIntosh, 1991; Van Til, 1982)

These cutbacks and restraints, while perhaps understandable in a time of deficit reduction, warrant a closer look. Are all programs equally targeted or does a patriarchal bias exist? For example, the province of Alberta recently phased out the Alberta Advisory Council on Women's Issues. Why was this committee targeted while other committees were left intact? Which services and programs (provided and / or funded by the government) are being reduced and which ones retain the status quo? I would suggest that women's organizations and programs are more at risk of being reduced and / or eliminated than men's programs due to the patriarchal biases.

These types of cuts in programs and services are direct and observable but some of the consequences of reducing these services are not as so. For example, early release programs

from hospitals are designed to reduce health-care costs and improve patient comfort. What is often not discussed is who will help these patients once at home - most of whom still require substantial care.

In this case, this burden will no doubt be placed upon the traditional caregivers - women. By reducing programs and services, are we increasing the burden placed on women? Are paid women's services (e.g., nursing) being replaced by unpaid women's services (e.g., home caregiving)?

This brief overview of the development of industrial capitalism and the role of government is useful to our understanding of volunteer work. As the burden of the provision of services oscillates between the government and voluntary associations, the role and importance of volunteer work also fluctuates. As a result, volunteer work can be perceived as supplemental to governmental services or as a replacement (Langton, 1982; Van Til, 1982).

Social Class and the Volunteer Ethic: A third aspect of capitalism which affects the development of volunteer work is what I have dubbed the 'volunteer ethic'. I liken this ethic to Weber's discussion of "the calling". Weber described the calling as "the valuation of the fulfilment of duty in worldly affairs as the highest form which the moral activity of the individual could assume" (Weber, 1930:80). My suggestion is that this concept of a calling and the concept of volunteer work are inherently linked. This linkage provides volunteer work with the moral imperative which is evident in the discussion on social responsibility noted earlier.

The volunteer work ethic is a moral and social responsibility to volunteer one's time and money for the

betterment of society. Not to volunteer or to help those in need could otherwise threaten to destroy the fabric of society (National Advisory Council on Voluntary Action, 1978). Thus, this volunteer ethic is defined as both a right and an obligation of citizenship.

This ethic permeates North American society and all social classes, but in somewhat different ways. Interestingly enough, the higher social classes appear to have taken a special sense of ownership of this ethic. Weber, in describing the calling, notes that it is the "fulfilment of the obligations imposed upon the individual by his position in the world" (1930:80). In this case, one's position in the world is defined by one's social class. And, for the higher social classes, these obligations coincide with one's noblesse oblige. Noblesse oblige is "the obligation of honorable, generous, and responsible behavior associated with high rank or birth" (Webster, 1980:771) and is often associated with volunteer work and philanthropy.

While this volunteer ethic may impart images of benevolence, altruism and social responsibility, we must examine its role within a capitalistic, patriarchal society. This volunteer ethic and the accompanying volunteer work can also be used to preserve and maintain the dominance of the governing class. In this sense, volunteer work can be used to display and to exert power.

Volunteer work in general, and especially the very large, very expensive, and very public charity galas, are socially acceptable venues to exert and display one's status (Clough, 1986; Collins and Hickman, 1991; Covelli, 1985; Odendahl and Youmans, 1994). "Charitable activities provide the means for wealthy people to make a legitimate display of themselves and acquire status in the eyes of the

collectivity in general" (Collins and Hickman, 1991:10). To this extent then, public demonstrations of benevolence can serve to maintain status and power distinctions in society.

Aside from displaying one's power, volunteer work can be used to exert one's power. Power can, and is, exerted by the volunteer boards of directors of the various voluntary agencies found in society. These volunteer directors, who often represent the governing class, guide and shape agency policies and, to a certain extent, social policy. They also pick and choose 'acceptable' charities and volunteer work. As a result, hospital and symphony fundraising drives generally benefit from these types of class interests whereas homeless shelters and organizations for the dispossessed (e.g., the John Howard Society) do not (Knapp, 1994; Odendahl and Youmans, 1994). To this extent, the governing class can participate in a form of volunteer work which preserves and maintains their class status (Covelli, 1985; Daniels, 1988; Elkind, 1992; Lichtenstein, 1992; McCarthy, 1982; McCarthy, 1994; Odendahl and Youmans, 1994; Ostrander, 1985; Steinberg, 1990; Widmer, 1987).

Such large social events or galas are interesting and unique examples of volunteer work. They represent a significant area in which women can and do assert power and control. It is often the women who provide the leadership to organize and to host such events. While these events do provide women the opportunity to access and use power, the argument has been made that this power is gendered (Daniels, 1988; McCarthy, 1994; Odendahl and Youmans, 1994; O'Neill, 1994).

First, these social events are seen as simply an extension of women's traditional roles - of caregiving and socializing (Odendahl and Youmans, 1994). Thus, women's participation in these events is seen as gender appropriate. Secondly,

this power is generally restricted to these galas. As Odendahl and Youmans state "women plan the parties, while men make the policies" (1994:207). Thirdly, the money and status which these women use in order to access this power more often than not originate with their male partners (Rose, 1994).

A final manner in which the volunteer ethic can serve to promote volunteer work is through easing worker redundancy. It has been suggested that workers who are no longer part of the employed labour force either through retirement, unemployment or redundancy (e.g., new technologies, down-sizing) could / should become part of the volunteer work force (Fischer, Rapkin, Rappaport, 1991; Kosberg and Garcia, 1985; Rifkin, 1995).

On the one hand, this type of labour transition could ensure that many volunteer projects are fulfilled, thus meeting the needs of the community. On the other hand, this type of development can lead to a two-tiered workforce - those with paid employment and those without. Those without paid employment could suffer from the same afflictions which now beset other unpaid work such as volunteer work, caregiving, childcare and domestic work - that of being undervalued and invisible.

Conclusion

As this chapter has demonstrated, volunteer work is a complex, varied and socially constructed phenomenon. Perhaps this is why a clear and widely accepted definition of volunteer work does not exist. Despite this lack of a commonly accepted definition, volunteer work has often been associated with being unpaid, a freely chosen activity and a

social responsibility. While these elements do highlight some aspects of volunteer work, they are not without their problems.

Regardless of the definition chosen, in order to fully understand the dynamic of volunteer work, one must situate it within the society in which it appears. Volunteer work is a social act and, as such, is subject to and influenced by the social norms and values prevalent in society. And, as this chapter has discussed, patriarchy and capitalism do indeed impact upon the development and the formation of volunteer work. As a result, volunteer work is gendered in nature primarily due to its existence within a patriarchal society. The nature of volunteer work does change over time and is affected by the varying forms of patriarchy and capitalism over time and space. This thesis concerns itself primarily with twentieth century volunteer work within a North American industrial, capitalistic context.

Within a patriarchal system, women are constrained and restricted in their choices and in their actions. Unfortunately, as this chapter has discussed, volunteer work does not necessarily provide women with a reprieve from these constraints. Rather, volunteer work often simply perpetuates the social structures found within the society at large. In order to understand the concept of volunteer work, we must be aware of these patriarchal structures and how these gender patterns affect this phenomenon.

While this chapter has defined and discussed various aspects of volunteer work, the magnitude of the phenomenon has yet to be addressed. Just how popular and widespread is this aspect of social life? Are gender patterns evident within the volunteer participation rates? Does it even warrant special research attention? If the rhetoric of social

responsibility and duty of citizenship holds true, we can expect volunteer work to be a significant force in society. With this in mind, we now turn to the next chapter which will deal with the extent of volunteer work within society.

CHAPTER 3

A Statistical Profile of Canadian Volunteers

The term volunteerism often conjures up such images as altruism, benevolence and social responsibility. True citizenship and civic responsibility are often hailed as fundamental underpinnings of volunteer work. If community work, or volunteer work, is in fact the social glue which is purported to hold a community together (Heller, 1991; National Advisory Council on Voluntary Action, 1978; Milroy and Wismer, 1994), we should expect to see these moral objectives translated into volunteer participation rates.

Another image which volunteerism produces is that of the Lady Bountiful. The Lady Bountiful figure, often perceived to portray the 'typical' volunteer, imparts the image of an upper class woman who dispenses her caregiving to those in need. Is the Lady Bountiful image representative of the volunteer population in general or is it simply an idealized conception founded on incomplete historical accounts?

The intent of this chapter will be to analyze the extent and magnitude of volunteer work in Canada today as well as to determine who performs such work. First, I will examine the volunteer rates within the general population. These rates will indicate who is most likely to volunteer. For example, what percentage of the female population volunteers? Secondly, I will study the profile of volunteers. This profile will outline and describe the volunteer population. For example, what percentage of volunteers are female? I will also examine the reasons for volunteering, the type of organizations people volunteer for and the type of volunteer work which they perform.

These rates and profiles will be obtained primarily from one recent survey although I will also present supporting documentation from additional sources. This survey is entitled Giving Freely: Volunteers in Canada (Duchesne, 1989) and represents the most recent nation-wide survey on Canadian volunteerism. This large scale survey was attached to a Labour Force survey undertaken by Statistics Canada. Although the reference year of the survey was November 1986 to October 1987, I will refer to this survey using the publication date of 1989.

Rates of Volunteerism Within the General Population

By all accounts, volunteer work does appear to be a fairly wide-spread phenomenon. Not only does a significant part of the population actively participate in volunteer work, the spin-off effects of this activity impact on an even larger portion of the population. In Canada, approximately 5.3 million or 27% of the population aged 15 and over volunteered their time. These volunteers gave on average 192.4 hours of volunteer time per year. As a result, the reference year witnessed over one billion hours of volunteer time. (Table 3-1)

In order to determine the participation rates within the general population, the rates of volunteerism will be broken down according to seven demographic variables. The seven variables will include sex, age, education, marital status, labour force status, income and province.

The first demographic variable to be examined is sex. In this survey, 30% of the female population and 24% of the male population volunteered (Table 3-1). In general, women do volunteer more than men and this pattern is confirmed by

many studies (Colasanto, 1989; Hayghe, 1991; Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1988; Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1990; Independent Sector, 1981; Independent Sector, 1986; Statistics Canada, 1981).

Aside from a small dip in the participation rate of the 20 to 24 year olds (15%), age reflected a curvilinear pattern (Table 3-1). Twenty percent of the 15 to 19 year olds and 27% of the 25 to 34 year olds volunteered. The age group which had the largest participation rate of 36% were the 35 to 44 year olds. The remaining three age groups displayed a gradual decrease in participation as follows: 45 to 54 years (31%), 55 to 64 years (27%) and 65 years and over (22%).

The third variable of education showed a direct positive relationship between education attained and the rate of volunteerism (Table 3-1). The higher the level of education attained, the higher the rate of participation. Of those respondents who had only primary school or high school, the participation rates were 13% and 24% respectively. Respondents with some post-secondary or a post-secondary certificate / diploma had roughly similar rates of volunteerism (31.0% / 35.0%). By far, the educational group with the highest level of participation were those with a university degree (46.0%).

Various studies confirm and support these findings for both education and age. The relationship between age and participation is curvilinear with the highest percentage of participation falling in the 35 to 45 age group. Between level of education and participation, the relationship is a positive one. (Colasanto, 1989; Hayghe, 1991; Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1988; Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1990; Independent Sector, 1981; Independent Sector, 1986; Statistics Canada, 1981).

Marital status is the fourth demographic variable to be examined. This survey found that 31.0% of married people and 19.0% of single people volunteered. Volunteer participation rates for separated / divorced or widowed people were in the middle - 24.0% and 21.0% respectively. Thus, married individuals volunteered the most and single individuals volunteered least (Table 3-1).

While many additional sources agree with this conclusion (Hayghe, 1991; Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1990; Independent Sector, 1986; Statistics Canada, 1981), two surveys do differ. One survey found that single people volunteered the most (Independent Sector, 1981) and the other found that divorced / separated and widowed individuals had lower rates of participation than single people (Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1988).

The fifth variable is labour force status. The categories for labour force status were full-time, part-time, unemployed and not in the labour force. Respondents employed part-time had the highest participation rate of 36.0% (Table 3-1). Full-time employees followed with 27.0%. Unemployed persons (23.9%) and persons not in the labour force (25.0%) had the lowest rates of participation. Other surveys do agree that part-time individuals have the highest participation rates with full-time employees in second place (Hayghe, 1991; Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1988; Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1990; Independent Sector, 1981; Independent Sector, 1986; Statistics Canada, 1981).

Much like education, household income and rate of volunteerism were positively related - as income increased so did participation rates. Participation rates ranged from a low of 18% (under $10,000) to a high of 40% ($60,000 or more). Interestingly enough, respondents who had a

household income of $30,00 or more had participation rates in excess of the average general population rate of 27% (Table 3-1).

This positive relationship is supported by the various other studies (Hayghe, 1991; Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1990; Independent Sector, 1986) with one exception. Hodgkinson and Weitzman (1988) noted that although the trend was generally positive in nature, both the income categories of $40,000 to $49,999 and $75,000 to $99,999 showed decreases in rates of participation. Also of note is the survey done by the Independent Sector (1981). This survey separated the traditional 'under $10,000' category into three distinct categories (under $4,000, $4,000 - $6,999, $7,000 - $9,999) and found quite a degree of variability within these income brackets.

The last variable to be discussed in this section is the participation rates across the provinces (Table 3-1). The prairie provinces topped the participation rates with 40.0% of Albertans, 37.0% of both Saskatchewan and Manitobans volunteering. Quebecers, Newfoundlanders and Ontarians had the lowest participation rates - 19.0%, 25.0%, 26.0% respectively. A 1981 survey done by Statistics Canada exhibited similar rates with Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Alberta remaining in the top three positions (albeit a different order). The provinces with the lowest rates were Quebec, Ontario and New Brunswick (instead of Newfoundland). Unfortunately, I have not been able to find any research articles addressing these interesting regional differences.

To summarize, those Canadians who had the highest volunteer participation rates within the general population were: women, people in the 35 to 44 year age group, those who had university degrees, married persons, part-time employees,

those who had a household income of $60,000 or more a year and those who lived in Alberta.

