In Search Of Volunt - - - ism

by Jon Van Til, Ph.D.

The present paper, submitted to the Journal, VOLUNTEER Administration, was originally given as a keynote address to a conference on the Roles of Colleges and Universities in VOLUNTEERISM. I noted then that in attendance at the conference, as now among the readership of this Journal, are those who consider themselves as members of the VOLUNTEER Community, and who ponder the problems raised in Women, Work, and VOLUNTEERING, The Effective Management of VOLUNTEER Programs, and VOLUNTEERS Today.[1]

I also noted that in preparing the paper, I, a board member of the Alliance for VOLUNTEERISM, benefited from an active dialogue with the President of the National Information Center on VOLUNTEERISM.[2] In that Alliance role, I had also collaborated with members of the Association of VOLUNTEER Bureaus, the Association for Administration of VOLUNTEER Services, and VOLUNTEERS in Technical Assistance.

I went on to note that among those at the conference were some who had attended the Lilly Conference on VOLUNTARISM and some who had read chapters on "Democracy and VOLUNTARISM."[3] And, I observed that among the audience were those who had attended to the leadership of the National Center for VOLUNTARY ACTION and the policy research of the Association of VOLUNTARY ACTION Scholars. And we know that those scholars tell us that a rather large shelf in many libraries is needed to contain works on VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS.[4]

What are these types of human activity the names we, say, profess? Are they all the same - volunteering, voluntary action, and voluntary association - volunteerism and voluntarism? Or, are there subtle differences in these terms and how we use them that divide us in purpose and act, and influence how we are perceived by others? Are some attracted to us in one name, and repelled when we present another? These are questions I recommend we consider in a conceptual plunge into the word-world of Volunt...ism, in the hopes that we may clarify broader aspects of the roles we ourselves and our institutions may play in this field.

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This paper aims toward the development of concepts that will be at once uniform and evocative, and may help us both describe and analyze the work in which we are engaged. Growing as it does from an ongoing dialogue with Ivan Scheier, it quite naturally begins where Ivan and I were, and that reflects our own disciplines, experiences, and preferences.

Ivan, a psychologist, began with a model of individual action in a variety of situational contexts, and then moved to extend his model to fully include those collective processes. I, a sociologist, started with a model of social institutions and their contribution to democratic structure, and then sought to draw out implications for individual action and participation.

Let's start from the individual side, with that form of action most closely related to this journal's title: VOLUNTEERING. We may begin by identifying VOLUNTEERING as a helping action of an individual that is valued by him or her, and yet is not aimed directly at material gain, nor mandated or coerced by others. Thus, in the broadest sense, VOLUNTEERING is any uncoerced helping activity which is engaged in not primarily for financial gain, or by coercion or mandate. It is thereby different in definition from work, slavery, or conscription. It differs from employment in that it is not primarily motivated by pecuniary gain, although much paid work includes VOLUNTEERING: it differs from conscription in that it is unpaid and uncoerced; and it differs from slavery in that it is not coerced.

VOLUNTEERING may be extended beyond the purely individual, and may also take the form of a group activity. Thus, the informal, spontaneous individual act of the motorist aiding an accident victim, and the formal participation of a volunteer meeting with a parolee as part of an organized program, are both acts of VOLUNTEERING. Actually, there are two dimensions involved here, one of individual to group activity, the second of structured to unstructured activity. As depicted in Figure 1, then, the contexts of VOLUNTEERING involve a range of activities which are all uncoerced, not primarily aimed at financial profit, and which are all oriented toward helping others, and possibly also oneself, as we shall later see.

