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Part VIII

Scope and Impacts of Volunteering and Associations

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Scope and Trends of Volunteering and Associations

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A. Introduction

This chapter has two themes: (1) the *scope* of formal and informal volunteering and of nonprofit, voluntary, membership associations (MAs) in the world, by which we mean the quantitative magnitudes of these phenomena at or near the present time, and (2) the long-term and recent (past few decades) *trends* in these magnitudes. Global data are used, when available, but we also report data for world regions and for specific nations when feasible. Besides such data, we also report on estimated magnitudes of association wealth and income, the economic value of volunteering, internal structures and processes of associations, participation rates in associations, and issues regarding computer mapping of data such as that presented in this chapter. Usable knowledge, future trends, and needed research are discussed.

The chapter presents an overview of the quantitative magnitudes (statistics) regarding the voluntary nonprofit sector (VNPS) in the world, with some attention to world regions and to specific nations, especially the various nations represented by the co-authors. The central foci are numbers of nonprofit, voluntary, MAs, and numbers of volunteers in associations and, to a lesser extent, in Volunteer Service Programs (VSPs). We attempt to give a current (or recent) picture, as well as quantitative trends where data permit. The chapter draws on various research documents, including some unpublished research reports, as well as estimates by the authors, based on extensive prior research. Global, world region, and national statistics on *nonprofit agencies* (Smith 2015b), as

contrasted with nonprofit associations (Smith 2015a), have been reported elsewhere (e.g., Heinrich 2007; Heinrich and Fioramonti 2008; Salamon et al. 1999; Salamon et al. 2004).

B. Definitions

The definitions of the Handbook Appendix are accepted here. We add that by *scope* we refer to the range of quantitative magnitudes of associations and volunteering in the nations of the world, world regions, and globally. By trends we mean long-term changes (over years or decades) in these quantitative magnitudes of associations and volunteering. The most crucial distinction to recall regarding volunteers is that between *informal volunteers* (INVs), who are active outside of any organized context or role (i.e., outside of any group, voluntary association, or VSP context), and *formal volunteers*.

Note that this chapter seeks mainly to *describe* both scope and trends, *not to explain* either. Handbook Chapter 26, by contrast, seeks to explain how macro-contexts, such as nations, affect volunteering. Handbook Chapter 50, also by contrast, seeks to *explain variations* in scope and trends of associations *across territories* (e.g., nations, states/provinces, counties, cities) at the same time and over time.

C. Historical background

The history of associations and volunteering is covered in Handbook Chapter 1, with the phenomena reaching back many millennia (e.g., Smith 1997b). Quantitative research on these phenomena is, by contrast, very recent, going back only to about the 1940s in the United States (cf. bibliographies in Layton 1987; Pugliesi 1986; C. Smith and Freedman 1972). See Handbook Chapter 50 for a review of the prevalence of associations in various levels of territories, both past and present. Handbook Chapters 32–34 also have many references to prior research on associations at the local, national, and transnational or international levels of territorial scope, often going back decades or more.

Regarding global trends in the scope/magnitude of nonprofit associations, by far the most important aspects are the *four global associational revolutions in human history* recently identified as such by Smith (2016). While evidence for all of these revolutions has existed for about 60 years, a coherent view of their nature, origin dates, and root causes has only been clear recently. Handbook Chapter 1 reviews relevant historical evidence, but only Handbook Chapter 50 (Section C, #2), on association prevalence, collates and states succinctly that evidence, based on Smith (2016). As noted in Handbook Chapter 50, the four associational revolutions can be indicated briefly as follows (quoted with permission from Smith 2016):

- (a) The Original-Horticultural (O-H) Associational Revolution (about 10,000 years ago; Smith 1997b)
- (b) The Agrarian and Urban (A-U) Associational Revolution (about 5,000 years ago, c. 3000 BC/BCE; Smith 1997b)
- (c) The Industrialization-Modernization (I-M) Associational Revolution (about 1800 AD/CE; Smith 1972)
- (d) The Service-Information-Technology (SIT) Associational Revolution (about 1950 AD/CE; Salamon 1994, 1995; Smith 2016).