Table 3-1 - Volunteering in Canada, 1989

	Participation Rates	Volunteer Profile
Participation Rate	27.0%	
Sex: female	30.0%	56.5%
male	24.0%	43.5%
Age: 15-19 years	20.0%	7.1%
20-24 years	15.0%	6.3%
25-34 years	27.0%	23.6%
35-44 years	36.0%	25.3%
45-54 years	31.0%	14.9%
55-64 years	27.0%	11.9%
65 years and over	22.0%	10.9%
Education: 0-8 years	13.0%	8.0%
high school	24.0%	46.0%
some post-secondary	31.0%	10.0%
post-secondary diploma	35.0%	17.0%
university degree	46.0%	19.0%
Marital Status: single	19.0%	19.0%
married	31.0%	72.0%
separated/divorced	24.0%	5.0%
widowed	21.0%	5.0%
Labour Force Status: full-time	27.0%	51.2%
part-time	36.0%	13.0%
unemployed	23.0%	4.5%
not in labour force	25.0%	31.3%
Income: under $10,000	18.0%	5.0%
$10,000-$19,999	21.0%	13.0%
$20,000-$29,999	26.0%	14.0%
$30,000-$39,999	31.0%	20.0%
$40,000-$59,999	34.0%	21.0%
$60,000 or more	40.0%	13.0%
not stated	20.0%	14.0%

Source: Duchesne, Doreen (1989), Giving Freely: Volunteers In Canada

Table 3-1 continued on following page

Table 3-1 (Continued) - Volunteering in Canada, 1989

		Participation Rates	Volunteer Profile
Province:	Alberta	40.0%	13.1%
	Saskatchewan	37.0%	5.2%
	Manitoba	37.0%	5.7%
	Prince Edward Island	33.0%	0.6%
	Nova Scotia	32.0%	4.1%
	New Brunswick	30.0%	3.0%
	British Columbia	29.0%	12.4%
	Ontario	26.0%	35.0%
	Newfoundland	25.0%	2.1%
	Quebec	19.0%	18.8%

Source: Duchesne, Doreen (1989), Giving Freely: Volunteers In Canada

A Profile of the Volunteers

The first part of this chapter focused on volunteer participation rates within the general population. The second half of this chapter will outline and describe the volunteer population. Much of the volunteer literature treats volunteers as a group - often implying that this group is homogenous. This section will demonstrate that volunteers are in fact a very diverse group.

This diversity must be taken into account when attempting to draw generalizations regarding the volunteer population in general. Studying a small subset of volunteers (e.g., firefighters) which may or may not be indicative of the volunteer population in general can be problematic if the conclusions are extended to address all volunteers.

The volunteer profile will be established using the same seven demographic characteristics used in the previous section. These seven variables are sex, age, education,

marital status, labour force status, income and province. In order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of these volunteers, three further variables which will also be discussed. These variables are why individuals volunteer, what type of organizations they volunteer for, and what type of work they perform.

While the conception of the Lady Bountiful may distort the image of a 'typical' volunteer and underestimate the contribution of men to volunteer work, the majority of volunteers are in fact women (Independent Sector, 1981; Statistics Canada, 1981). To this extent, the widely-held perception of women as volunteers is upheld by this survey. Of volunteers, 56.5% were women and only 43.5% were men (Table 3-1). This pattern lends credence to the argument made in the previous chapter that due to horizontal sex segregation and the private / public dichotomy, volunteer work is perceived to be and is in fact primarily women's work.

The age profile of the volunteers resembled that of the rate of participation within the general public. The relationship was predominately curvilinear in form with one exception - the 20 to 24 year olds. This age group broke from the curvilinear form and also represented the fewest number of volunteers (6.3%). Other than this exception, the curvilinear form started at the 15 to 19 year old group (7.1% of the volunteers) peaked at the 35 to 44 year group with 25.3% of the volunteers and slowly declined to the 65 year old and over group (10.9% of the volunteers). Almost 50% of all volunteers were between the ages of 25 and 44 (Table 3-1). This pattern reflects both the higher rates of volunteering within this category and the fact that this age group represents a large proportion of the Canadian population.

The 1981 Canadian survey indicated a similar age profile of the volunteers (Statistics Canada, 1981) but, as the population ages, we can expect this heavy concentration of volunteers within the 25 to 44 year range to level out somewhat. Of note is the Independent Sector's 1981 survey which found that the majority of volunteers were in the 18 to 34 year range. This survey indicated that the age of the volunteer population resembled a u-shaped curve rather than a curvilinear form.

When examining the third variable, education, we find that the majority of volunteers had a high school level of education (Independent Sector, 1981; Statistics Canada, 1981. While people holding university degrees had a higher participation rate, most volunteers had high school (46.0%). This is due to the fact that there are simply more people with high school than people with university degrees. Forty-six percent of all volunteers had levels of education of some post-secondary or higher (Table 3-1).

Where marital status is concerned, married people predominated as volunteers (72%). Single individuals accounted for 19.0% of the volunteers and separated / divorced and widowed individuals represented 10.0% of the volunteers. The 1981 survey (Statistics Canada, 1981) reflects a similar volunteer profile (Table 3-1). Again, the explanation lies in the higher rates of volunteering among married Canadians and the fact that the majority of adult Canadians are married.

The fifth variable to be examined is labour force status. Most volunteers were employed full-time - 51.2% (Table 3-1). The participation rate of part-time employees was much higher than of full-time employees. But, as there are proportionally more full-time employees in the population,

full-time employees also predominate as volunteers (Statistics Canada, 1981). Volunteers not in the labour force were also significantly represented at 31.1%. The unemployed made up a very small percentage of all the volunteers (4.5%).

As we have found with some of the other variables, the highest participation rate does not always equal the highest volunteer percentages. This was also the case for household income. The participation rate was highest for the $60,000 or more category but, due to population distribution, the largest percentage of volunteers was found in the $40,000 to $59,999 bracket (Table 3-1).

While no one income category strongly predominated over the group, a modest curvilinear relationship was evident. The fewest volunteers were found in the under $10,000 category (5.0%). The $40,000 to $59,999 category had the most volunteers with 21% and the $60,000 or more category declined with 13% of the volunteers (Table 3-1).

By far, the province with the most volunteers was Ontario with 35.0% of the volunteers. Due to the sheer mass of inhabitants in Ontario, this is not surprising. Quebec followed a distant second with 18.8% of the volunteers and Alberta was third with 13.1%. Since Alberta has only about 10% of the Canadian population, this finding reflects the high rates of volunteering in Alberta. The very small populations of New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island were in part reflected by their small percentages of volunteers (3.0%, 2.1% and 0.6% respectively). A similar pattern was found in the 1981 survey (Statistics Canada, 1981) but, instead of Alberta in third place, it was British Columbia (Table 3-1).

To summarize briefly, the typical volunteer is a high school educated, married woman between the ages of 35 and 44 who is employed full-time, has a household income of $40,000 to $59,000 and lives in Ontario.

The last three variables to be discussed in this chapter are why individuals volunteer, what type of organizations they volunteer for and what type of work they perform. In fact, these are the three items which have garnered much attention in the volunteer literature.

Reasons for Volunteering

Why do people volunteer? The literature on volunteers' motivations is quite extensive and generally does not yield a single definitive answer.

In the case of the 1989 Canadian survey on volunteering, respondents were asked to rate the importance of 15 different reasons for volunteering (Table 3-2). Four of the reasons overwhelmingly rated as important included helping others (92%), helping a cause one believes in (88%), feeling that one has accomplished something (86%) and doing something one likes to do (86%).

In fact, 10 of the 15 reasons elicited a rating of important by over 50% of the volunteers. This type of response pattern could be an indication that individuals volunteered for a multitude of reasons or, for that matter, that there was a strong social desirability in effect when respondents rated the reasons.

The reasons rated as important by less than 50% of the respondents include fulfilling religious obligations or beliefs (44%), improving one's job opportunities (39%),

having influence in community affairs or political life (39%) and helping to maintain and promote one's own heritage or language (37%). Although these reasons garnered the least amount of support, still over one-third of respondents found these to be important reasons for volunteering (Table 3-2).

Table 3-2 - Reasons for Volunteering

Reasons	Important	Not Important	Not Stated
Help Others	92%	2%	5%
Help a Cause	88%	6%	6%
Feeling of Accomplishment	86%	8%	6%
Enjoy Task	86%	9%	6%
Use of Skills / Experience	78%	16%	7%
Meet People	74%	20%	6%
Benefits Self,Children,Family	69%	24%	7%
Learn New Skills	65%	27%	8%
Obligation to Community	61%	32%	6%
Obligation to Volunteers	56%	36%	7%
Use of Spare Time	51%	43%	5%
Religious Obligations	44%	50%	7%
Improve Job Opportunity	39%	53%	8%
Influence Community Affairs	39%	54%	7%
Maintain Heritage / Language	37%	56%	7%

Source: Duchesne, Doreen (1989), Giving Freely: Volunteers In Canada

Over half of the responses listed included terms which directly or indirectly reflect the discussions previously held on the issue of social responsibility and the volunteer ethic. The terms such as "helping" and "obligation" tie into this notion of a citizen's social responsibility. And, the feeling of accomplishment and the feeling of obligation to one's community could be an extension of the volunteer work ethic - a moral and social responsibility to fulfil

one's duty (Gillespie and King I, 1985; Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1988; Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1990; Independent Sector, 1981; Independent Sector, 1986).

Another interesting point which these responses raise is the whole discussion surrounding volunteer work and altruism. The previous chapter problematized this common association and suggested that volunteer work is both altruistic and egoistic. The responses listed in the survey appear to support this argument. While the concept of altruism is clearly indicated by the responses which included the desire to help, many of the responses indicated an egoistic motivation such as doing work that benefits one's own children, family or self, learning new skills, improving one's job opportunities, and meeting people / companionship (Gillespie and King I, 1985; Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1988; Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1990; Independent Sector, 1981; Independent Sector, 1986).

The two remaining variables to be discussed in this chapter are the type of organizations which individuals volunteer for and the type of work which they perform. Due to the sex segregation and public / private sphere separation found within a patriarchal, capitalistic society, I expect to find gender differences within these two variables.

Types of Organizations in Which Canadians Volunteer

The various organizations for which individuals volunteered were grouped into 12 categories (Table 3-3). The organizations represented were quite diverse, however the majority of the volunteers (57%) were grouped within only four types of organizations. The four most popular types of organizations for which volunteers donated their time were religious (17.0%), sports and recreation (16.0%), education

and youth development (14.0%) and health (10.0%). Social services (9.0%) and society and public benefit (8.0%) followed closely in fifth and sixth position. Types of organizations which had the smallest percentages of volunteers included environment and wildlife (2.0%), law and justice (1.0%) and foreign and international (1.0%).

A variety of other studies and surveys also point to the popularity of certain types of organizations. The types of organizations for which individuals most frequently volunteer include religious, health and education and youth organizations (Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1988; Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1990; Independent Sector, 1981; Independent Sector, 1986; Statistics Canada, 1981).

In order to determine whether or not a gendered pattern of participation emerges between the different types of organizations, the sex of the volunteers will be cross tabulated by type of organization (Table 3-3). In doing this, we find some distinctive sex-typing by type of organization. Women strongly dominated within health (77.0% female / 23.0% male), foreign and international (69.0% female / 31.0% male) and social services (66.0% female / 34.0% males). On the other hand, men dominated in the following three organizations: employment and economic interest (62.0% male / 38.0% female), environment and wildlife (62.0% male / 38.0% female), and sports and recreation (60.0% male / 40.0% female).

These gendered patterns of participation were also evident in two other studies which classified type of organization by sex of volunteers (most surveys do not do this). In both cases, women were more heavily concentrated in health and education organizations whereas men were concentrated in

recreation, work related and civic / community action (Independent Sector, 1981; Statistics Canada, 1981).

Of note is the fact that only two organizations exhibited an approximately equal number of female and male volunteers: multi-domain (52% and 48% respectively) and arts and culture (58% and 42% respectively). A suggestion for future research projects would be to compare and contrast sex-typed organizations with organizations which are gender neutral.

Table 3-3 - Type of Organization

	Total	Female	Male
religious organizations	17.0%	65.0%	35.0%
sports and recreation	16.0%	40.0%	60.0%
education and youth development	14.0%	65.0%	35.0%
health	10.0%	77.0%	23.0%
social services	9.0%	66.0%	34.0%
multi-domain	9.0%	52.0%	48.0%
society and public benefit	8.0%	49.0%	51.0%
employment and economic interest	6.0%	38.0%	62.0%
arts and culture	4.0%	58.0%	42.0%
environment and wildlife	2.0%	38.0%	62.0%
foreign / international	1.0%	69.0%	31.0%
law and justice	1.0%	62.0%	38.0%
other	0.0%	0.0%	65.0%
unidentified or not stated	3.0%	3.0%	3.0%

Source: Duchesne, Doreen (1989), Giving Freely: Volunteers In Canada

These percentages indicate that in fact some types of organizations are sex-typed. This evidence suggests that men are more heavily involved in employment / economic and environment / wildlife types of organizations and lends credence to the argument that men predominate in instrumental organizations (Booth, 1972; McPherson and Smith-Lovin, 1986). These instrumental organizations could

be just an extension of the public sphere of employment which has traditionally been dominated by men.

If volunteer work is considered simply as "an expanded notion of 'women's private' sphere" (Walby:1990:105) and since caregiving is integral in this private sphere (Baines, 1991; Graham, 1983), it is no wonder that women dominate in the health and social services types of organizations. These types of organizations carry the private sphere of the household into the public sphere. Nevertheless, these organizations represent a foothold for women in the public sphere of employment.

However, to extend this idea even further, at what point do these organizations cease being footholds and commence being roadblocks? At what point does the sex-typed nature of the organization interfere with recruitment and retention of volunteers? Do women conceive of themselves as volunteers in male-dominated organizations? Do male dominated-organizations encourage and recruit female volunteers? These types of questions relate back to the discussion of free will and social responsibility in the previous chapter. What is a preferred or free choice and what is a socially structured and dictated choice?

Types of Volunteer Work

The last variable to be discussed in this chapter is the type of work performed by these volunteers. And, like the type of organization, this variable will also be cross-tabulated with sex. Here again, I anticipate a gendered pattern of participation. As respondents in the 1989 survey were allowed to list multiple activities, the percentages do not add up to 100%. Rather, these percentages indicate the frequency with which an activity was performed.

This survey listed over 25 different types of activities which volunteers performed (Table 3-4). The following is a list of activities in which at least one-quarter of the volunteers participated. These activities ranked from most to least frequent were as follows: fundraising (49.7%), providing information (47.1%), organizing events (46.0%), sitting as a board member (34.5%), recruiting volunteers (32.8%), counselling (32.8%), teaching (31.0%), promoting ideas (29.1%), preparing or serving food (28.4%) and office work (25.2%).

The activities in which less than 10% of volunteers participated included protecting the environment (6.9%), professional consulting (4.7%), fire-fighting / emergency services (4.4%) and translating (2.0%).

The profile of the volunteers stated that 56.5% of volunteers were female and 43.5% were male. If a gendered pattern of participation did not exist, it would be reasonable to expect similar sex differences within the different types of work performed. Instead, of the 25 different types of activities listed, 14 had a gendered pattern of participation. A gendered pattern of participation was considered to exist if the female or male percentages were at least 5% higher or 5% lower than the participation rates of 56.5% and 43.5% respectively. (e.g., women's percentages were either higher than 61.5% or lower than 51.5% and men's percentages were either higher than 48.5% or lower than 38.5% (Table 3-4).