VOLUNTEERING, as defined here, is similar to, but somewhat less broad in definition than VOLUNTARY ACTION, as defined by David Horton Smith, Richard Reddy, and Burt Baldwin. The latter write:

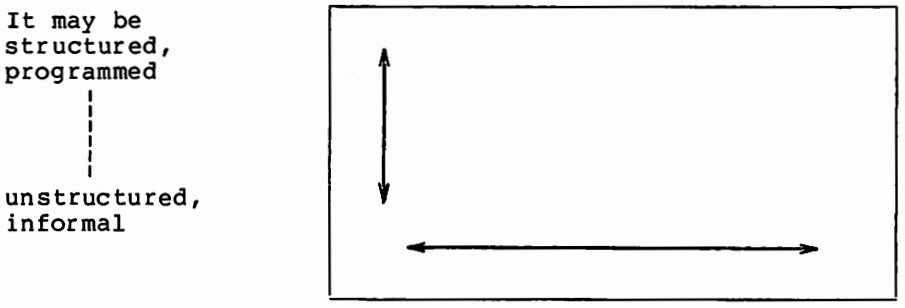
> "Individual voluntary action is that which gives personal meaning to life. It is that which one freely chooses to do either for enjoyment in the short term and/or from commitment to some longer-term goal that is not merely a manifestation of bio-social man, socio-political man, or economic man" (1972:163).

By this definition, individual VOLUNTARY ACTION may include an extra-marital affair, a chess game, or the composition of a book of verse - in short, everything that feels good or meaningful and is not biologically compelled, politically coerced, or paid.

Smith, Reddy, and Baldwin go on to note that a more limited conception of VOLUNTARY ACTION may be desirable:

> "Voluntary action directed at the long-range betterment of society and the general welfare may be the "best" kind of voluntary action in the eyes of most people." "But", they

Figure 1. Contexts of VOLUNTEERING. VOLUNTEERING is helping activity, uncoerced and not primarily aimed toward financial gain:



> add, "there are many other important kinds of voluntary action phenomena, even if not clearly aimed at the general welfare - for example, riots, wildcat strikes, fraternity hazing, shoplifting for "kicks", "bingo parties", "social drinking", and perhaps even watching TV" (1972:167).

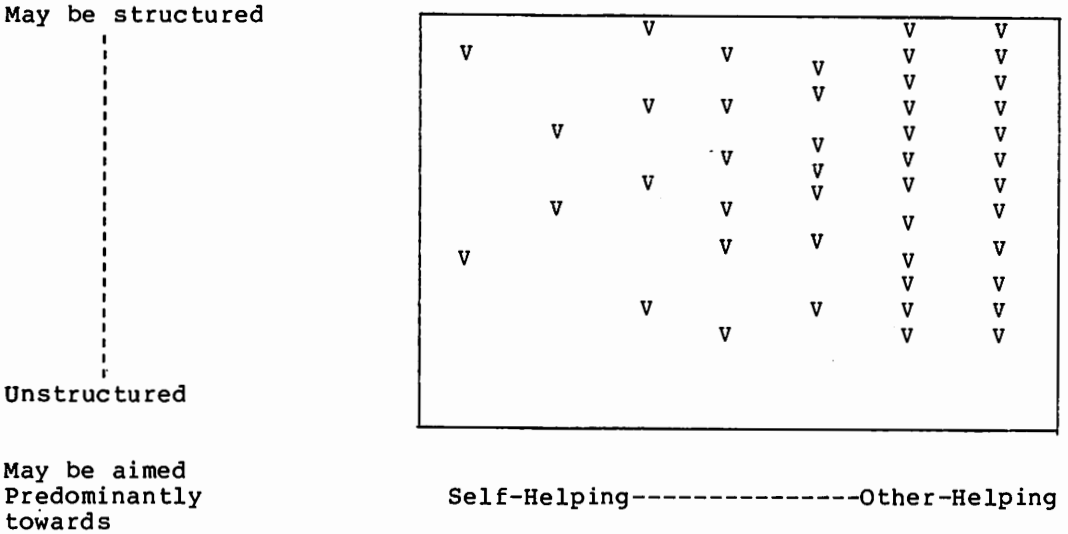
With ruthless logic, Smith and his associates bring us to the precipice of a real dilemma. As founders of the Association of VOLUNTARY ACTION Scholars, they recognize that a world of behavior, seemly and unseemly, public and private, is encompassed by the term VOLUNTARY ACTION. But, from the perspective of a leader of, say, the National Center for VOLUNTARY ACTION, it is doubtful that actions such as "bingo parties" will generate enthusiasm and it is nearly certain that opposition will greet shoplifting, rioting, and extramarital affairs, even in the light of recent disclosures regarding private life in Washington.