D. Key issues

1. How many MAs as nonprofit groups now exist in the United States?

No one knows accurately how many nonprofit organizations (NPOs; also called *NGOs* or *voluntary organizations*) and nonprofit groups (NPGs) more generally exist currently in the world. *NPGs* is the broadest and most inclusive term, because it includes *informal* nonprofit groups (nearly all being grassroots associations (*GAs*); Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:117) as well as formalized NPOs, which by definition are *formal* groups, called *organizations* (Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006:164–165). Small, local *GAs* are everywhere the most frequent examples of informal *NPGs*, but can also be formal groups (organizations), hence *NPOs*. Most people incorrectly use the term *NPOs* to include both formal and informal nonprofit groups, but we will follow the correct usage here, employing the term *Nonprofit Groups*, abbreviated as *NPGs*.

Many nations have registries to keep track of *NPGs*, but no study has collated all this data (much of which may not be shared publicly by the nations involved). At the very least, there are probably many tens of millions of *NPGs* in the world (Smith 2014). However, *NPGs*, especially as listed in national registries, are usually just a minority of all *NPGs*. This results from the fact that most *NPGs* are small, informal *GAs*. Such *GAs* rarely appear in national *NPG* registries, which mainly list the more formalized *NPOs*. (See sub-section 3 for *global* estimates of the numbers of associations and volunteers.)

Sometimes, commercial directories of national associations are relatively complete and reliable, after a time lag of a few years (Baumgartner 2005). Bevan, Baumgartner, Johnson, and McCarthy (2013) carefully analyzed the *Encyclopedia of Associations* directory and database in the United States over many years. The authors conclude that this directory/database is fairly accurate for research on national associations, once two systematic biases are taken into account. On average, it takes about four years for a new association to enter the database. Also, the database “systematically under represents small, understaffed, or ephemeral associations” (p. 1761). Similar research on national association directories in other nations would be useful.

Smith (2000:chapter 2) has shown that in the United States the more informal, usually small, often all-volunteer-operated/led GAs are likely to be five to ten times as frequent as the more formal, paid-staff NPOs (PSNPOs). Grønbjerg's research has confirmed this generally, as has other research (Grønbjerg and Paarlberg 2002; Grønbjerg et al. 2010; Toepler 2003). It is likely, but not clearly confirmed by adequate research, that other national registries of NPOs are similarly deficient and incomplete to varying degrees.

US NPOs not *have* to register with the US government Internal Revenue Service (IRS) if (a) they have an annual revenue of less than USD 5,000 at present (lower income thresholds existed in earlier time periods), (b) if they are religious in their goals, or (c) if they are polymorphic affiliates of some larger tax-exempt (state, regional, or national) entity that has a US tax exemption. Therefore, most GAs are unlikely even to register with the IRS at all (even though *some* GAs seem to be registered). Also, many GAs with annual revenues in excess of USD 5,000 are unaware that they are required to register with the IRS. The magnitude of this invisible, *dark matter* (Smith 1997) of small, unknown GAs is probably far greater than what Hodgkinson et al. (1992:185) suggest. They do not mention all the non-charitable, IRS-registered nonprofits, nor the millions of GAs that are mainly *unregistered* with the IRS and that constitute the core *dark matter* (unseen, uncounted, unlisted, and unregistered NPGs). An alternative term for them is *below the radar* NPGs.

Clark (1937:12) noted long ago that statistics on the numbers of small and GA churches or new religions were probably inaccurate undercounts as kept by organizations interested in an overview of American religions. Much more recently, Bowen et al. (1994:chapter 1) concluded that many smaller nonprofits are unlisted with the IRS in America or may have dissolved while still on the IRS list. These authors ignore the potentially large numbers of new GAs that may have formed in the meantime, perhaps more than replacing losses of GA numbers through dissolution. GAs tend to have brief life spans, and new GA generations tend to come into existence quickly, thus keeping this *GA form* alive in all contemporary societies.

Further, it is extremely important for *round earth mapping* (suggested by Smith 2000:chapter 10) that some scholars have shown recently that the US IRS non-profit records are very incomplete even for paid-staff nonprofits (PSNPOs). Grønbjerg's (1994) article on NTEE problems discusses the *inadequacy* of the IRS nonprofits list as a map of the NPS in the Chicago metropolitan area as one important example. Focusing mainly on PSNPOs, she compared IRS listings with the composite list from her own census, based mainly on overlapping metropolitan and state lists. Some 57% of her final census list of Chicago area PSNPOs was *missing* from the IRS listing of nonprofits. Dale (1993:187) reports on a study of nonprofits in New York City that finds similarly large

discrepancies between the IRS listing of nonprofits and independently derived listings from comparison of local, metropolitan, and state lists.