Of the sex-typed activities (excluding the category 'other'), women predominated in the following 6 categories: making items (81.0%), preparing or serving food (75.0%), selling items (69.0%), collecting, distributing food or other goods (67.0%), providing care or companionship,

friendly visiting (66.0%) and office work (62.0%). On the other hand, men were found to be primarily concentrated in 7 categories: repairing, maintaining, building facilities (73.0%), professional consulting (71.0%), fire-fighting, first-aid, search and rescue (71.0%) coaching, refereeing, judging (67.0%), protecting the environment, wildlife, other animals (58.0%), sitting as a board member (53.0%), and promoting ideas / researching /writing (49.0%).

Table 3-4 - Type of Work

	Total	Female	Male
fundraising, canvassing for funds	49.7%	58.0%	42.0%
providing information	47.1%	53.0%	47.0%
organizing events, supervising or co-ordinating activities	46.0%	54.0%	46.0%
sitting as a board member	34.5%	47.0%	53.0%
counselling, providing advice, friendly support	32.8%	52.0%	48.0%
recruiting volunteers	32.8%	52.0%	48.0%
teaching, educating	31.0%	54.0%	46.0%
promoting ideas, researching, writing, speaking	29.1%	51.0%	49.0%
preparing or serving food	28.4%	75.0%	25.0%
office work, administration, bookkeeping, library work	25.2%	62.0%	38.0%
selling items	23.9%	69.0%	31.0%
providing care or companionship, friendly visiting	23.6%	66.0%	34.0%
collecting, distributing food or other goods	19.9%	67.0%	33.0%
helping in a religious service	19.4%	60.0%	40.0%
guiding groups	18.9%	56.0%	44.0%
making items	18.6%	81.0%	19.0%
coaching, refereeing, judging	18.1%	33.0%	67.0%
performing, entertaining	15.6%	57.0%	43.0%
canvassing (other than for funds)	15.0%	54.0%	46.0%
repairing, maintaining, building facilities	14.6%	27.0%	73.0%
protecting the environment, wildlife, other animals	6.9%	42.0%	58.0%
professional consulting	4.7%	29.0%	71.0%
fire-fighting, first-aid, search and rescue	4.4%	29.0%	71.0%
translating	2.0%	58.0%	42.0%
other	15.8%	63.0%	37.0%

Source: Duchesne, Doreen (1989), Giving Freely: Volunteers In Canada

While many of these activities were indeed sex-typed, eleven types of activities were not. They included: fundraising, providing information, organizing events and activities, counselling and providing advice, recruiting volunteers,

teaching and educating, helping in a religious service, guiding groups, performing and entertaining, canvassing and translating. Are these volunteer activities 'gender neutral' because they are also not sex-typed within society in general? How do these activities differ from the sex-typed activities? Are there perhaps other, more subtle differences, for example, in the status and hierarchy of these activities? Additional research is needed to compare and contrast activities which are and are not sex-typed.

As with the type of organization, this survey has highlighted certain gender patterns within the type of work done by volunteers. This sex-typing of volunteer activities could be viewed as an extension of the sexual division of labour discussed in the previous chapter. Within a patriarchal, capitalistic society, work can be horizontally segregated according to the sex of the worker. In this chapter, horizontal sex segregation is evident at three levels. First, most volunteers are women thus suggesting a sexual division of labour between volunteer work and other forms of work. Secondly, the types of organizations for which individuals volunteer also appear to be sex segregated. Thirdly, the types of work performed by female volunteers often differs from the types of work done by male volunteers. As a result, horizontal sex segregation is compounded three-fold.

Additionally, all voluntary organizations are ranked hierarchically. One's status as a volunteer depends on the organization for which one volunteers. For example, volunteering with the Chamber of Commerce provides a volunteer with a higher status than if that same volunteer works for Meals on Wheels. This status is accentuated when membership in the voluntary organization is determined by invitation only (e.g., Junior League). With this and a few

other exceptions, Fischer (1993) suggests that higher status organizations are indeed predominantly male.

The second form of sex segregation addressed previously is vertical sex segregation. Since volunteer work is subjected to patriarchal, capitalistic pressures, and because horizontal sex segregation is evident within volunteer work, the suggestion that vertical sex segregation is also present would be reasonable. Vertical sex segregation in essence establishes a form of hierarchy. This hierarchical ranking could impact on volunteer work in the following manner.

Every task and / or position within an organization could be hierarchically categorized according to the perceived importance of that task / position. For example, sitting as a board member is generally considered more influential and advantageous than working on the front-lines in serving a client population. This segregation becomes even more complex when volunteers indicate that they perform the same activities but under vastly different circumstances. An example of this may be two people who co-ordinated activities: while one co-ordinated the local bake sale, the other co-ordinated a multi-thousand dollar fundraising campaign. While both activities are categorized as co-ordinating activities, there are distinct differences in the complexity and perceived importance of the two tasks.

Unfortunately, the question of whether vertical sex segregation occurs within volunteer organizations and to what extent can not be answered by this survey. This survey did not include any references to rank or position of the various types of volunteer work performed. Using occupational prestige scales as models (Abercrombie, Hill and Turner, 1988), future research could rank the various

types of volunteer work according to their social standings and perceived importance within volunteer work.

Conclusion

This chapter began by questioning various images conjured up by the term volunteerism. The first image was that of social responsibility and whether or not volunteer work is the 'glue which binds society together'. In order to examine this issue further, the volunteer rates of participation within the general population were analyzed.

Canadians in general have a significant participation rate with over one-quarter of the population volunteering. In general, Canadians with the highest levels of participation were those who were female, married, lived in Alberta and who were part-time employees. Age had a curvilinear relationship with participation rates whereas level of education and income were positively related to volunteering.

These rates indicate that a large percentage of Canadians volunteer. However, volume alone does not ensure that volunteer work binds society together. It has been argued that volunteer work can actually maintain and accentuate differences within society, for example class (Covelli, 1985) and race differences (Stanfield II, 1993). Or, as discussed in chapter two, volunteer work can be a divisive force - agitative and revolutionary in nature. Therefore, while these rates do indicate that a large proportion of Canadians volunteer, they can not answer the question of whether or not volunteering binds a society together.

Unfortunately, data on Canadian volunteer work is minimal. The only two nation-wide surveys conducted in Canada were done in 1981 (Statistics Canada) and 1989 (Duchesne). These two surveys, as dated as they are, represent the most current national information available. This is quite unfortunate as the years 1987 to the present have seen some dramatic changes which can affect volunteer work dramatically. One of the more significant changes is governmental cutbacks and government reliance on volunteers to deliver public services (Britton, 1991; Brudney, 1990; Burbridge, 1994; Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen, 1990; Cnaan, Kasternakis and Wineburg, 1993; Lichtenstein, 1992; Loewenberg, 1992; Torres, Zey and McIntosh, 1991).

To this extent, we would be advised to follow the lead of the Independent Sector in the United States. They have established a biennial survey on giving and volunteering. Launched in 1988, these surveys are intended to reflect the trends within American giving and volunteering.

The second image questioned in this chapter was the stereotypical image of the Lady Bountiful volunteer. To determine whether or not the Lady Bountiful image was appropriate, a profile of the volunteer population was examined. The typical volunteer is a high school educated, married woman between the ages of 35 and 44 who is employed full-time, has a household income of $40,000 to $59,000 and lives in Ontario. According to this profile, the image of the Lady Bountiful is not upheld. First of all, the majority of volunteers are employed full-time (51.2%) - thus challenging the image of the 'career' volunteer. Secondly, the average household income of volunteers is $40,000 to $59,999. While this range of household incomes represents a very comfortable income level, it by no means encompasses the very affluent often associated with the Lady Bountiful.

Thirdly, a large portion of volunteers (43.5%) are in fact men - thus dispelling the myth of the "Lady" Bountiful.

This chapter also examined reasons for volunteering, type of organizations for which people volunteered, and the type of work they performed. The reasons for volunteering clearly indicate both altruistic (e.g., helping others and helping a cause one believes in) and egoistic (e.g., work benefits oneself and learning new skills) motivations. Examining the types of organizations and the type of volunteer work not only emphasized the wide range of voluntary activity but also highlighted certain gendered patterns of participation. Men and women do differ in the types of organizations for which they volunteer (e.g., women volunteer for health and social service organizations and men volunteer for employment and sports organizations) and the types of work they perform (e.g., women make items, prepare or serve food and sell items whereas men repair and build facilities, consult professionally and provide emergency services). Given that we live within a patriarchal society with a well-developed gendered division of labour, these differences are not surprising. These gender differences in volunteer work simply mirror what is found within the society in general. Unfortunately, these surveys do not explore these gendered differences in more depth. They do not examine whether or not the reasons for volunteering are gendered and to what extent vertical sex segregation is evident within volunteer organizations.

Volunteer work is indeed a gendered activity. Not only is it often perceived as women's work, women form the majority of volunteers. The influence of North American patriarchy is not only evident in how volunteer work is defined but also in its patterns of participation. As gender appears to be fairly significant within volunteer work, to what extent

is gender addressed within the research literature on volunteering? Does the knowledge produced regarding volunteer work incorporate and discuss these elements of gender? To examine these issues further, we now turn to chapter four.

CHAPTER 4

Research and Volunteer Work: The Continued Absence of Women

Volunteer work involves over one-quarter of the population and affects an even greater percentage (Duchesne, 1989; Pold, 1990; Ross, 1994). It represents a significant economic value within the economy (Duchesne, 1989; Pold, 1990; Ross, 1994). And finally, an abundance of rhetoric exists which professes the social significance and value of volunteer work. Yet despite these claims, volunteer work remains an under-researched area. Various researchers have pointed to this deficiency and have suggested the need for further research (Christiansen-Ruffman, 1985; Ellis, 1985; Hodgkinson, 1985; Petersen, 1985). However, we lack a strong research tradition in volunteerism and still rely heavily on rhetoric.

This lack of knowledge is compounded even further when focusing on gender and volunteer work. Despite an acknowledged lack of information and calls for increased research in this area (Abrahams, 1993; Carson, 1993; Christiansen-Ruffman, 1985; Dempsey, 1989; Brudney and Durden, 1993; Brudney and Kluesner, 1992), gender has seldom been chosen as the focus for volunteerism research. Asche and Janey (1989) surveyed the research interests of social science faculty and the perceived research needs of volunteer practitioners and found that both ranked `gender patterns' quite high (ranked 2 and 4 respectively). Yet, despite this purported interest, gender in volunteering still remains under-researched. All too often gender is considered an extraneous item of interest rather than a fundamental aspect of social life.

Definitionally and statistically gender is significant in regards to volunteer work. As was discussed in the second chapter, gender is intertwined with how volunteer work is defined as well as perceived within a patriarchal society. In addition, the third chapter which outlined the statistical profile of volunteers clearly indicates that volunteer work is a gendered activity. Given this importance of gender to volunteer work, it is surprising to find that gender is an under-researched area of volunteer work.

So why is gender relegated to this insignificant position within research? How have the processes of research overlooked this important dimension of volunteer work? It has been suggested that obtaining funding for volunteerism research projects in general has been a problem (Asche and Janey, 1989) but this still does not explain the absence of gender on a whole.

While this research project will not focus on epistemological questions per se, it will address what types of knowledge are produced and who produces this knowledge. Who the knowledge producers are and what types of knowledge they produce is often a reflection of society. Knowledge does not simply come into existence independent of social reality. Rather, knowledge is socially situated and socially constructed. To this extent, knowledge is a product of the environment in which we live. Therefore, we can expect patriarchal influences to affect the production of knowledge regarding volunteer work.

Knowledge is produced and re-produced in a variety of manners. One of the more common forms of accessing and distributing knowledge is through research published in articles. Published articles on any given subject matter

give that subject credence, validity and the acknowledgement of its existence. These articles shape knowledge by setting guidelines, expectations and thought patterns. Published articles form the structural foundation on which further analysis and knowledge is built (Spender, 1981). To this extent, unpublished knowledge and research does not exist (Spender, 1981). As a result, published articles represent a cornerstone of academic thought.

Published articles wield a certain form of power. On the one hand, they can popularize a subject matter by bringing it to the forefront of research discussions. On the other hand, articles can isolate and exclude other subject matters by discussing them negatively or worse, not discussing them at all. To this extent, published articles can direct and guide research agendas.

In addition to guiding and directing research agendas, published articles can also influence and affect practice. One of the main reasons for performing research and publishing articles is to translate the findings into 'real world' practice. If research did not have a practical application, the value of this research would be greatly reduced.

We also must keep in mind that, as previously mentioned, knowledge is often a reflection of society. Knowledge is socially situated and socially constructed. Therefore, social structures such as patriarchy can and do influence the production of knowledge. Gender patterns evident within society will in part be reproduced by research and published articles.

The objectives of this chapter are three-fold. First, this chapter will provide a brief overview of the types of issues

addressed within the volunteer work literature and the extent to which gender appears to be addressed. Secondly, through the use of a quantitative and a qualitative content analysis, two volunteer journals will be examined in detail for gender content. Not only will the quantity of gender references in the articles be determined, but the significance and the magnitude of these references will also be examined. Thirdly, the issue of who produces this volunteer knowledge will be examined. A quantitative analysis of the two journals will reveal the sex and the affiliation of the authors. By incorporating feminist concerns regarding the social production of knowledge within a patriarchal society, this chapter will explore the issues behind the absence of research on gender and volunteer work.

Overview of Volunteer Work Literature

In order to gain a better understanding of the issues addressed within this field, I briefly reviewed a significant portion of the volunteer literature. By examining the titles of all relevant articles found within the Sociological Abstracts (1974-1994), I gained some insight into the types of issues which these articles address.

In total, there were roughly 420 articles which directly addressed volunteer work. As this overview focused exclusively on the titles of the articles, there was the possibility of overlooking certain articles whose titles did not reflect their content or of including articles which were not appropriate.

Aside from the articles which discussed volunteer work in general (approximately 8%), I found that most articles could

be grouped into four categories. By no means are these categories exhaustive or comprehensive. They are simply meant to reflect the trends found within the volunteer work literature. In ascending order of frequency, the four categories are community and citizen development, political economy, volunteer programs and structures and volunteer characteristics. These categories are not mutually exclusive as many articles overlapped two or more categories.

Community and citizenship development was the first discernable category to arise out of the overview. Roughly 8% of the articles fell into this category. These articles focused on community and neighbourhood development and interaction as well as on citizen involvement and participation. One of the more intriguing questions posed by these types of articles was whether or not community volunteers were representative of and acting in the best interest of the community as a whole. These articles often reflect some of the issues previously discussed regarding issues of social responsibility and the volunteer ethic (Austin and Woolever, 1992; Cnaan, 1991; Lippitt and Van Til, 1981; Schoenberg, 1980; Wandersman, Florin, Friedmann and Meier, 1987).