Resolution of the dilemma may be achieved in several ways. First, the concept of VOLUNTARY ACTION may be defined in the narrower way, removing those actions not directed at long-range betterment and the general welfare. Or, the concept can be recognized to be broadly descriptive (or positive) in nature, and not referred to in normative (value-charged, ideological) ways. When speaking of VOLUNTARY ACTION as a good thing, a term with a clear ideological content could be used. Later, I shall suggest that FREEDOM might be as good a word as any for this value.

I think both resolutions should be essayed. If a narrower form of VOLUNTARY ACTION were identified as VOLUNTEERING (that form of VOLUNTARY ACTION aimed toward helping), and if the ideological celebration of VOLUNTARY ACTION were clearly named as FREEDOM, considerable clarity in the terms would be introduced. And the usage seems conventional. Thus, it appears awkward to speak of an individual "volunteering" to drink with the boys at the corner pub, or "volunteering" to spend an evening glued to the tube, while these are clearly forms of "voluntary action" we celebrate as among the joys of freedom.

Some thorny issues remain in defining VOLUNTEERING as that form of VOLUNTARY ACTION that involves helping: helping whom?

Figure 2. The location of VOLUNTEERING (V) in the sphere of VOLUNTARY ACTION (uncoerced, not oriented to financial gain).



and how? Smith and his colleagues sought to get around the issue by identifying as the "'best' kind of voluntary action in the eyes of most people" that "directed at the long-range betterment of society and the general welfare." And Herta Loeser gives a central place to "the free giving of one's time and talents for work deemed socially or politically beneficial" (1974:1). Scheier takes a third view, preferring to leave the concept "helping" as a central one, and urging individuals to adapt its meaning as they choose.

I tend to lean to Loeser's and Scheier's positions for a starting point. By focusing on the volunteer's act as involving free giving for work "deemed beneficial", Loeser removes from the volunteer the rather ponderous responsibility of determining that an act is aimed at the "long-range betterment" of society: clearly, much may be of value in the short run of things as well. And, even more importantly, her definition also leaves room for the important recognition that VOLUNTEERING may be very much in the self-interest of the volunteer him/herself. Some forms of VOLUNTEERING begin from an explicit basis of self-help,[5] and almost all forms may contribute to individual goals of career exploration and development, sociability, and other forms of personal enhancement.

I think we can now see rather clearly the distinction between VOLUNTEERING and VOLUNTARY ACTION: VOLUNTARY ACTION is uncoerced, and not primarily aimed toward financial gain; it may be individual or group action. VOLUNTEERING is that form of voluntary action involving helping activities deemed beneficial.

Both VOLUNTARY ACTION and VOLUNTEERING may include actions that are self- and other-helping. Both may include actions that are structured and unstructured. The distribution of these actions, however, finds that a heavier presence of other-helping activities characterizes VOLUNTEERING. This pattern may be depicted as in Figure 2.

Now let us fold in a third concept - VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION. This concept refers to forms of behavior that are organized, and are directed at influencing broader structures of collective action and social purpose. A VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION is a structured group whose members have united, by this conception, for the purpose of advancing an interest or achieving some social purpose. Theirs is a clear aim toward a chosen form of "social betterment", to use the concept of Smith and his colleagues. Such an association is directed in its aims beyond the immediate enjoyment of fellowship and consummatory group activity; it links the group in some direct way to the larger society.

Thus, groups like neighborhood associations seeking to restrain crime or to encourage the cleaning of streets are VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS by this identification; so are church-based organizations that seek to provide for school prayer, and civic organizations that seek to improve a city's economic climate; and so are groups of volunteers who hope to reduce family abuse by means of direct service and legislative advocacy. Such organizations are voluntary in a dual sense: much of their human resources are contributed by members as volunteers; and they are non-governmental, non-profit, and non-consummatory -and thus clearly located in the "voluntary sector" of society.