There are various reasons for these IRS list omissions, but most significant is Grønbjerg's (1994:312) statement that *non*-IRS-listed organizations tend to be "operated by churches and therefore not required to file independently; ... too small to meet the minimum revenue criteria for registering or filing; or they are too new [thus young] to have filed the necessary paperwork." The overall result is that her work (see also Grønbjerg 1989; Grønbjerg et al. 2010) and that of a few other scholars even call seriously into question the IRS data regarding PSNPOs, GA omissions aside. If the IRS cannot even list fairly completely the larger *bright* or visible entities in the VNPS, namely the paid-staff NPOs, we cannot reasonably expect accuracy regarding the core *dark matter*, the mainly unregistered GAs.

This failure of the IRS to list NPGs completely mainly results from the IRS' basic purposes, which make it more interested in larger organizations with more revenues to keep track of and, at times, to tax. Nonprofit listings by the IRS are a very tiny sidelight in the total scope of IRS activities. It is far more interested in knowing about households or businesses, because their revenues or profits tend to be taxable. With NPGs, which are nearly all tax exempt to one degree or another, the IRS interest is almost *academic* at best. Therefore, no scholar or societal leader should ever trust these IRS figures as being complete, unless and until the IRS makes major changes in its NPG data collection methods. Paid-staff nonprofit data are perhaps 50% complete, as noted above, and GA data are likely only 10%–15% complete in the IRS listings. For more complete data on all NPGs, we must gather better data by direct sampling of communities and their resident organizations, using methods such as those suggested by Smith (2000: Appendix 1) and by Grønbjerg (1989, 1994) and Dale (1993).

A further implication is that even the paid-staff NPG maps that previously came out of Independent Sector in the *Nonprofit Almanac* (e.g., Hodgkinson and Weitzman 1996; Hodgkinson et al. 1992) and that now come out of the Urban Institute (Wing et al. 2008) are thus seriously misleading, omitting large chunks of the paid-staff nonprofits in those metropolitan areas that have been more carefully studied and probably in most of the United States (which is about 3/4 urban). These documents are not only *flat earth maps* of the VNPS by lacking most GAs, but they even leave out half of the PSNPOs of the *flatland*. The paid-staff NPG maps that exist are thus a biased sample even of these larger, more visible NPGs let alone of the whole VNPS. Some scholars, such as Bowen et al. (1994:16), have defined *charitable nonprofits* so narrowly that they end up studying only about 10% of the IRS-listed nonprofits, or 1% of the total of US nonprofits (given IRS undercounting noted above). This is like a flat earth physical map of one *county* in England 500 years ago being presented as a good overview of the *known world*.

How can we fix this mapping problem, creating a *round earth map* of the VNPS? In addition to the implications of the research of Dale (1993), Grønberg (1989, 1994), and Toepler (2003), community research by Smith (2011, 2013a) suggests that IRS listings include at most 10%–20% of GAs. In the book *Grassroots Associations* (Smith 2000:chapter 2), there were four initial estimates of the circa-1990 numbers of all GAs in America. Each approach is independent of the others, being based on separate computations and data. All point to several millions of GAs in the United States, likely at least 10 million at present.

Studying eight towns and cities in Massachusetts in the late 1960s, Smith (2011, 2013a) directed the performance of a census of GAs for each one from a variety of sources, including fieldwork and using local newspapers as sources. The communities varied by purposive sampling in terms of GA prevalence, socio-economic status, and population size, although all were under 100,000 in population. The final census of GAs was about 500% greater than the picture given by the statehouse records of incorporated associations, eliminating non-associations (i.e., nonprofit agencies) as coder judgments. Thus, only about 17% of the GAs actually found to exist in the eight communities were formally incorporated, hence in the Massachusetts statehouse nonprofit corporation records. IRS records are even less inclusive, since few GAs are required to register with the IRS. Hence, 17% may be taken tentatively as a rough upper limit estimate of GAs present in IRS records.