The political economy category represented approximately 10% of all the relevant articles. This category included articles on the social welfare system, the role of government, society in general and public versus non-profit or third sector issues. Many of these articles were theoretical and abstract in nature. A theme evident in many of these articles was the role of government vis-a-vis the nonprofit sector. Similar issues regarding the role of government were raised in chapter two when volunteer work was situated within a patriarchal, capitalist society

(Bauer, 1990; Himmelstein, 1993; Lohmann, 1992 Ostrander, 1989; Salamon, 1987).

Volunteer programs and structures was the third largest category of articles. Over 24% of all the articles fell into this category. Most of these articles simply described or outlined a specific volunteer program. These articles generally did not critically examine the volunteer program - its mandate, its operations or the demand for its services. There appeared to be a general assumption that these volunteer programs were needed, that they served a clientele and that the services rendered met the needs of the clientele.

The most frequently described volunteer programs were social service (Black, 1990; Cyr and Dowrick, 1991; Hoad. 1991; O'Donnell and Stueve, 1985; Riley 1981) or human service programs (Baines, 1992; Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen, 1990; Cook, 1988; Falgout and Forsyth, 1988; Watts and Edwards, 1983). Other types of volunteer programs described by these articles included emergency response (Britton, 1991; Perkins, 1990), recreation (Avery and Bergsteiner, 1980; Beamish, 1985), criminal justice (Kratcoski and Crittenden, 1982; Williams, 1989) and religious programs (Cnaan, Kasternakis and Wineburg, 1993; Wuthnow and Nass, 1988).

By far, the most common type of article found in the volunteer literature described characteristics of volunteers. This category accounted for almost half of all the volunteer articles (47%). Demographic characteristics were the most common characteristics mentioned and included age (Cnaan and Cwikel, 1992; Krajewski, 1988; Perry, 1983; Salmon, 1985; Stevens, 1991), sex (Anderson and Osmus, 1988; Dempsey, 1989; Marchant, 1985; McPherson and Smith-Lovin, 1986; Palisi and Palisi, 1984), race (Davis, 1982;

Dickerson, 1987; Florin, Jones and Wandersman, 1986; Latting, 1990; Tomeh, 1981) and socioeconomic status (Hougland, Kim and Christenson, 1979; Smith and Baldwin, 1974; Woodard, 1988).

Smith (1994) summarized the literature on volunteer participation and found that middle aged (35 - 55) persons with high socio-economic status (income, occupational prestige and education) volunteered most frequently. He noted that women and whites appeared to volunteer more but that due to inconsistencies and differences within the studies, this conclusion might be problematic.

Other issues discussed in this category include motivation / reasons for volunteering (Clary, Snyder and Ridge, 1992; Gora and Nemerowicz, 1991; Puffer and Meindl, 1992), volunteer job satisfaction (Cutler, 1981; Gidron, 1984; Telep, 1986), volunteer retention and turnover (Gidron, 1984; Miller, Powell and Seltzer, 1990; Paradis and Usui, 1987) and personality characteristics and values of volunteers (Barker, 1989; Rohs, 1986; Sundeen, 1992).

Of interest to this research project is the fact that of the 420 articles included in this overview, only approximately 15% of them included any reference to gender in the title. Thus, this synopsis appears to support other researchers' assertions that gender and volunteer work is under-researched. However, the titles of the articles may not be indicative of the content of the articles. Therefore, this brief overview may not be an accurate assessment of the content of the actual articles, and a more detailed look at some of these articles would be useful.

In addition, even if articles and / or titles include gender references, the significance and the value of that reference

is still unclear. References to gender are only useful to the extent that they advance the knowledge regarding gender and volunteer work. Articles which simply support and perpetuate stereotypes or that do not probe the implications of stated gender differences do their readers a disservice. These articles may appear to address gender (and in some cursory way they do), but they do not tangibly contribute to the existing knowledge base regarding gender and volunteer work. Exploratory and explanatory articles on gender and volunteer work are few and far between. These questions concerning the exact quantity and the quality of references to gender will be examined in the following section.

The Gendered Nature of Volunteer Work Literature

If the literature overview is any indication, gender, as other researchers have mentioned, is under-researched. To examine this issue more comprehensively, a content analysis of the articles contained within two volunteer journals will be performed. This content analysis will examine both the quantity of articles which contain gender references and the quality of such references. Additionally, the sex and affiliation of these articles' authors will also be included.

This content analysis is modelled on two articles uncovered by the literature review. The articles are by Christiansen-Ruffman (1985) and Brudney and Durden (1993). Both of these two articles examined the frequency of gender references in volunteer articles. The authors conducted longitudinal, quantitative content analyses of the same volunteer journal (the Journal of Voluntary Action Research) for earlier time periods.

Christiansen-Ruffman (1985) examined all the articles within the Journal of Voluntary Action Research for the years 1972 to 1983. Of the 260 articles found, the majority of the articles did not even mention gender. Of the articles examined, 89.2% did not mention sex or gender, 6.6% had a minimal table or section which examined sex or gender and 4.2% focused on sex or gender. Based on these findings, Christiansen-Ruffman noted that "we lack a detailed knowledge about the distinctive participation of women and men [and that] women have been largely invisible, both as researchers and as subjects of research" (1985:94).

The second study which also examined the presence of gender within volunteer work articles was completed by Brudney and Durden (1993). They surveyed every article published from 1972 to 1991 in the Journal of Voluntary Action Research and its' successor the Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly. Much like Christiansen-Ruffman, Brudney and Durden found that the vast majority of articles did not address women.

On average, only 1.7% of the articles focused on the topic of women and the voluntary sector. In fact, the topic of women and the voluntary sector ranked 18th out of a list of 25 highlighted topics. Unfortunately, the Christiansen-Ruffman and the Brudney and Durden articles can not be compared on this aspect as they used decidedly different criteria for categorizing an article as being gendered or not. Brudney and Durden (1993) focused exclusively on the articles addressing women and the voluntary sector whereas Christiansen-Ruffman (1985) included both articles which focused on sex or gender as well as articles which just incorporated a table or section on sex or gender.

In addition to examining the gender content of the articles contained within this journal, both studies also included an

analysis of the authors' sex. Christiansen-Ruffman (1985) found that 68% of the articles were authored by men and only 15% were authored by women. Brudney and Durden (1993) on the other hand found a much larger percentage of women authors. They noted that 35% of the articles had women authors.

Between these two studies, there is a marked variance in authorship. This variance could be attributed to any or a combination of any of the three following reasons. First, as the time-lines are different, there could be an actual increase in women authors. Secondly, Christiansen-Ruffman (1985) was uncertain of the sex of the author in 9% of the articles. A third possible reason for the variance could be due to different categorizations. Christiansen-Ruffman separated out collaborative efforts between male and female authors which the Brudney and Durden study did not.

In general, it is problematic to lump sole authorship in with collaborative efforts as they are not accorded the same status. Often collaborative efforts are devalued within academic circles (Ward and Grant, 1991). Ward and Grant (1991) suggest that "[c]ollaboration is a survival strategy for many women scholars, especially those doing research and writing that is controversial and not wholly acceptable as "real" scholarship by gatekeepers in their disciplines and institutions" (250). Given the perceived feminized nature of volunteer work and the general devaluation of women's work (as discussed previously), research and writing on volunteer work may not fall within this realm of "real" scholarship.

In addition to the authors' sex, Brudney and Durden (1993) also noted the authors' affiliations. The vast majority of those authors (88.7%) had a university affiliation. Roughly

2% of the authors worked for government and 14.5% had neither a university or a government affiliation.

An Updated and Extended Content Analysis

The following content analysis will incorporate some of the elements of these two articles. First, through a quantitative content analysis, I will determine how many articles include any form of reference to gender. Secondly, also through a quantitative analysis, the author's sex and affiliation for all the articles will be determined. Subsequently, the author's sex and affiliation for only those articles which contained a gender reference will also be noted. Finally, unlike the previous studies, I will examine the significance of those gender references using a qualitative analysis.

This longitudinal content analysis will cover a five year time span from 1990 to 1994 inclusive. The two journals chosen for this study are The Journal of Volunteer Administration and the Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly. The Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly is the successor to the Journal of Voluntary Action Research - the same journal used in the previous two studies. To simplify matters, The Journal of Volunteer Administration will be abbreviated to JVA and the Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly will be shortened to NVSQ. For more information regarding the choice of the journals, please refer to Appendix A.

The justification for replicating studies already undertaken is that this content analysis goes beyond the previous studies in four fundamental ways.

First of all, I will compare, contrast and analyze two separate journals rather than just using the one. This will give me the opportunity to examine a broader range of information sources available regarding volunteer work.

Secondly, I will be analyzing the most recent volumes of these journals for a five year time period (1990-1994). The article by Christiansen-Ruffman, while more closely approximating my content analysis than the Brudney and Durden (1993) article, is after all over 10 years old. Dated research can be as misleading as inaccurate research as it may not reflect the current state of affairs.

Thirdly, this content analysis will examine **any** reference to gender found within the articles. In contrast, the other two studies included only articles which primarily focused on gender or which had at least a sub-section on gender.

The fourth difference between this content analysis and the previous studies is perhaps the most fundamental of all. Unlike the other two studies, I will analyze the content and significance of the gender references in a more detailed manner. Using a qualitative content analysis, I will examine and gauge the value of the gender references. Gender references are only as valuable as the contribution they make to the social production of knowledge. I will highlight how these gender references do or do not advance the knowledge about gender and volunteerism. And, as argued earlier, I will suggest that the gendered nature of this literature may influence the practice of volunteer work thus reproducing gendered patterns of behaviour.

Quantitative Analysis of Articles

The Journal of Volunteer Administration

The Journal of Volunteer Administration (JVA) is the journal published by the Association for Volunteer Administration (AVA). This journal is geared towards "anyone who shares a commitment to the effective utilization of volunteers". The goal of this association and its' journal is "to promote professionalism and strengthen leadership in volunteerism" (Association for Volunteer Administration, inside front cover). This journal is targeted primarily to those individuals working within the volunteer field and thus represents a gauge for the type of information accessed by volunteer practitioners. The JVA has been published since 1982. The association itself has been in existence under one name or another since 1960 (American Association of Volunteer Services Coordinators 1960-1975; Association for Administration of Volunteer Services 1975-1979; Association for Volunteer Administration 1979-present)(Ellis and Noyes, 1990).

The Journal of Volunteer Administration was analyzed for a five year time period. As the journal year did not coincide with the calendar year, the journal year was used. Thus, journal volumes 8 through 12 were used which included fall 1989 to summer 1994.

Using the guidelines outlined in Appendix A, this five-year time period was represented by 127 articles. Of these 127 articles, 49 (38.6%) had some form of reference to gender (Table 4-1). While this percentage may seem fairly high in contrast to the estimates from the literature overview (15%) and from the Christiansen-Ruffman article (10.8%), we must keep in mind that decidedly different criteria were used for

this research project. Specifically, this analysis was much more comprehensive and inclusive.

Table 4-1 - Articles Containing Gender References

	All Articles	'Gendered' Articles
The JVA	127	49 (38.6%)
NVSQ	143	41 (28.7%)

The Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly

The second journal included in this research project is the Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly. The NVSQ is sponsored by the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action (ARNOVA). This association is "an autonomous interdisciplinary and interprofessional association of scholars and professionals interested in and engaged in research, scholarship, or programs related to voluntary action in any of its many forms" (Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action, 1994). The association, founded in 1972, was originally called the Association of Voluntary Action Scholars and, in 1990, the association name was changed to the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action. This journal is primarily aimed at researchers and academics with a heavy emphasis on academic and theoretical articles. The journal has been published under two names: The Journal of Voluntary Action Research (1972-1988) and the Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly (1989-present). (Ellis and Noyes, 1990)

Journal volumes 19 to 23 corresponding to the years 1991 to 1994 were chosen for analysis. For this five-year time period, 143 items were analyzed and 41 (28.7%) of those items contained gender references (Table 4-1).

Thus, comparing the two journals, the JVA contained approximately 10% more articles which made some form of reference to gender. Based on these findings, it would appear that the JVA addresses gender more frequently than the NVSQ.

However, both journals contained a substantially higher percentage of articles with gender references than did the literature overview (15%), the Christiansen-Ruffman study (10.8%) or the Brudney and Durden study (1.7%). These large differences could be attributed to a much more comprehensive selection process or, perhaps, there was indeed an increase over time in the actual amount of gender references.

Quantitative Analysis of Authors' Sex and Affiliation

In addition to what knowledge is produced, we must become cognisant of who the producers of this knowledge are. First of all, not everyone has equal access to the production of knowledge. As knowledge is socially situated and is a reflection of society, the production of knowledge is heavily influenced by the controlling forces within society such as patriarchy. Thus, people occupying the power positions within society have greater access to the production of knowledge than people who are not in this 'inner circle of power'.

Social institutions, sociological discourse and theory have been and still are heavily dominated by men (Acker, 1989;

Chafetz, 1989; Smith, 1989). Most agents of knowledge are upper-class, white men (Acker, 1989; Chafetz, 1989; Harding, 1987; Smith, 1989; Stanley and Wise, 1990; Ward and Grant, 1991). Various researchers have noted this predominance of male 'knowers' and have highlighted the need for a more inclusive approach (Christiansen-Ruffman, 1985; Morgan, 1981; Spender, 1981; Ward and Grant, 1991).

Secondly, the researcher and the object of the research have a reflexive relationship (Driscoll and McFarland, 1989; Harding, 1987). This "reflexivity of social science" (Harding, 1987:9) affects who is an agent of knowledge and what knowledge is produced. The gender of the author impacts on how he or she creates knowledge (Driscoll and McFarland, 1989; Harding, 1987; Stanley and Wise, 1990). Thus, male researchers would generally produce predominately 'male' knowledge.

By examining the authorship of these volunteer articles, we can determine who produces this volunteer knowledge. For example, who produces the knowledge regarding gender and volunteer work? Do women author a higher percentage of "gendered" articles than men?

Using a quantitative content analysis, the sex and affiliation for all the authors will be determined for each journal in turn. This analysis will be performed using the research methods described in Appendix A. Subsequently, an analysis of the authors' sex and affiliation for only those articles which referenced gender will be conducted.

The Journal of Volunteer Administration

The authors' sex was noted for the 127 articles included in this analysis. An astounding 70.1% of all the items

analyzed had solely female authors. This high percentage of female authors is particulary significant given the much lower percentages of 15% and 35% noted by Christiansen-Ruffman (1985) and Brudney and Durden (1993) respectively. In addition, Ward and Grant (1991) in their analysis of 10 sociology journals noted that women in general represented only 20% of all authors. Thus, The Journal of Volunteer Administration has a significantly higher percentage of female authors than would be expected. Men, on the other hand, only authored 18.1% of the items analyzed, while 11% of the items were co-authored by both women and men (Table 4-2).