The voluntary sector is invested with a special role in the theory of democratic pluralism, which many scholars have claimed provides a base for the healthy development of political and social democracy.[6] This sector is seen to provide a range of mini-laboratories for democratic action and structure, each of which provides opportunities for individual participation and the expression of a variety of social interests and needs. Eva Schindler-Rainman and Ronald Lippitt explain this function clearly:

> "In a pluralistic and fragmented democratic social system, made up of many types of individuals and groups, a major requirement is that the system establish procedures to provide for full communication, or orderly confrontation and conflict resolution, and for the coordination and blending of the energies and interests of the disparate subgroups" (1975:6).

Schematically, VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS inhabit that part of the world of VOLUNTARY ACTION that is more highly structured, and ranges from self-helping to other-helping (with a somewhat heavier representation of groups aimed at achieving their own self-interest). While paid staffers are common in this realm, the vast majority of participants are themselves volunteers. Mapping the place of the VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION in the sector, we see considerable overlap with VOLUNTEERING.

Figures 2 and 3 here show the areas of VOLUNTARY ACTION in which VOLUNTEERING and VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION are most commonly found. And Figure 4 shows the area of greatest overlap, which lies in the structured sector of VOLUNTARY ACTION midway between the extreme points of self- and other-helping. It is in this area of overlap, which I shall call for now VOLUNT...ISM, that some of the most exciting forms of VOLUNTEERING and VOLUNTARY ACTION are found, and some that have the highest probability of creating positive social change. But I have now lapsed into the language of the normative, and infer an ideological preference. And there is more conceptual work to be done before I can use that language as precisely as I would want.

Figure 3. The location of VOLUNTARY association (A) in the world of VOLUNTARY ACTION.

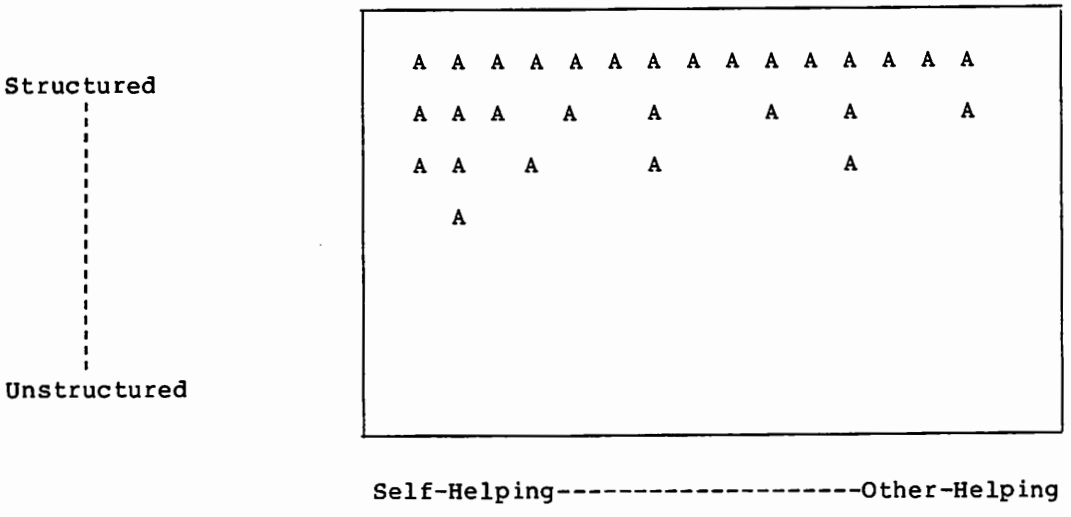
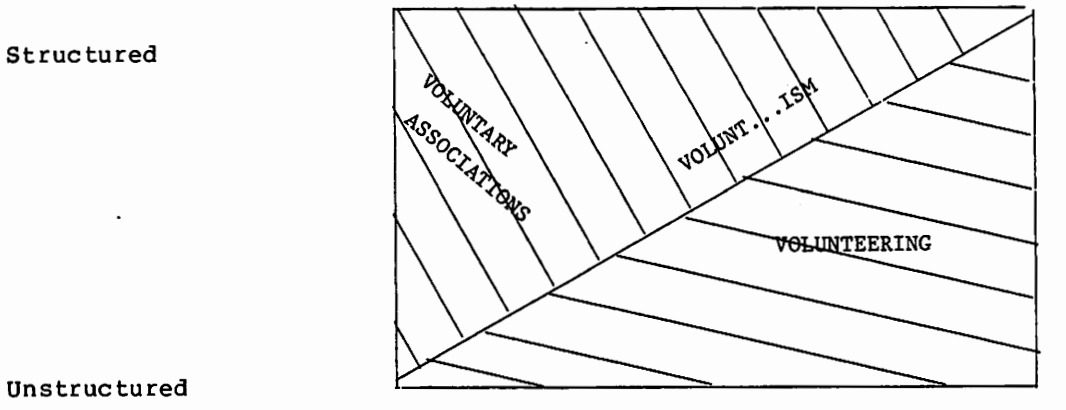