In the United States, there were about 30 GAs per 1000 population circa 1990, according to the research of Smith (2000:43) and many other studies cited there. At an estimated population of about 310,000,000 circa 2010, there were likely about 9,300,000 GAs in the *United States*. In addition, there were likely to be an additional 15% of this latter number that were NPOs with paid staff, mainly nonprofit agencies (voluntary agencies, or *VolAgs*; Smith 2015b) and larger supra-local associations. Hence, there were an estimated 10.7 million NPGs in total in the United States circa 2010, with only a small proportion registered with the IRS.

2. Snapshots of MA frequencies and trends in other countries and regions

(a) *Armenia*

The Armenian nonprofit sector came into existence during the last years of Soviet Union and grew rapidly after its breakup. Two trends in the accumulation of data regarding voluntary associations can be observed since then: data collected by the state agencies and data accumulated by the donor community. Voluntary associations (called *public organizations* in Armenian) are required to register with the Ministry of Justice, and, subsequently, with the tax authorities and the State Social Fund. This state registration data are the main official source of information on Armenian NPOs; however, it is very unreliable. Many

NPGs and most of GAs operate without formal registration. On the other hand, since there are no follow-up procedures to the official registration with the Ministry of Justice, registered associations that cease to operate often remain on the state registry list for many years (Aslanyan et al. 2007; Babajanian 2008; Ishkanian 2003).

Blue et al. (2004) estimated that 500 formal and 200 informal associations were operating in Armenia in 2001. In 2011 there were 3,749 officially registered public associations, of which only 20% are estimated to be active (USAID 2012). If we assume that the ratio of formal to informal associations remains the same as in 2001, we can estimate that there are 300 informal associations in addition to a total of about 1000 NPGs active in the country of some three million population. Thus, the ratio of NPG per thousand population is 0.3 (much lower than the numbers for the United States or China reported above), assuming the foregoing estimates are accurate.

In Armenia, 22% of the population reported “doing volunteer work without expecting compensation during the past six months.” The numbers are similar for Azerbaijan (18%) and Georgia (17%) (Caucasus Research Resource Centers 2011).

(b) Bhutan

There are few (or perhaps no) quantitative data on associations or volunteering in Bhutan, the mainly agricultural, high-altitude, small nation in the Himalayas north of India. Our co-author from there reports from her personal experience and knowledge that formal volunteering and also MAs are quite under-developed and infrequent there. While there are some well-known non-profit agencies, there are few well-known national associations. One of the latter is RENEW – Respect Empower Nurture Educate Women.

(c) Bulgaria

With a recent population size of 6,924,716 (2014), GDP per capita (PPP) of USD 14,400, and a Human Development Index of 57, Bulgaria has almost 38,000 civil society organizations (CSOs, including associations), most of which are active in the areas of social services, education, and culture (USAID 2014). The number of advocacy CSOs in Bulgaria is comparatively insignificant: 2% to 3%, going up to 5% of the sector. Only around 4,000–5,000 of the CSOs are considered somewhat active, with 1,000 estimated to be permanently engaged in activity (Kabakchieva and Kurzydowski 2012).

CSOs register in courts in a relatively easy and affordable manner. They are exempt from taxation on their income from nonprofit activities. Corporate donors can deduct up to 10% of their profits for donations to public benefit organizations, while individuals can deduct up to 5% of their annual incomes for such donations. The profit from CSOs’ economic activity is taxed at the

same rate as that of businesses. CSOs can compete for public procurements, but only some organizations representing disabled people receive special incentives or preferences in the tender process (USAID 2014).

Bulgarian society is considered as fragmented, with very low trust to the others as well as to the institutions: 81.5% of the population has not participated in any organization, and 86.9% has not participated in any voluntary activities. As a whole, CSOs are considered as not embedded, closely related to the state, project oriented, and donor driven (Kabakchieva and Kurzydowski 2012). However, a growing number of people (68%) are willing to volunteer in Bulgaria recently (USAID 2014).