Table 4-2 - Sex of Authors (JVA)

	All Articles	Gendered Articles
* female author(s)	70.1%	69.4%
* male author(s)	18.1%	20.4%
* collaborative effort between women and men	11.0%	8.2%
* sex of author unknown	0.8%	2.0%
	100%	100%

When focusing exclusively on the items which included gender references, we find quite similar patterns in authorship. Female authors accounted for 69.4% of the gendered items whereas male authors accounted for only 20.4%. Collaborative efforts between women and men represented 8.2% of all the gendered items (Table 4-2).

In addition to the authors' sex, the affiliation of the authors was also noted. Given that this journal is targeted

primarily to those individuals working within the volunteer field and its' affiliation with the Association for Volunteer Administration, it is not surprising to find that the majority of authors (65.4%) are practitioners. Researchers authored 24.4% of the articles and collaborative efforts between practitioners and researchers accounted for 10.2% of the articles (Table 4-3).

Table 4-3 - Affiliation of Authors (JVA)

	All Articles	Gendered Articles
* practitioner(s)	65.4%	55.1%
* researcher(s)	24.4%	40.8%
* collaborative effort between researcher(s) & practitioner(s)	10.2%	4.1%
	100%	100%

An interesting shift takes place when we focus exclusively on the items which included gender references. Within the gendered items, practitioners only account for 55.1% of authors. This represents a 10.3% drop in authorship. Researchers on the other hand increased their authorship from 24.4% for all items to 40.8% of gendered items. This 16.4% increase in authorship is quite noteworthy. Collaborative efforts between researchers and practitioners also experienced a drop from 10.2% for all items to 4.1% of gendered items.

These substantial differences in authorship between all articles and the gendered articles could signify a fundamental difference in awareness of the importance of gender. Perhaps researchers are more aware of the

importance of gender. Perhaps they are more sensitized to the importance of including gender in articles. This gender sensitivity could be primarily due to the social sciences environment which emphasizes the importance of issues of gender. Why are practitioners less apt to include gender in discussions on volunteer work? Perhaps, as they are not part of the social sciences environment, they are unaware of the importance of gender. Practitioners generally focus on the management of volunteer programs and perhaps they simply are unaware of gender implications within these programs. On the other hand, Daniels (1988) suggests that issues of gender (much like issues of class) are often ignored or denied by the very people who participate in the volunteer field - and this would include practitioners.

While no definitive answers to these questions can be given at this point in time, a cross-tabulation of sex and affiliation can perhaps offer some suggestions. By cross-tabulating sex and affiliation, we find that for all the articles as well as for the gendered articles female practitioners predominated (55.1% and 44.9% respectively). Female researchers were the second most common type of authors with 14.2% of all articles and 24.5% of gendered articles. Male researchers were the third most common authors. They authored 9.4% of all the articles and 10.2% of the gendered articles. In fourth place, male practitioners accounted for 8.7% of all the articles and 10.2% of the gendered articles (Table 4-4).

This cross-tabulation provides us with some interesting conclusions. Proportionally, female researchers authored more gendered articles than any other group of authors. Thus, the earlier conclusion that researchers authored proportionally more gendered articles than practitioners was only partially correct. It is the female researchers who

proportionally authored more gendered articles - not the male researchers.

Table 4-4 - Authors' Sex and Affiliation (JVA)

Affiliation and Sex of Author	All Articles	Gendered Articles
Practitioner		
Female	55.1%	44.9%
Male	8.7%	10.2%
Collaborative	1.6%	---
Unknown	---	---
Researcher		
Female	14.2%	24.5%
Male	9.4%	10.2%
Collaborative	4.7%	4.1%
Unknown	0.8%	2.0%
Collaborative		
Female	0.8%	---
Male	---	---
Collaborative	4.7%	4.1%
Unknown	---	---
	100%	100%

The Journal of Volunteer Administration is unique in the fact that the vast majority of its' authors are female. Also, it departs from typical academic journals in that the majority of its authors are practitioners and not academics. Of note is that female researchers proportionally authored more of the gendered articles than did female practitioners.

Despite the obviously gendered nature of volunteer work, female practitioners appear to be less concerned with issues of gender than female researchers. Perhaps these practitioners do not find gender as significant as the

female researchers do or they are unaware of the importance and implications of gender issues within volunteer work. A third possibility could be avoidance and / or denial. As was mentioned previously, Daniels (1988) suggests that issues of gender are ignored and / or denied by some volunteers. Volunteer work is "just the service women traditionally do to support and maintain the society [and] thus their gender tasks support the status quo" (xxvii) of a patriarchal system. To this extent, the system in which practitioners work and which they perpetuate is gender biased.

In order to increase the amount of "gendered" articles within the JVA, practitioners must start addressing issues of gender in more significant numbers. In addition, it would be advantageous for researchers to showcase their "gendered" work more frequently in this journal.

Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly

The authors' sex was noted for the 143 articles included in this study. Female authors accounted for 18.9% of the articles whereas male authors were responsible for the majority of articles (62.9%). While these percentages show a substantial divergence from the JVA , they more closely approximate the authorship patterns noted by Ward and Grant (1991). Collaborative efforts between men and women were also quite common with 11.9% of all articles falling into that category (Table 4-5).

Table 4-5 - Sex of Authors (NVSQ)

	All Articles	Gendered Articles
* female author(s)	18.9%	26.8%
* male author(s)	62.9%	48.8%
* collaborative effort between women and men	11.9%	22.0%
* sex of author unknown	6.3%	2.4%
	100%	100%

When examining solely the gendered articles, we find a significant shift in authorship. Women's authorship rises to 26.8% which is a 7.9% increase. On the other hand, male authorship falls to 48.8% - a decrease of 14.1%. Collaborative efforts also experience a 10.1% increase with 22% of the articles being co-authored by men and women. While men still predominately author most articles (including gendered articles), there are significant changes in the pattern of authorship between all articles and only those gendered articles.

Affiliation of the authors was the second item to be analyzed. As the NVSQ is sponsored by an association which supports and promotes research, it is not surprising that 91.6% of the 143 articles were authored by researchers. Practitioners authored only 5.6% of the articles and 2.8% were collaborative efforts (Table 4-6).

Table 4-6 - Affiliation of Authors (NVSQ)

	All Articles	Gendered Articles
* practitioner(s)	5.6%	4.9%
* researcher(s)	91.6%	90.2%
* collaborative effort between researcher(s) & practitioner(s)	2.8%	4.9%
	100%	100%

The percentage breakdown of the authors' affiliation does not vary much between all the articles and only the gendered articles. Researchers still predominate as the authors with 90.2%. Practitioners and collaborative efforts both account for 4.9% of the authorships of gendered articles.

In an effort to more accurately pinpoint the authorship of the journal articles, a cross-tabulation of authors' sex and affiliation was done. For all of the journal articles, male researchers were by far the most predominant form of authorship with 60.8%. Female researchers followed at a very distant second with 15.4% and collaborative efforts accounted for 11.9% of all articles. The remaining combinations of authorship were negligible. (Table 4-7)

These results clearly indicate that male researchers are the most common type of author in this journal. These results contradict the editor of the NVSQ (Van Til, 1992) who states that "voluntary action research has come a long way from the days when ... the overwhelming proportion of researchers were men" (1).

Table 4-7 - Authors' Sex and Affiliation (NVSQ)

Affiliation and Sex of Author	All Articles	Gendered Articles
Practitioner		
Female	2.8%	4.9%
Male	2.1%	---
Collaborative	0.7%	---
Unknown	---	---
Researcher		
Female	15.4%	21.9%
Male	60.8%	48.8%
Collaborative	11.9%	17.1%
Unknown	3.5%	2.4%
Collaborative		
Female	0.7%	---
Male	---	---
Collaborative	2.1%	4.9%
Unknown	---	---
	100%	100%

When examining this cross-tabulation of authors' sex and affiliation for only the articles which referenced gender, we find small but marked differences in authorship patterns. Women and collaborative efforts were more apt to author gendered articles than their general representation would have expected. Women authored 21.9% of the gendered articles and collaborative co-authorships between men and women accounted for 17.1%. While these increases in authorship may not be very large, they do mark a distinctive trend upwards. This trend is in direct contrast to the male researchers who authored only 48.8% of the gendered articles which represented a 12% decrease.

Summary of Quantitative Analysis

In general, the authorship patterns within the Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly are distinctly different from those of The Journal of Volunteer Administration. While the JVA showcased primarily female practitioners' articles, the NVSQ was dominated heavily by male researchers. This difference can no doubt be attributed to not only the intended purpose of the journals but also to their intended audiences.

The JVA is intended to promote volunteerism and is primarily directed to those working directly in the volunteer field. As the majority of practitioners within the field are in fact women (Brudney, Love and Yu, 1993; O'Neill, 1994; Preston, 1994; The Coordinators of Volunteers Association, 1994), it would follow that women and practitioners would be well represented as authors.

The NVSQ, on the other hand, is intended to promote active research in the field of voluntary action and reaches a research-orientated audience. Thus it is not surprising to find the vast majority of authors to be researchers. And, as only 23.7% of full-time university faculty in Canada are female (Statistics Canada, 1994), to find that the majority of authors were male was also to be expected.

A pattern which is consistent for both journals is the increase in authorship by female researchers from all the articles to only those articles containing gender references. It appears that female researchers are more apt to include gender in their articles than male researchers or, for that matter, female practitioners. A key question is whether including more women authors in these journals would translate into more 'gender-sensitive' articles? To

what degree do these women authors address gender and how do these articles advance our knowledge regarding gender and volunteer work? These questions will be addressed in the following section on the qualitative analysis of the 'gendered' articles.

In the JVA, women and practitioners published at a much higher rate than in the NVSQ. Yet, despite the fact that this journal is a widely used resource within the volunteer community and is an avenue for women to gain publishing experience, this journal is not listed in the Sociological Abstracts.

Not being listed in this publication resource has two implications. First, the exposure to a wider audience seeking volunteer information is curtailed. Secondly, by not being included with the other volunteer journals (or journals which carry volunteer articles), it would appear that this journal somehow is less important or lower status than the other journals which are listed. As a result, a journal which provides an excellent venue for women's contributions is sidelined.

It has been argued that women are generally excluded from being agents of knowledge or knowledge producers (Harding, 1987). Most agents of knowledge are upper-class, white men (Acker, 1989; Chafetz, 1989; Harding, 1987; Smith, 1989; Stanley and Wise, 1990; Ward and Grant, 1991) with social institutions, sociological discourse and theory being heavily dominated by men (Acker, 1989; Chafetz, 1989; Smith, 1989).

Various researchers have noted this predominance of male 'knowers' and have highlighted the need for a more inclusive approach (Christiansen-Ruffman, 1985; Morgan, 1981; Spender,

1981; Ward and Grant, 1991). Hence, it is important to highlight and encourage women's contributions.

Men also predominate as gatekeepers. Gatekeepers "are the people who set the standards, produce the social knowledge, monitor what is admitted to the systems of distribution, and decree the innovations in thought, or knowledge, or values" (Smith, 1978:287 as referenced in Spender, 1981:187). And, these gatekeepers often use their power to perpetuate and protect their Weltanschauung (Spender, 1981). Along with gatekeeping powers, men possess and control definitional power. Their concepts of value, goodness and truth often become the socially accepted definitions (Chafetz, 1989). Could this be why The Journal of Volunteer Administration is not listed as a journal in the Sociological Abstracts?

Between being able to establish socially accepted definitions and often being the gatekeepers of the social production of knowledge, it is no surprise that male researchers and male interests predominate (Stanley, 1992). While The Journal of Volunteer Administration has significant numbers of female authors, the more visible Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly does not. Thus, the NVSQ is a good example of men predominating as the producers of a certain kind of knowledge - that of higher status research.

Have these patterns of authorship changed over time as Van Til (1992) and Brudney and Durden (1993) contend? Using both the Christiansen-Ruffman (1985) and the Brudney and Durden (1993) articles, we can examine whether there have been any changes in the patterns of authorship.

Of all of the articles contained within this analysis, 18.9% were authored by women, 62.9% were authored by men and 11.9%

were collaborative efforts. The sex of the author was unknown in 6.3% of the articles. In her study, Christiansen-Ruffman found that 15% of the authors were women, 68% were men and 8% were collaborative efforts. For 9% of the articles the authors' sex was unknown. Women appear to have had a slight increase (3.9%) in authorship between these two studies whereas men have declined (5.1%). Collaborative efforts also have increase by 3.9%. These changes could be due to actual changes in the patterns of leadership or due to other methodological issues (e.g., the percentages of unknown sex of authors is reasonably large for both studies).

The Brudney and Durden (1993) article noted that 35% of the articles in their study had women authors. Due to differing categories, no direct comparison can be made between Brudney and Durden's article and the current analysis. But, by adding the female authorship (18.9%) with the collaborative efforts (11.9%) and the unknown category (6.4%), we find that 37.2% of the articles within the current analysis have / could have female authors. By either comparison, we find it a possibility that female authorship has indeed risen albeit by a very small margin.

Qualitative Analysis of Gender References

Quantifying the number of articles which contain references to gender within the volunteer literature presents only a partial picture. We can learn more by examining the content of these articles in more detail. Simply including a gender reference within a volunteer article does not ensure that gender is adequately represented nor does it necessarily advance the knowledge base regarding gender and volunteer work. To examine this issue further, a qualitative content

analysis of the gender references will be conducted. This type of analysis goes considerably beyond the basic quantifying of gender found in previous research.

A qualitative analysis allows the researcher to locate the phenomenon within a social context (Driscoll and McFarland, 1989; Duelli Klein, 1980 as referenced in Driscoll and McFarland, 1989:187). By utilizing a qualitative analysis, the gender references can be analyzed within the context of the article as well as within the knowledge base of volunteer work as a whole.

In order to gain a comprehensive overview of the types of gender references made, these references were grouped into six categories. These categories emerged out of my analysis and, while the placement of the gendered articles in these categories was subjective in nature, the intent was to provide a structure from which conclusions could be made. The categories were: article focused on gender per se, article had significant gender components, article included statistical differences between men and women volunteers, article focused on gendered organizations / programs, article mentioned that gender was a factor within volunteer work, and article included gender references not related to volunteer work.

Article Focused on Gender

The first category included all articles which focused on gender as the subject matter. The primary intent of these articles was to discuss gender within volunteer work. Although this category represented the most significant contribution to the knowledge base regarding gender and volunteer work, it was also the smallest category. This

category was poorly represented in both the JVA and the NVSQ.

Within the JVA, two percent of the gendered articles fell into this category but this translated into only 1 article of the 49 (Table 4-8). This article focused on older women who volunteer. The article highlighted that the majority of senior volunteers were women and this trend would no doubt continue as the population ages. The article also contained a fairly comprehensive breakdown of numerous demographic variables. The object of this article was to discuss these older women's needs and expectations regarding volunteer work and how these needs were to be met in order to provide these women full and long lasting volunteer experiences (Stevens, 1993).