Figure 4. The areas of greatest presence of VOLUNTEERING and VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION, and their area of most likely overlap, within the total field of VOLUNTARY ACTION.



So I want now to introduce the distinction between normative and positive concepts. Normative concepts are those which lend support, moral or ideological, to a phenomenon. Positive concepts are empirical: they simply identify and define the phenomenon. I want to suggest that VOLUNTARY ACTION, VOLUNTEERING, and VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION are positive concepts, each of which may be matched with a normative concept that supports and defends it. FREEDOM, VOLUNTEERISM, and VOLUNTARISM may be presented as the normative counterparts, respectively.

Table I presents one way of viewing dimensions of positive-normative on the one hand, and on the other, the types of

Table 1. The word-world of "VOLUNT...ISM".

The Action Is	The Concept Is	
	Positive	Normative
Freely-willed (outside of bio-social, legal-political, and economic contexts)	VOLUNTARY ACTION	INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM
Freely-willed (as above) and aimed toward helping	VOLUNTEERING	VOLUNTEERISM
Freely willed (as above) and aimed toward social betterment by association	VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION	VOLUNTARISM

individual action I have been discussing. Here, the distinction is drawn between three forms of individual action. We end up, then, with six types of action identified:

First, we find VOLUNTARY ACTION a descriptive (positive) concept meaning "freely-willed" behavior in certain contexts. As a normative concept, this is the "INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM" celebrated in our Declaration of Independence, the freedom to live our lives as we will - including the freedom to drink, watch television, write poetry, and join with others in association.

Secondly, we find VOLUNTEERING, narrowed from the definition of VOLUNTARY ACTION to exclude those freely-willed activities not aimed toward helping. As a descriptive concept, VOLUNTEERING requires that the individual attach a meaning to his/her act beyond his/her own life and gratification. The normative system or ideology that supports such action is VOLUNTEERISM.

Thirdly, we come to VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION, freely-willed action aimed toward an identified form of social betterment, but also lodged in an associational (organizational, group, agency) setting. Normatively, such voluntary action may be seen to be supported by the ideology of VOLUNTARISM.[7]

The specification of meanings for VOLUNTEERISM and VOLUNTARISM is perhaps the most controversial aspect of this paper. Typically the words are used synonomously,[8] and often even interchangeably at random, by leaders in the field as well as by lay persons. Perhaps the greatest clarity in their use as different concepts is found in the thinking of Harry Hogan, the former Deputy Secretary for Policy Planning at ACTION, who spoke of volunteerism when referring to volunteer-using and supporting agencies, and of voluntarism when referring to the non-profit sector as a whole, including the full range of voluntary social welfare organizations.[9] The present usage is closely linked to his, but seeks to focus on the different bases of volunteering and voluntary association, motivated action on the one hand and organized purpose on the other. Therefore, the present scheme can identify an area of overlap between volunteering and voluntary association, and between

volunteerism and voluntarism. Rather than suggesting that the two worlds are different, the present scheme suggests that in a large part they are identical, or at least mutually enhancing.