(d) China

China presents a similar picture to the United States in terms of the sheer numbers of GAs, though not in the density of GAs per thousand of population, which is much lower in China (Smith with Zhao 2016). There are estimated to be many *millions* of unregistered *grassroots* NPOs now in China (Chen and Du 2011; Wang and Liu 2009:13, 29; Wang and Sun 2010:156, 173; Yu 2008). For instance, Yu (2008:19) estimated that there were at least 8,000,000 NPOs in China in the year 2007, most of them being unregistered GAs, termed *unregistered social organizations*. Z. Wang (2011) estimated there were at least 10,000,000 NPOs in China in 2011, again most of them unregistered. Such NPOs may usefully be termed *Unofficial Social Organizations* or *USOs*, following Zhao (2001:133). These USOs are the unseen *dark matter* of the VNPS in China, analogous to the unseen dark matter of the astrophysical universe that is far more massive than the stars, planets, and other bright matter that is visible to unaided human eyes and via telescopes (Panek 2011:xv; Smith 2000:12, who invented this metaphor). The estimate by M. Wang and Liu (2009:29) of about 90% unregistered USOs in China is nearly the same as the estimate by Smith of unregistered GAs for the United States in about 1990 (2000:42).

In sum, although the estimates are much less reliable than for the United States, China now probably has the second-largest VNPS in the world in terms of numbers of NPGs, mostly GAs – about 8,000,000 to 10,000,000 NPGs (say, 9 million), including about 460,000 registered NPOs (Smith with Zhao 2016). Taking a current population estimate of 1.34 billion in China, there seem to be about 6.7 NPGs per thousand of population in China (roughly 7 per thousand, using a 9 million estimated total of NPGs), as contrasted with about 30 NPGs per thousand of population in the United States.

(e) Czech Republic

The Czech Republic, similar to the experience of other Eastern European countries transitioning to democracy, has experienced a tremendous growth of associations (Vajdová 2005). Mass mobilization occurred in 1989, which led

to the creation of a new set of civil-society associations (e.g., Civic Forum and Public Against Violence in Czechoslovakia). Legislation allowing freedom of association was among the first to be adopted or changed (in Hungary and Poland already at the end of 1980s, in Czechoslovakia in 1990), providing for a boom of associations in all Visegrad countries (Vajdová 2005:36). Although the number of associations rocketed, the number of memberships declined (Howard 2003). According to Fric et al. (1998), there were in Czechoslovakia 19 million memberships reported in a country of 15 million in 1984; in contemporary surveys, about 47% of Czech citizens over 18 years old claim membership in NPOs, half of them in more than one organization (Vajdová 2005).

There is a similar number of NPOs in both the Czech Republic and Hungary: 74,860 in 2009 in Hungary; 75,175 in 2007 in the Czech Republic (Skovajsa et al. 2010:115). But the share of associations as an incorporated legal entity is very different: 54% in Hungary and 88% in the Czech Republic. Zimmer (2004) discusses civil society and NPOs more generally in Central and Eastern Europe.

(f) Denmark

For the Scandinavian countries it is difficult to distinguish monomorphic GAs (unique, single, unrelated groups) from polymorphic associations with a linkage to a high-level parent association (Smith, Stebbins, and Dover 2006). Monomorphic GAs are rare; thus, most GAs are polymorphic. In fact, it is a characteristic feature of Scandinavia that small informal groups, if they survive as GAs, adopt a formal structure of organization, for instance a written constitution, a yearly assembly, an elected board, and so on. This seems also to apply for other European countries (Torpe and Ferrer-Fons 2007). An obvious reason in Denmark is that every association is entitled to public grants, for example a place to meet, as soon as they can present a written constitution, where the purpose of the association is stated and from which it appears that the association is democratically structured.

(g) Fiji Islands (Republic of Fiji)

The missionary and colonial encounter shaped the emergence and development of formal (especially religious and welfare) organizations in Fiji (Khan et al. 2007). Today, there are many formal and informal NPOs in Fiji that largely reflect the multi-ethnic and racial composition of the country. The *iTaukei* (indigenous Fijians), Indo-Fijians, Chinese-Fijians, European-Fijians, and other significant racial/ethnic/national minorities have associations to serve their needs. The predominant nonprofit associations are religious-based, trade unions, educational groups (over 99% of primary and secondary schools are NPOs), and sports organizations (Khan et al. 2007).