The NVSQ fared slightly better in regards to this category with 4.9% of its gendered articles focusing on gender (Table 4-8). Yet still, this only represented two articles out of the 41. The first article authored by Stephan (1991) also addressed the issue of senior women volunteers. This article concluded that, for women, volunteer work can be a stepping stone to paid employment as well as a paid work substitute. For women, volunteer work often took the place of paid work. This substitution was primarily due to the various constraints and demands placed on women and volunteer work was simply more amenable than paid work positions.

The second article by Rose (1994) addressed the emergence of a women's funding organization which collected and distributed funds by women and for women. The need for this type of funding organization was due to the predominance of men both at the board / management level of other funding organizations and to the weak funding patterns to women's

organizations. Rose also discussed the different management style of this organization due to the strong influence of women. This article includes an excellent comprehensive literature review regarding gender and volunteer work.

It is very disheartening to see that, out of the 270 articles found within both journals, only 3 focused on gender. The NVSQ did have 'double' the amount of articles which focused on gender than the JVA, but these numbers are too small to draw any real conclusions about differences between the journals. Of interest is that all three of these articles focused on women and women's issues as opposed to men and men's issues. Secondly, both the Stevens (1993) and the Stephan (1991) articles addressed older women - perhaps reflecting more of an interest in age than an interest in gender.

In comparing the results of this analysis to the results Christiansen-Ruffman (1985) obtained, we find that the percentage of articles focusing on gender are quite similar. Christiansen-Ruffman found 4.2% of the articles focused on gender (in The Journal of Voluntary Action Research - the predecessor to the NVSQ) whereas this analysis found 4.9%. Despite repeated calls for an increase in research on gender and volunteer work, not much has changed in ten years.

Also of note is that all three of these articles were authored by female researchers. Not only do female researchers author proportionally more articles than any of type of author, they authored all the articles which focused on gender. This lends more credence to the argument made earlier that women researchers are more apt to author gender articles.

Table 4-8 - Articles With Gender References

	JVA	NVSQ
article focuses on gender	2.0%	4.9%
article has gender components	12.2%	21.9%
male/female differences in volunteering	20.4%	17.1%
gendered organizations/volunteer programs	4.1%	12.2%
article mentions gender as an issue	28.6%	26.8%
non-related gender reference	32.7%	17.1%
	100%	100%

Articles With Gender Components

The second category contained all articles which had a significant gender component. These articles discussed gender to some significant degree but gender was not the focus of the article. Most of these articles generally had at least one paragraph discussing some gendered aspect of volunteering. These gender components were often explanatory and / or descriptive in nature. While these articles do not represent as significant a contribution as the articles which focused on gender, they do advance our understanding regarding gender and volunteer work in a small way.

Of the gendered articles within the JVA, 12.2% (6) fell into this category (Table 4-8). Three of the articles focused on specific volunteer programs and noted that women formed the majority of volunteers (Bramwell, 1993; Cook 1994; Pirtle, 1993). Women were often perceived to be the traditional source of volunteer support and, with the increase in women

entering the workplace, volunteer programs fear a loss of volunteer support.

Gender differences were also noted in these articles with men located largely in power positions such as board membership and volunteering for altruistic reasons whereas women were found primarily in the front line positions volunteering for social reasons. Pirtle (1993) discussed how volunteering opened up opportunities for women in a time when their involvement in non-household related work was restricted. She also indicated that gender stereotyping not only restricts women but men in their volunteer placements.

Rauner (1991) discussed the role of ethnic minority women and volunteer work in the fourth article in this category. Her discussion is primarily descriptive in nature and focuses on the volunteer roles ethnic women played in American history (e.g., african american women volunteering to aid the Union troops, african american women agitating for the right to vote, Latin American women participating in labour movements, american indian women developing voluntary civic activities).

The fifth article in this category described the male and female participation rates of volunteers and how these rates have changed over time. Helman (1992) also addressed the stereotypical profile of the volunteer and how this image was no longer accurate. Interestingly enough, she also described a study in which men who did not volunteer were two and a half times more likely to die that those who volunteered.

The last article in this category described researchers' interests and practitioners' needs vis-a-vis volunteer work. Researchers ranked gender patterns within volunteer work

second and practitioners ranked it as fourth. Perhaps this is why researchers in general had a higher rate of including gender in their articles than practitioners (see previous section on sex and affiliation). (Asche and Janey, 1989)

In contrast to the JVA, the NVSQ, had a much higher percentage of articles belonging to this gender component category. Of all of NVSQ's gender references, 21.9% had significant gender components (Table 4-8).

Two of these 9 articles discussed organizations in which men predominate. Perkins (1990) noted the under-representation of women in fire and rescue corporations and briefly examined the historical roots of this phenomenon. This article also included a basic breakdown of gender across several variables (e.g., sex, ethnicity, occupation, age, years of service).

Elkind (1992) predicted significant female participation in environmental movement organizations and provided a good literature review of women and volunteer work. Her hypothesis, however, was refuted as she found that men had significantly higher participation rates than women in the environmental movement organizations.

Four articles addressed women's involvement in volunteer work. Pollack (1994) and Cormode (1994) reviewed books which depicted women's role in the welfare state and religion respectively. Steinberg (1990) reviewed and discussed several significant studies regarding women in the volunteer field including the job substitution and stepping stone theory highlighted earlier. He also noted that the majority of volunteers are women and that nonprofit organizations hire more women than men. In relation to the stepping stone theory, Janey, Tuckwiller and Lonnquist

(1991) examined how women were able to transfer the skills they obtained through volunteer work to paid employment.

Two articles discussed male and female aspects of volunteering equally. Limerick and Burgess-Limerick (1992) studied men and women who volunteered in an educational setting and found that women volunteered for personal and social reasons while men volunteered for instrumental reasons. This article provided a good insight into why men and women volunteered and what role this volunteer work had in their lives. Smith's (1994) article reviewed a significant portion of the literature on gender and volunteering and found no consistent pattern of participation. He did note that in reference to gender the dominant status model which would have predicted men volunteering more than women was not upheld (but it was upheld for other variables).

The remaining article in this category is the Brudney and Durden (1993) literature review discussed at the beginning of this section. In their research, they determined that 35% of all the authors in the NVSQ and its predecessor were women and that authorship by women ascended over time. In addition, they found that women as a research topic was lacking in the field of volunteer work.

The NVSQ had significantly more articles in this category (21.9%) than the JVA (12.2%). Despite the numerical difference, both journals contained similar types of articles. Both had articles on research and on gender as a whole. Furthermore most of these articles focused primarily on women. A difference to highlight is that the NVSQ did include two articles in which the majority of volunteers were men. This finding could perhaps be due to the strong male influence of the journal as the vast majority of the

authors within the NVSQ are men. If the sex of the authors does impact on the types of knowledge produced, the knowledge contained within the primarily female dominated JVA will differ from the primarily male dominated NVSQ. Interestingly enough, the majority of the articles which contained gender components were authored by women and by researchers.

Male / Female Differences In Volunteering

The third category contained articles which mentioned statistical differences between men and women volunteers. Generally these articles listed this percentage difference in one or two sentences with minimal explanation and discussion. While noting that differences do exist between male and female volunteers is important to some extent, authors and researchers must go beyond just presenting this information to exploring and discussing these differences. To this extent, articles in this category are of only minimal importance to the issue of gender and volunteer work.

The JVA contained 10 articles (20.4%) which commented on statistical differences between male and female volunteers (Table 4-8). Seven of these articles listed the majority of volunteers or members as being women (Bachofner and Bachofner, 1990; Brudney, Love and Yu, 1993; Conner and Winkelpleck, 1990; Fagan, 1992; Harris, 1991; Rojewski, 1990; Stevens, 1989). Bachofner and Bachofner (1990) also noted that young volunteers who were once called candy stripers are now being called by a more inclusive term such as student volunteers or junior volunteers.

Only one article was found in which male volunteers predominated (Murrant and Strathdee, 1992). The volunteer program described is an AIDS program in which the majority of the residents are men. In the remaining two articles, the participation rates of women and men were almost equal (Garland, 1992; Ryan, 1990).

Of the 41 gendered articles within the NVSQ, 7 (17.1%) fell into this 'statistical difference' category (Table 4-8). Two of the articles stated that women formed the majority of volunteers (Cnaan, Kasternakis and Wineburg, 1993; Heidrich, 1990). Also, Heidrich (1990) noted that the majority of direct service volunteers were women.

In three of the articles, men were the majority of volunteers (Austin and Woolever, 1992; Bloomfield, 1994; Thompson III, 1993). The positions or organizations in which these men dominated were board members, Alcoholics Anonymous and fire companies.

The remaining two articles either did not find consistent results or there were no distinctive differences between men and women. Latting's (1990) analysis revealed that black women were the most apt to volunteer followed by white men. Latting's brief literature review on gender differences did not reveal any significant gender patterns. Sundeen and Raskoff (1994), on the other hand, found no significant gender differences in teenage volunteering rates. They did however find some gender differences in the types of volunteer work performed by teenagers.

The JVA and NVSQ had similar percentages of articles which fell into this category. One difference to note is that the NVSQ included more articles in which the men predominated as volunteers. This phenomenon could in part be due to the

overwhelming majority of male authors in this journal as discussed previously.

Gendered Organizations

Articles which focused on gendered organizations and / or volunteer programs were included in the fourth category. Also included in this category were articles which had a significant component on gendered volunteer organizations. Most of these articles did not discuss this gender element or explore the implications this gender focus may have on the organization or volunteer program. As such, these articles do not significantly contribute to our understanding regarding volunteer work and gender.

Two (4.1%) of the gendered articles in the JVA concentrated on gendered organizations (Table 4-8). Jacobs (1990) explored a gay men's AIDS organization in which the majority of volunteers were men. Gitelman (1991) discussed an all-female volunteer program. An interesting aspect of this article was that the volunteer program was exclusively female and a training film was entitled "A Crabby Old Woman" which showcased an old woman whereas the volunteer task description described the clients as male.

Of the gendered articles within the NVSQ, 5 or 12.2% focused or addressed gendered organizations (Table 4-8). Kayal (1991) discussed a primarily gay men's volunteer AIDS organization in which the majority of volunteers were men. Koldewyn (1992) and Diaz-Albertini (1993) both included significant components on women's organizations.

Edwards (1994) and Selle and Oymyr (1992) examined the significance and existence of women's organizations. Edwards (1994) found that 6% of the small and 3.2% of the

large peace movement organizations had primary constituent groups of women. Selle and Oymyr (1992) reported a significant decline in the existence of women's only organizations from 21.8% to 13.2%. They attributed this decline primarily to the decline in missionary organizations which were dominated by women.

An interesting note to point out for both journals is the minimal attention given to male only or male-dominated organizations. Fraternities and other male-dominated voluntary organizations abound yet neither journal addressed these types of organizations. The only type of male organization reviewed in these two journals were AIDS organizations which were heavily supported by gay men.

Another intriguing point to address is the phenomenon of the 'women's organization'. Does setting women and women's organizations apart from the 'mainstream' organizations somehow affect how these organizations are viewed? By separating out women and women's organizations, the danger is that they become a category of 'other' - a category of lesser value and importance. As there are no respective men's organizations listed, are we to assume that all organizations not expressly women's organizations are men's organizations? If this is the case, this would indicate an androcentric frame of reference for volunteer work which is predominately a female activity. On the other hand, perhaps the assumption is that this literature is 'gender neutral'. I would argue that this is not the case, but rather, that this volunteer knowledge is gender insensitive. Gender insensitivity "consists of ignoring sex as a socially important variable" (Eichler, 1988:6).

This type of selective grouping is also noticeable in the Brudney and Durden (1993) article described at the outset of

this section on the gendered nature of volunteer literature. They ranked women and the voluntary sector 18th out of 25 topics most frequently addressed within the NVSQ (and its predecessor). Yet, there was no complementary category expressly including men. We could assume that unless specifically noted otherwise that the default gender value is male. This presumption of maleness harkens back to the second chapter's discussion on volunteer work and patriarchy.

Article Mentions Gender

The fifth category in this analysis included all articles which merely mentioned that gender was a factor within volunteer work. Generally this reference to gender was minimal (1 - 2 sentences) with no explanation or discussion of gender as it related to volunteer work. To this extent, these references do not advance our knowledge regarding gender and volunteering per se but rather contribute to on-going rhetoric.

Fourteen (28.5%) of the JVA's gendered articles fell into this category (Table 4-8). Three of these articles made general references to male and female differences within volunteer work (Lane, 1992; Shure, 1991; Smith, 1989; Wilson and Simson, 1993). Unlike the articles in the third category, these articles did not include any percentages or numbers outlining the differences between male and female volunteers. Two emphasized the importance of gender and diversity within volunteer work (Hostad, 1993; Schindler-Rainman, 1990) and two made mention of stereotypical portraits of volunteers as being women (Shapiro, 1992; Zimmer, 1990).

The remaining six articles each make noteworthy comments regarding gender but unfortunately did not follow up on them. Lee (1991) noted that gender was not a key factor for matching volunteers and clients. Reichert (1992), on the other hand, suggested that gay men who are not personally affected by AIDS do not volunteer to the same degree as other gay men. Ellis (1990) just threw in a comment that the Association of Volunteer Administrators (primarily a female organization) had little influence due to sexism. Wilson (1992), in an equally off-handed manner, noted the women's liberation movement's disapproval of volunteerism. Keaveney, Saltzman and Sullivan (1991) discussed the stereotypical profile of women and how volunteer work can give women important work experience. Fischer (1993) stated that high status volunteer organizations are often male.

The NVSQ had a similar amount of articles including gender as a factor within volunteer work. Eleven or 26.8% of the gendered articles were of this type (Table 4-8). Four articles mentioned male and female volunteer differences (Cnaan and Amrofell, 1994; Heunks, 1991; Sundeen, 1990; Sundeen, 1992). Two noted women's roles in voluntary organizations (Levine, 1991; Plotinsky, 1994) and two made only brief passing mention of fraternal organizations and their women's auxiliaries (O'Neill, 1994; Smith, 1991). Clary, Snyder, Copeland and French (1994) found no difference by gender in responses to campaigns designed to advertise and promote volunteerism. Brudney and Kluesner (1992) noted that the topic of women and voluntary organizations did not get nominated as an area of interest by practitioners. Billis and Harris (1992) mentioned that due to higher employment levels of women, volunteer organizations were having a harder time recruiting volunteers.