One test of the pudding presented here, then, is the demonstration that there is something special about the type of voluntary action that blends volunteering and voluntary association. If the scheme is to be as useful as I believe it ought to be, there should be expected a unique contribution from that overlapping form of voluntary action.

Perhaps it would be useful to spend a few moments considering what we want from volunteering and voluntary action. Three criteria come immediately to my mind: a good blend of service and advocacy; an appropriate mix of conservation and change; and the enhancement of democracy.[10] Let's look at each in turn.

The first is the criterion that specifies the range of actions we value. Voluntary action involves many activities, including some that are primarily oriented to the provision of services, and others primarily oriented to the advocacy of social change and social policy. I believe that an adequate concept should include room for both service and advocacy. Indeed, Ivan Scheier and I have come to believe that service and advocacy are better seen as facets of the same caring process, rather than polar opposites, as ordinarily conceptualized.

The second criterion involves change and conservation. Again, the world of voluntary action is vast, and appropriately involves room for acts that hold fast that which is good, and seek to create what needs to be built. Both change (and often radical change) and conservation are required in the good society, and in my view, voluntary activity can play a critical role in both the definition of what needs to be changed and what conserved, as well as in the enhancement of appropriate change and conservation.

Finally, an important criterion is the enhancement of democracy. At the heart of the concepts we are discussing is the protection and development of individual self-expression, opportunity, association, and collective articulation of needs and interests. As no democratic society can rest on a base of apathy and inequality, so no adequate form of voluntary action can be content to accept limits of privatism and prevailing power.

Now, how do our proposed concepts stand up under examination in terms of these criteria? VOLUNTARY ACTION clearly meets the first two, but stumbles on the third. Some freely-willed acts clearly do not further democratic ends, such as participation in the KKK or other freedom-denying organizations, and others are grandly neutral to such ends, such as drinking, adultering, and spectating.

VOLUNTEERING, on the other hand, has been challenged on all three fronts. The term (and particularly its ideological mate, VOLUNTEERISM) has been widely criticized as biased toward service rather than advocacy, conservatism rather than change, and as not productive of democracy.

Thus, in 1971 the NOW Task Force on Volunteerism cautioned women about the costs of "traditional service-oriented volunteering", defined as the extension of conventional roles (e.g., conservative) not able to address the "massive and severe social ills" of our time (e.g., not productive of democracy). "Political or change-oriented volunteering", on the other hand, was viewed positively in its focus "on changing the larger social, political, or economic system" (National

Organization of Women Task Force on Volunteerism, 1975:73).

The NOW position was strongly criticized by Ellen Sulzberger Straus, who noted that the decision to engage in service or advocacy must be left to the individual - no organization ought "to be the final judge of what a woman can or cannot do with her life, either during or after working hours." Straus coupled her defense of VOLUNTARY ACTION with the example that service oriented VOLUNTEERING in draft-counseling might be more valuable than politically-oriented VOLUNTEERING with CREEP. She also noted that "citizen participation on a broader scale is essential to our efforts to refind ourselves as a nation", a ringing defense of VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION and VOLUNTARISM (Straus, 1975:75).

Dorothy Height, President of the National Council of Negro Women, and more recently also President of the Alliance for Volunteerism, set a more pragmatic tone in her criticism of the NOW position:

> "While you work to open the doors, you have to salvage the talents, interests, and spirits of people so that they will be ready to walk through these doors" (quoted in Manser and Cass, 1976:59).

That VOLUNTEERISM contributes to democratic structure and enhances social change was also argued by the Association of Junior Leagues in a 1974 interview: their spokesperson noted that volunteers can

> "experiment, demonstrate and innovate, monitor the public sector objectively and impartially, and initiate those services unmet by government programs" (quoted in Ann Ogden, 1974:10).

The innovation and monitoring functions of VOLUNTEERING are often best advanced by advocacy VOLUNTEERISM, though not exclusively. As Scheier envisioned it in his 1976 address to the Jubilee of the Association of Volunteer Bureaus:

> "advocacy volunteering does not have to input to or terminate in a legislator's office; it can open up new paths for positive impact in a free society. Nor is voluntary action any longer to be seen as merely one side-effect of freeness in a society; rather let us take the responsibility for seeing that it is a cause of it. We shall "plead the cause of freedom", more than that, we can activate freedom in assisting advocacy volunteering (1976:4-5)."

Translating Straus, Height, the Junior League spokesperson, and Scheier into the argument of this paper, I suggest that a pluralistic VOLUNT...ISM, seen to include an active blending of VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION and VOLUNTEERING, will provide for the enhancement of democratic structures, the creation of needed change, and the protection of institutions and programs of established value.

Such VOLUNT...ISM is uniquely capable of avoiding the pitfalls that have met so many organizations that have sought to focus entirely on VOLUNTEERING or entirely on being a VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION. Major among those pitfalls are <u>service or advocacy exclusivity</u>, <u>ideological ignorance</u>, and <u>elite domination</u>.

<u>Service or advocacy exclusivity</u> is dangerous in that it inhibits the mutual stimulation that can exist between the two legitimate and useful forms of voluntary association and volunteering, and damages the productivity of both the service and the advocacy volunteer. Separation of service and

advocacy cuts the service volunteer off from a full discussion and appreciation of the ends toward which his/her service acts as a means, and removes the advocacy volunteer from a firm rootedness in the context of concrete human problems and situations. Both need the other to temper and inform and strengthen their mission.

Ideological ignorance is closely related. The service volunteer must be aware of the larger consequences of his/her work - as the NOW position makes clear - and as the four critics cited above agree. As Scheier put it:

> "some kinds of unpaid service could be considered undesirable. We just don't talk about them much, but you should be able to identify a few examples with a little thought. The point is, the acceptable-unacceptable dimension runs through both service and advocacy volunteering. The decision as to when the activity is acceptable enough for us to work with it is essentially the same for both" (1976:3).

One way to facilitate the judgment of the value of one's work is to be in a position to line up what it means in terms of larger ends, like democracy, opportunity, and equality. This is the very heart of the skill of the advocacy volunteer. And, as Mannheim (1949) has suggested, avoiding the relationship between one's acts and ideological meanings is itself an ideological act.

The activist within the voluntary association must also avoid the pitfall of ideological ignorance. As Trudy Heller and I have noted, the activist may come to value conflict over ideas more highly than the actual achievement of his/her ends of social change:

> Conflict often becomes an end in itself to the advocate, and other means of conflict resolution that are less dramatic - such as compromise and the search for consensus - are often eschewed in the drift toward the final showdown. Few ask if the coming confrontation is necessary, for to ask the question is to admit to a less than total dedication to the cause of the group (1976:7).

Thinkers and doers need each other, I suggest.

The third pitfall is that of elite domination, which in the volunteer world simply means that leaders and volunteers should come from all walks of life. It is particularly important that this area be broad so that the ancient stigma of charity as a means of social control by the wealthy and powerful over the poor and weak be fully eliminated.

In the world of voluntary associations, this pitfall is most powerfully seen as the "iron law of oligarchy", the tendency of such associations to fall into the control of a few, powerful leaders. This form of domination may be tempered by a broad infusion of volunteer participation, useful in restraining autonomy of leaders and discouraging the abuse of power.

Goals of advocacy reform and enhancement of democracy are frequently presented with great eloquency by leaders in the voluntary sector, as Paul Sherry's lucid statement demonstrates: the role of the voluntary sector is

> "to continually shape and reshape the vision of a more just social order, to propose programs which might lead to the manifestation of that vision, to argue for them with other

contenders in the public arena and to press for adoption and implementation" (quoted in Manser and Cass, 1976:129).

More recently, Susan Greene has reminded us that

> "without groups of people voluntarily banding together over principles and philosophy, our country would not have been born. Without concerned people voluntarily addressing political, social, and economic inequities, women would not have the vote, nor would orphanages, settlement houses, hospitals, fire departments, and museums have been established. The Abolition Movement was a voluntary movement. The Civil Rights Movement was born in the private sector. From the voluntary sector comes the initiative, experimentation, implementation, and proof of a concept's worth. It is then at this point that the governmental sector, and sometimes the corporate or profit-making sector, can begin to support the proven service, concept, or principle and voluntarism moves on to find other methods, in a million different areas, to improve our civilized society" (1977:2).