Both journals had similar percentages of articles in this category. For the NVSQ, articles which merely mention gender formed the largest category. For the JVA, this category was the second largest. It is interesting to note that for both journals this category is so large. Gender appears to be a topic of casual, superficial conversation but not of serious study or concern. Also of interest is the fact that women and researchers formed the largest group of authors for this category. Not only are women responsible for the articles which include gender to a significant degree (article focuses on gender and article has gender component), they are also responsible for the articles which minimally address gender. Therefore, to state that women authors address gender in a significant manner would only be partially correct. They also produce the majority of superficial articles.

Non-related Gender References

The sixth and last category of this content analysis included all articles which made a reference to gender but the reference was not related to volunteer work. For the purposes of this study, this reference was considered non-relevant. The vast majority of these articles simply made reference to either the gender of the volunteer program's client group or to the gender of the study's respondents / participants. It is interesting to note that many of these articles make mention of respondents' / participants' gender but do not include a gender breakdown in the analysis.

The greatest percentage of the JVA articles were in this category with 16 or 32.6% of the articles (Breaux, 1993; Crosson, 1989; Danoff and Kopel, 1994; Dean and Murdock, 1992; Etling, 1990; Fisher, 1991; Harel, 1992; Keyton, Wilson and Geiger, 1990; Killeen, 1991; Lee and Burden,

1990; Lundin, 1991; Macduff and Long, 1993; Netting, 1990; Petkau, 1991; Poust, 1990; Waymire, 1991). (Table 4-8)

The NVSQ, on the other hand, only had 7 (17.1%) articles in this category (Benedict, Shaw and Rivlin, 1992; Chambre, 1991; Checkoway, 1991; Nordhaug, 1990; Schervish, 1992 Walter, 1990; Winkle, 1991). (Table 4-8)

Summary of Qualitative Analysis

All the 'gendered' articles for each journal were grouped into the following six categories: article focused on gender per se, article had significant gender components, article included statistical differences between men and women volunteers, article focused on gendered organizations / programs, article mentioned that gender was a factor within volunteer work, and article included gender references not related to volunteer work. These categories are listed in descending order of significance. Only the articles which focused on gender or had significant gender components were considered substantial contributions to our knowledge regarding gender and volunteer work. The remaining articles only contributed minimally and generally did not advance our knowledge base. Of the 90 'gendered' articles found in both journals, only 20% addressed gender in any substantial or significant manner.

The majority of the 'gender' references did not advance our knowledge regarding gender and volunteering per se but rather contributed to on-going rhetoric. Articles which merely mentioned gender as an issue accounted for over one-quarter of the articles in both journals. It is interesting to note that for both journals this category is so large. Thus, gender appears to be a topic of casual, superficial conversation but not of serious study or concern.

In addition, the JVA contained significantly fewer 'gendered' articles of substance than the NVSQ. Over 26% of NVSQ's articles addressed gender in a significant manner whereas only approximately 14% of the JVA's did. Therefore, even though the NVSQ had fewer overall gender references (28.7%) than the JVA (38.6%), these references were of greater substance than the JVA's references. The majority of JVA articles (61%) addressed gender only in a minimal or superficial manner. It appears that while the JVA articles do to some extent include gender, these gender references contribute very little to the knowledge base regarding gender and volunteer work.

Also of note is the authorship of these articles. Women authored the majority of articles which focused on gender or had significant gender components. But, it would be erroneous to conclude that women author the substantial articles on gender while men author the superficial 'gendered' articles. In fact, women also authored the majority of articles which merely mentioned gender as an issue. This finding is primarily due to the large portion of female authors within the JVA who authored these types of articles. As authors, women dominated both in the most and the least important categories of articles. To this end, simply including more female authors in these journals may not rectify the lack of substantial 'gendered' articles.

The NVSQ also contained more articles than the JVA in which the majority of volunteers were men. It was suggested that this inclusion of predominantly male volunteer programs was in part due to the heavy male influence of the journal. Therefore, the knowledge regarding volunteer work and gender evident within the two journals does appear to differ both in substance and in types of issues addressed.

Conclusion

This analysis of two volunteer journals clearly supports the argument that research on gender and volunteer work is more often than not absent. This is surprising given the gendered nature of volunteer work discussed in chapters two and three. The vast majority of the articles included in this analysis did not make any form of reference to gender. And, for many of the articles which did include a gender reference, the quality of that reference was questionable. Many of these 'gender' references were simply rhetorical in nature and did not advance our knowledge regarding gender and volunteer work.

There were also distinct differences between the two journals. For example, while the JVA contained more 'gendered' articles than the NVSQ, many of these gender references were limited in content and insight. In contrast, the NVSQ had a larger portion of articles which addressed gender in a significant manner. Between the two journals, there were not only differences in the quantity and quality of the references, but also in the type of knowledge produced. The NVSQ included more articles in which the majority of volunteers were men. This could be due to the heavy male influence of the journal (with the vast majority of the authors being male).

If this is the case, this reflexive relationship between the researcher and the object of the research (Driscoll and McFarland, 1989; Harding, 1987) does indeed impact on the production of knowledge. Thus, the author's gender not only impacts on how he or she creates knowledge (Driscoll and McFarland, 1989; Harding, 1987; Stanley and Wise, 1990), but what types of knowledge he or she produces.

This reflexive relationship appears to be evident in both journals. Even though female practitioners and male researchers formed the majority of authors for all articles in both the JVA and NVSQ respectively, female researchers authored proportionally more 'gendered' articles overall. Women researchers in general are more apt to author 'gendered' articles. Unfortunately, female researchers were in the minority for both journals, although they appear to be increasing in numbers.

Through the qualitative analysis, I was also able to determine what types of gendered knowledge women in general were producing. Interestingly enough, they not only authored the majority of the most significant 'gendered' articles (article focused on gender and article had significant gender component) but they also authored the majority of the least significant articles (article merely mentions gender as an issue). In light of these findings, calling for more women authors would not necessarily increase the amount of articles with significant gender contributions.

The JVA is a journal which is geared primarily towards practitioners (who are predominantly women) and whose authors are mostly women. It is interesting to note in a journal such as this one that issues of gender are not more evident. The female practitioners who author the majority of the articles do not appear to place a great deal of emphasis on gender. When gender is included it is more often than not superficial in nature and does not advance our knowledge regarding gender and volunteer work. How do these articles affect the practice of volunteer work? I would suggest that the gendered patterns of behaviour are simply being perpetuated. Practitioners reading this journal are likely simply unaware of gender issues within

volunteer work and are perhaps even perpetuating these gendered patterns of behaviour. In order to bring issues of gender to the forefront, more emphasis must be placed on gender within volunteer work. More articles must address gender in a significant manner and perhaps including more articles by female researchers who appear to address these issues would also ameliorate the situation.

Also of note is the lack of significant change over time. In her study, Christiansen-Ruffman (1985) stated that 10.8% of articles either focused on gender or had a table or section which examined gender. In comparison, this study found that articles which focused on gender, had gender components or included male / female differences accounted for 12.6% and 13.4% of all articles in the JVA and NVSQ respectively. Thus, over a ten year period, articles which included gender to any significant degree experienced at best a 2.6% increase. I suspect that due to differences in methods (e.g., the categories used), this change over time is even overstated. Therefore, this literature does not appear to have gained a meaningful gender-awareness over time.

The fact that these journals do not address gender to any significant degree is unfortunate. Gendered patterns of behaviour found in volunteer work are not being noted, discussed or examined. Tomm (1989) suggested that there is a reciprocal relationship between the social context and academic research. The social production of knowledge (in this case research) is not only situated within society but can affect and impact on that society. Knowledge which does not critically examine gender can in fact reproduce the gendered patterns of behaviour. Therefore, it is important that these volunteer journals, especially the JVA which is targeted towards practitioners, address issues of gender.

What is perhaps most evident from this analysis of these two journals is how infrequently gender is addressed within the volunteer work literature. And, when references to gender are made, only a small portion of those references actually contribute to our knowledge regarding volunteer work and gender. The information which can be gleaned from these gendered articles is reasonably diverse but one consistent message shines through - that there are gender differences within volunteer work.

Volunteer work is generally perceived to be women's work and the majority of volunteers are indeed women. Gender differences do exist in the types of work done. Women often volunteer for front-line positions and men volunteer in positions of authority and importance. These types of gender difference are often based along traditional gender lines.

Gender differences also are evident in the reasons men and women volunteer. Women volunteer for personal and / or social reasons and often the reasons revolve around giving meaning and fulfilment to their life and a way to use 'leisure' time. Men volunteer for primarily altruistic and instrumental / goal oriented reasons.

Despite being denied access to the formal structures of society, through volunteer work, some women have played quite significant roles within the development of society. Due to these restrictions placed on women, women have also often used volunteer work as a substitute for paid work or as a stepping-stone to paid work. These women often transfer their volunteer skills to the workplace. Some men, on the other hand, use volunteer work as an extension of their paid work - not as a substitution. An interesting comment in one article was that men equate volunteer work

with leisure whereas women equate it with work (Stephan, 1991).

Stereotypical images of female volunteers were often noted and discussed - especially the Lady Bountiful image. The Lady Bountiful represents middle and upper class (white) women who volunteer out of a sense of duty or noblesse oblige. This image was refuted in chapter two which found that the majority of volunteers did not fit this image. However, many examples of women volunteers display precisely this image (Covelli, 1985; Daniels, 1988; McCarthy, 1990).

What perhaps is most remarkable regarding the volunteer literature is the information not provided and the questions not asked. Unfortunately, there appears to be more information missing than provided. Perhaps the largest question unasked is 'why'? Why do we see these patterns? Why is gender largely absent from the research? Often issues of gender are simply included in an article without being thoroughly discussed and / or explained.

Based on the above observations, gender does appear to be a factor within volunteer work, yet gender is not addressed to a significant degree. What appears to be lacking is a comprehensive discussion, exploration, explanation and theorizing regarding women's involvement in volunteer work. We need to go beyond simply stating percentages of male and female volunteers to discussing and explaining these differences. For example, why do women volunteer more than men? Why are there gender differences in the types of organizations men and women belong to and in the types of work they perform? What differences in status in male versus female organizations and positions are there and why do they exist? What are the implications for such differences? How are programs affected by gender

differences? How is volunteer work perceived within society? How do individuals and organizations go about changing this pattern?

Many of these gender references simply perpetuate a cycle of rhetoric rather than contributing to the development of a base of knowledge. This absence of significant gender issues can be in part attributed to a patriarchal system in which the production of knowledge focuses on, supports and 'legitimizes' an androcentric, patriarchal base of knowledge (Bourdieu as referenced in Stanley, 1990; Chafetz, 1989; Harding, 1987; Stanley and Wise, 1990). As the production of knowledge is socially located, social structures such as patriarchy can and do influence the development of knowledge (Lyddon, 1991; Stanley and Wise, 1990; Tomm, 1989; Weskott, 1990).

"Prior to the 1960's, sexual difference was seldom considered to be a significant feature of the social world; knowledge was primarily and normally constructed from an androcentric perspective which treats the masculine as the norm" (Currie, 1993:5). "This stems not so much from an overt determination to exclude or ignore women, as from a failure even to pose the conceptual presence of women in the problematic or historical epoch being examined" (Haggis, 1990:70). As a result, what is perceived as universal knowledge is in fact male knowledge (ASA Committee on the Status of Women in Sociology, 1980 as referenced in Cook and Fonow, 1990; Ward and Grant, 1991). And, any ideology deviating from the dominant ideology is categorized as 'other' (Stanley and Wise, 1990) and is relegated to a secondary status. This is perhaps why volunteer work in general has been relegated to a lesser status than paid work and why gender is conspicuously absent from volunteer work research. As Reinharz suggests, we must examine why certain

topics are not addressed and the implications of these gaps; we must address this "sociology of the lack of knowledge" (1992:162-163).

The danger in not addressing this 'lack of knowledge' is one of perpetuation. Knowledge and research is rooted within society. And, as previously mentioned, research can and does have an impact on practice. If the practice of volunteer management is based on gender-biased research and articles, the volunteer practice can in turn perpetuate and reproduce gendered patterns of behaviour within society. This analysis established the types of knowledge which are being produced and now we turn to who produces this knowledge.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

Volunteer work is a complex, multifaceted phenomenon which warrants further exploration. It can strengthen the bonds of society by its stabilizing and regulating effects on behaviour. Or, volunteer work can weaken those bonds by questioning and changing society's structures. It can complement government and business activities or act as a substitute for them. It can provide individuals with a sense of well-being and fulfilment or it can burden them with a sense of obligation.

Volunteer work is not a constant which stands apart from the society and the time period in which it exists. Rather, it is a fluid dynamic constantly impacted by external forces. All social phenomena including volunteer work are heavily influenced by the social forces in which they exist. One of the fundamental forces within western societies is the significance of gender within social structures.

Gender is in essence a theme which weaves its way through all social structures to varying degrees. To ignore or discount the importance of gender within these social structures would jeopardize one's full understanding as to the formation, maintenance and functioning of these structures. Hence, the need to address gender within volunteer work.

Volunteer work is indeed gendered. Unfortunately, this aspect of volunteer work is generally under-reported and under-analyzed. To rectify this situation and to bring gender into the discussion regarding volunteer work, this

thesis addressed the gendered nature of volunteer work. The three gendered facets of volunteer work which this research project examined included the definition of volunteer work, the profile of volunteers and the volunteer literature itself.

Defining Volunteer Work as a Gendered Activity

The first section of this thesis discussed how volunteer work is defined and valued within 20th century North America and the role which patriarchy plays in conceptualizing volunteer work. Given its close affiliation with caregiving and domestic work, volunteer work has often been invisible and devalued as an activity. This devaluation of volunteer work can be traced to its unpaid nature as well as to the common association of volunteer work with women's work. Within a patriarchal society, women's work has frequently been relegated to a secondary status and volunteer work is no exception.

An interesting perspective on this aspect of valuing volunteer work is highlighted by Darling and Stavole (1992).

> "For example, if a man quit his job as a lawyer to raise his children, and also started to volunteer as a trustee for a non-profit hospital, he would no longer be counted as active in the labor force. Not only would his child rearing activities not be included in measures of productivity, but his donation of time and expertise to the hospital would be disregarded." (Darling and Stavole, 1992:32)

What is so interesting about this quotation is that there is a sense of indignation that this man's efforts would be disregarded. Yet, women continually find themselves placed in this type of 'disregarded' position. Would this quotation have had the same kind of impact if the individual had been a woman staying home to raise her children?

In addition to its unpaid nature, volunteer work has commonly been associated with an element of free will and social responsibility. While these sentiments are noble indeed, their pure application to volunteer work within a patriarchal, industrial capitalist system can be challenged.

As the definitional powers tend to be held by men (Chafetz, 1989), the definitions of free will and social responsibility are male-oriented. Why do some women volunteer to supervise field trips, to bake cookies for bake sales and to provide caregiving? Why do some women substitute volunteer work for paid employment or use volunteer work as a stepping stone to paid employment? Is it out of a sense of free will and social responsibility or is it due to a patriarchal system which confines, restricts, and demands their participation? I believe it is a combination of the two as many women gain as much from their volunteer experience as they give.