Our task is thus to surmount, in design and implementation, the familiar pitfall of immobilization. It is my hope that by blending both service and advocacy, and by keeping all members close to both meaning and action, the excesses of exclusivity, ideological ignorance, and elite domination can be significantly reduced. The resultant organization might well emerge as both democratic and effective, both relevant to change and rooted in the meeting of real human needs.

Thus, for the work of volunteer administrator, it is my assertion that their role should be one that fosters with particular fervor those forms of voluntary action that enhance consciousness of the relations between ends and means, enlarges upon the structure of democratic society, and calls clearly for change or conservation as required by the first two demands. Only a VOLUNTEERISM linked closely to the work of VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS will use most productively our earnest and well-intentioned energies; only a VOLUNTARISM drawing profoundly upon the contributing of VOLUNTEER participants will generate pressure for citizen change that contribute to the building of a foundation upon which the daily acts of millions of Americans will indeed consist of the making of new bricks for our yet unfinished mansion of democracy.

FOOTNOTES

[1]The titles of books by Herta Loeser, Marlene Wilson, and Harriet Naylor, respectively.

[2]Ivan Scheier.

[3]Chapter 3 of Schindler-Rainman and Lippitt (1975).

[4]Readers interested in pursuing reviews and consideration of this literature are referred to the Journal of Voluntary Action Research.

[5]Particularly notable here are the Self-Help and Helping System (SHAH) developed at the National Information Center on Volunteerism under Scheier's leadership, and the prominence of "self-help groups" in American life. The latter phenomenon has recently been probed in special issues of the Journal of Applied Behavioral science (Vol. 12, No. 3, 1976) and Social Policy (September-

October 1976). Smith has noted, as Manser and Cass paraphrase him, that voluntary organizations may be divided into those "whose objectives are primarily "self-serving" in terms of the affairs and interests of the members, and those primarily "other-serving" in the sense that their primary goal involves improvement of some aspect of the larger community or society" (Manser and Cass, 1976:41).

[6]This tradition, derived politically from Madison and sociologically from Durkheim and de Tocqueville, is reviewed briefly in Van Til (1973) and more extensively in McLoughlin and Van Til (1976).

[7]Other dimensions may be added to this scheme. Following Smith, Baldwin, and Reddy (1972), we can add a dimension of "system levels", identifying individual acts, roles, informal groups, and community levels of action for each positive concept.

[8]Consider the nearly identical definitions given of "voluntarism" by Manser and Cass and "volunteering" by Loeser. The former definition is: "those activities of individuals and agencies arising out of a spontaneous, private (as contrasted with governmental) effort to promite or advance some aspect of the common good, as this good is perceived by the persons participating in it" (1976:14). The latter, as indicated above is: "the free giving of one's time and talents for work deemed socially or politically beneficial" (1974:1).

[9]For a lucid discussion of voluntary organizations in social welfare, see Levin (1971). Hogan's distinctions became clear to me during our joint service on the board of the Alliance for Volunteerism. Susan Green, Executive Director of the Alliance for Volunteerism, draws a similar distinction in her speech "To Promote Voluntarism" (1977:1).

[10]These criteria may usefully be compared with Manser and Cass' list of six "critical objectives" for the voluntary sector, which involve "enfranchisement and participatory democracy, program review, increased commitment to advocacy and social reform, increased numbers of volunteers, public accountability, and collaboration" (1976:247–248).

[11]These issues have recently been addressed by DeMott (1978), with whom I tend to agree in large part - although I also agree with Kenn Allen (1978) that DeMott's argument would have benefitted from a more precise distinction between "voluntarism" and volunteerism". I consider the DeMott argument in greater detail in two forthcoming articles, "The Politics of Volunteerism" and a review of the DeMott piece in Citizen Participation and Voluntary Action Abstracts.

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