Researchers and practitioners within the field must start to recognize and address these underlying gender constructs. Issues of gender shape and direct volunteer work and, until these issues are exposed and discussed, the full impact which gender has on volunteer work can not be known. As a result, public policy initiatives as well as society's expectations in general which do not address these issues of gender could have far-reaching, detrimental effects for both men and women.

Profiling Volunteers: Male and Female Differences

The second section of this thesis addressed who these volunteers are. Using the most recent nationwide survey on volunteer work (Duchesne, 1989), this section produced a statistical profile of the volunteer population and noted gender differences. With over 27% of the Canadian population volunteering, volunteers are a formidable force.

Not surprisingly, the majority of volunteers were female (56.5%). Additionally, gender differences were found in the types of organizations men and women volunteered for. Women dominated in health, foreign / international and social services organizations whereas men were predominate in employment / economic, environment and sports organizations. Of note is Fischer's (1993) suggestion that male organizations had a higher status than female organizations and, as such, were able to attract and recruit more volunteers.

Gender divisions were also evident in the types of work performed by volunteers. Women more frequently made, sold, collected and distributed items, prepared food and provided care and companionship than men. On the other hand, men maintained / repaired facilities, consulted professionally, provided emergency response services, coached / refereed, protected the environment and sat as a board member more frequently than women.

These divisions of labour closely approximate the divisions of labour found within the private and the public spheres. To this extent, volunteer work does not appear to provide a freer environment in which to pursue non-traditional activities. To the contrary, volunteer work appears to support and reinforce gendered patterns of behaviour. Roles

which individuals assume within society are often pressed upon them within volunteer work. For example, "one women told that at another church she was expected to teach Sunday School because she was a kindergarten teacher" (Keyton, Wilson and Geiger, 1990:12).

The question to ask is where this gender segregation takes place? Do volunteers gravitate to gender 'appropriate' organizations and types of work? Do volunteer managers consciously or unconsciously select volunteers according to 'appropriate' gender-typing? Due to gendered expectations and processes of socialization, volunteers and volunteer managers do adhere to 'appropriate' gender-typing. Either way, there are distinctive gender differences within volunteer work.

This point is important to keep in mind especially for the women who use volunteer experience as a stepping stone to paid employment. As Janey, Tuckwiller and Lonnquist (1991) noted, women can and do transfer volunteer-developed skills to paid employment. For example, Keaveney, Saltzman and Sullivan (1991) suggested that volunteer positions gave women experience as secretaries, teachers and day care workers. However, if these volunteer skills are gender-typed than the opportunities for paid employment which utilize these skills would also likely be gender-typed. To this extent, volunteer work can perpetuate a system of gender-typing.

Gender-typing occurs horizontally in regards to the different organizations men and women volunteer for and the work they perform. Gender-typing also occurs vertically. This vertical segregation is alluded to in that most board members are men but unfortunately volunteer surveys of the kind reviewed in this thesis do not tap into this dimension

at all. In fact, aside from basic demographic cross-tabulations, these surveys generally do not address gender to any significant degree. The lack of gender information in these surveys perhaps explains the continued persistence of rhetoric regarding gender and volunteer work.

Why do men and women volunteer? What do women and men look for in a volunteer experience? What do men and women gain from their volunteer experiences? Why do women and men stop volunteering? These are all integral questions to understanding volunteer work yet they are not addressed in these surveys. In order to advance our knowledge about volunteer work, these are the types of questions which must be answered. Volunteer work is a gendered activity and it must be studied and addressed as such.

Volunteer Research and the Absence of Gender

The third section of this thesis analyzed the extent to which gender is evident within the volunteer literature. A brief literature overview was included along with a content analysis of two volunteer journals. The literature overview provided a brief summary of the types of issues addressed within the volunteer work literature and the extent to which gender appeared to be addressed. Despite an abundance of rhetoric which professes the social significance and value of volunteer work, volunteer work appears to remain an under-researched area. This lack of knowledge is compounded even further when focusing specifically on gender and volunteer work.

Following this literature overview, a content analysis was performed on two volunteer journals (The Journal of Volunteer Administration and Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector

Quarterly). Through the use of a quantitative and a qualitative content analysis, these journals were analyzed for gender content. The quantity as well as the quality of these gender references were examined. The vast majority of the articles included in this analysis did not make any form of reference to gender. And, for many of the articles which did include a gender reference, the quality of that reference was poor. Many of these 'gender' references were simply rhetorical in nature and did not advance our knowledge regarding gender and volunteer work.

In comparing this study with a previous study by Christiansen-Ruffman (1985), we find that despite repeated calls for an increase in research on gender and volunteer work, not much has changed in ten years. In general, this volunteer literature has not gained a meaningful gender-awareness over time.

This absence of significant gender issues was in part attributed to a patriarchal system in which the production of knowledge focuses on, supports and 'legitimizes' an androcentric, patriarchal base of knowledge (Bourdieu as referenced in Stanley, 1990; Chafetz, 1989; Harding, 1987; Stanley and Wise, 1990). As knowledge is socially situated and socially constructed, social structures such as patriarchy can and do influence the development of knowledge (Lyddon, 1991; Stanley and Wise, 1990; Tomm, 1989; Weskott, 1990).

It is critical to acknowledge and to examine these patriarchal gender patterns as they can be self-perpetuating. The patriarchal system affects the production of knowledge. This knowledge can then in turn impact on the practice of volunteer work. If volunteer management and practices are based on gender biased research and articles,

the practice of volunteer work can perpetuate and reproduce these very same gendered patterns of behaviour.

In addition to examining what types of knowledge are being produced, the content analysis also noted who is producing this volunteer knowledge. It has been argued that women are generally excluded from being agents of knowledge or knowledge producers (Harding, 1987:3). Most agents of knowledge are upper-class, white men (Acker, 1989; Chafetz, 1989; Harding, 1987; Smith, 1989; Stanley and Wise, 1990; Ward and Grant, 1991) with social institutions, sociological discourse and theory being heavily dominated by men (Acker, 1989; Chafetz, 1989; Smith, 1989).

A quantitative analysis of the two journals revealed both the sex and the affiliation of the authors. While the journals differed in basic authorship patterns, a commonality did exist. A pattern which was consistent for both journals was the proportional increase in authorship of female researchers from all articles to 'gendered' articles. It appears that female researchers are more apt to include gender in their articles than male researchers or, for that matter, female practitioners are.

While women authored the majority of articles which focused on gender or had significant gender components, they also authored the majority of articles which merely mentioned gender as an issue. Most female authors, much like male authors, did not address gender in a critical manner.

Definitionally and statistically gender is significant in regards to volunteer work. Volunteer work is clearly a gendered activity. Given this importance of gender to volunteer work, it is surprising to find gender an under-researched area of volunteer work. All too often gender is

considered an extraneous item of interest rather than a fundamental aspect of social life. In any case, gender is an important element to consider in regards to volunteer work.

The Need for Continued Research

As this thesis has pointed out, issues of gender and volunteer work are under-researched. I believe that the gender patterns within society have significant effects on the practice of volunteer work and, as a result, warrant closer attention.

Perhaps the most obvious issue needing to be addressed is why do these gendered patterns exist and persist? What are the implications of such gendered patterns? How do gendered patterns of volunteer behaviour affect and impact on the management and structure of volunteer programs? How do gender differences impact on the volunteers themselves? What are society's expectations regarding male and female volunteers? How do public policies surrounding volunteer work impact on female and male volunteers? It is not until we start examining these issues that we will fully appreciate the extent to which gender affects volunteer work.

Throughout this thesis, specific suggestions for future research were made. Many of the suggestions are as follows. Why do volunteer rates vary by province? Why do women volunteer more than men? Why are there gender differences in the types of organizations men and women belong to and in the types of work they perform? How do volunteer jobs and organizations differ in status and hierarchy and is this linked to gender?

Several interesting studies to pursue would be to compare and contrast sex-typed organizations and sex-typed volunteer jobs with gender-neutral organizations and gender-neutral jobs. Also, are gender-neutral organizations really gender-neutral or is there a gendered hierarchy within the organization (possibly in the types of jobs assigned to men versus women)? Examining front-line volunteer positions as well as board memberships for male and female difference would be interesting. I suspect that differences in job distribution and status will be evident. Finally, how does the sex of the volunteer manager and / or the volunteer organization impact on the volunteer program and the volunteers? In general, the field of volunteer work needs comprehensive discussions, explorations, explanations and theorizing regarding women's involvement in volunteer work.

Conclusion

Volunteer work is a multi-faceted, complex phenomenon which is constantly changing. As volunteer work changes over time and space, this project focused primarily on 20th century volunteer work which was situated in a North American patriarchal, industrial capitalist context.

As governments continue to re-define themselves and their spheres of influence, we can expect this to have an impact on how volunteer work is perceived and carried out. The rapidly changing political context with a de-emphasis on providing services makes this an important topic to pursue.

The role of women and the gendered nature of volunteer work is a significant social phenomenon which warrants further exploration. Women can and do makes choices regarding their volunteer roles but these choices can be constrained by the society in which they live.

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APPENDIX

Research Methods

The Journals Chosen

For this research project the following two journals were selected: The Journal of Volunteer Administration and the Nonprofit Voluntary Sector Quarterly. These two journals were chosen for the following five reasons. First, according to Van Til (1991), these two journals along with Voluntas and Nonprofit Management and Leadership are recognized as the top four major journals in the field of volunteer work and nonprofit management.

Secondly, only The Journal of Volunteer Administration and the Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly were readily accessible. Accessibility to information is a factor to consider when conducting research. If information is not accessible, for all intent and purposes, it does not exist. In this case, both of these journals were available in the Grant McEwan Community College library. The college also houses the Voluntary Sector Management program. Any of the other volunteer journals were only available for loan from York University. And, as interlibrary loans do not loan the entire journal but rather only individual articles, doing a content analysis of all four of the leading journals was not possible.

The third reason for choosing these journals was that both of the journals are long-standing. The Journal of Volunteer Administration has been published since 1982. The Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly has been published since 1989 but its' predecessor, the Journal of Voluntary Action

Research, had been in print since 1972. As well, both of these journals are backed by professional associations - the Association of Volunteer Administration and the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action respectively.

The fourth reason for choosing these two journals was that they target two different audiences. The JVA targets practitioners in the field of volunteer work - specifically volunteer administrators / managers. The NVSQ, on the other hand, reaches primarily an audience of researchers and academics. By analyzing two journals with different target audiences, one can gain a better understanding as to the breadth of information available regarding volunteer work. In addition, by comparing the content of the two journals, one can analyze whether the two target audiences of practitioners and researchers are presented with decidedly different information.

Finally, the Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly was chosen as both the Christiansen-Ruffman (1985) and the Brudney and Durden (1993) articles, which were influential in the formation of this study, utilized this journal (and / or its predecessor).

In order to restrict the magnitude of the project, only issues from 1990 to 1994 inclusively were examined. This time frame should present an adequate overview of the current situation and also represents a ten year bench-mark from Christiansen-Ruffman's original article.

In the case of The Journal of Volunteer Administration, the issue year did not correspond exactly to the actual year. As a result, the actual time frame used for the JVA was fall 1989 to summer 1994 (volumes 8 to 12).

For the purposes of this analysis, all articles, commentaries, book reviews and speeches / symposiums from both journals were included. Items excluded from this analysis were prefaces, letters, editor's comments / notes, introductions, citation indexes and notes.

Gender References

One of the objects of this analysis was to determine how many articles did in fact make any reference to gender. In an effort to be as comprehensive and inclusive as possible, any form of reference to gender regardless of magnitude was included in this analysis.

Three references to gender which were not included in this analysis are as follows. First, the use of pronouns in a general sense was not included. The vast majority of articles were gender inclusive in their usage of these pronouns (e.g., he/she). Very few articles were gender biased in their forms of language usage. These gendered pronouns were not included in this analysis as they do not make any reference to gender per se but were rather a configuration of the English language.

Secondly, references to specific volunteers were also not included. Many articles incorporated references to specific volunteers to further clarify or highlight a discussion. In these cases, the author(s) was commenting on a specific person regardless of that person's sex. To this extent, the reference made was to a person and not to gender.

Thirdly, some references to gendered volunteer programs or associations were not included. Articles which focused on a gendered program or association were included in the study.

But, articles which simply mentioned an association or program in passing (regardless of the gendered aspect and usually as an example) were not included. In these instances, the reference made was to a program or organization and not to gender.

By including every reference to gender regardless of magnitude and significance within the article, this analysis was much more comprehensive and inclusive than either the Brudney and Durden (1993) or the Christiansen-Ruffman (1985) article. The Brudney and Durden (1993) article only included articles in which the main topic of the article was women and the voluntary sector. In comparison, Christiansen-Ruffman (1985) had a wider scope. She included articles which had a table or section on sex or gender, articles which had a title stating that it was on sex or gender, and articles which focused on gendered organizations.

Unfortunately, Christiansen-Ruffman's categories were not comprehensive enough to include all the gender references found in this analysis. Therefore, different classifications were established for use in this analysis. All gender references were slotted into the following six classifications: article focused on gender, article had significant gender components, article included statistical differences between male and female volunteers, article focused on gendered organizations / programs, article mentioned that gender was a factor within volunteer work, and article included gender references not related to volunteer work.

While these classifications were primarily subjective in nature, their intent was to provide a structure from which conclusions can be drawn. Using this structure, each

article could be gauged as to the significance and magnitude of its gender reference. Most gender references fell quite comfortably within these classifications and allowed us to compare and contrast between categories, between articles and between journals. Also, these classifications were designed to approximate a decreasing level of importance from articles which focused on gender to articles which included non-related gender references.

Sex and Affiliation of Authors

For every item included in this analysis, the sex and the affiliation of each author was noted. Both journals provided brief biographies of its authors from which the sex and affiliation was determined.

The sex of the author was determined either by the biography or by inference. The sex of the author was inferred by attributing the most common sex generally associated with that specific name. If the name was undistinguishable as to gender (e.g., unisex - Chris), the author's sex was categorized as unknown.

The affiliation of the author was determined by the biography. The author was designated as a researcher if the author was affiliated with a university (faculty, student, researcher or director of a university centre / program) or if the author was a researcher in a non-university setting. All other authors who did not fall into this category were classified as practitioners. These authors were generally actively employed in the field of volunteer management.

Many of the authors had multiple affiliations. For the purposes of this analysis, the primary or most prominently noted affiliation was used for the authors' classification.

A third classification of authors' affiliation was collaborative efforts. Items which had a least a minimum of one researcher and one practitioner as authors were included in this category. Interestingly enough most of these collaborative efforts involved a male researcher and a female practitioner.