But no study has so far quantified the number of NPOs in Fiji. Even the Fiji Bureau of Statistics, tasked with collecting such data regularly through the Statistics on Non-Profit Organizations survey to feed into national accounts since 2008, does not have the data. Secondly, registration regimes in Fiji fall under several Acts of parliament or decrees – Charitable Trust Act (Cap 67); Religious Bodies Registration Act. (Cap 68); Business Licensing Act (Cap 204); Friendly Societies Act (Cap 253); Registration of Clubs Act (Cap 194); Co-operative Societies Act (Cap 250); and Social Justice Act (2001). The lack of a one-stop source of data for registered NPOs makes record keeping and retrieval a daunting task. Further, while all formal NPOs are required to register with the Fiji Revenue and Customs Authority (under the Income Tax Act), especially if their operations have annual revenues of beyond FJD 100,000, such data, as observed in the US case above, miss many NPOs, most of which are small, GAs, and operating under the radar of revenue authorities.

With regard to density of membership and citizen participation in associations, a CIVICUS-led study estimated that 50% of adult Fijians are members of an association (mainly religious), while a further 66% were involved in voluntary work of some sort (Khan et al. 2007). While most volunteering is informal, as in nearly all nations, a new trend of formal volunteering has been growing in strength, aided by corporate sponsorships and the establishment of the Fiji Council of Social Services-run National Volunteer Center in 2009. This trend has provided opportunities, especially for young Fijians, to participate more in formal volunteer schemes (Vakaoti 2012). Nonetheless, trends in associations and volunteering in Fiji are highly under-researched.

(h) Kuwait and other Arab nations

Abu-Rumman (2014) was involved in the World Values Survey (WVS), Wave 6, with specific responsibility for the WVS survey in Kuwait. The WVS general interview item about association participation presented a list of eight types of associations to the respondent and asked the latter to indicate any in which he or she was a member and whether participation was active or not. For all 13 Arab nations studied in Wave 6 of the WVS except Bahrain, less than 20% of respondents were members (the Bahrainis were at 25%). Nine of the 13 nations had membership levels at 11% or less, and five were below 5% (see Figure 51.1).

Bahrain also had the highest percentage of active members of associations, followed by Lebanon, Qatar, and Kuwait. The percentages of active members for these four Arab nations were 25%, 19%, 17%, and 16%, respectively. The most frequent goal types of associations for the combined memberships of all Arab nations studied were sport and recreation (17%), humanitarian or charitable (15%), religious (15%), professional (13%), and art, music, or educational associations (13%). Least frequent were memberships in environmental (9%), consumer (8%), and self-help (8%) associations (see Figure 51.2).

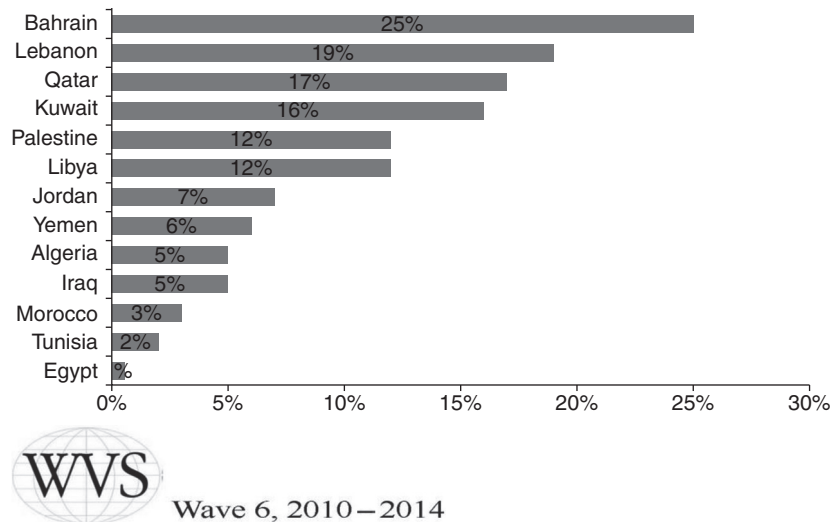


Figure 51.1 Total of Arab nonprofit organization membership by country

In Kuwait specifically, the distribution of memberships among the eight types of associations is presented in Figure 51.2. The top four types of associations are the same as for all the Arab nations studied, but the order shifts somewhat. Environmental and self-help associations had the lowest frequencies of memberships in Kuwait.

(i) Nordic countries

The total number of NPOs in the three countries is roughly estimated to be 200,000 in Sweden; 100,000 in Finland; and 100,000 in Norway (Henriksen and Ibsen 2001:53). The civil sector is continually changing its contents, related to size, organizational forms, strengths and weaknesses. Nearly all types of organizations in Norway are declining in memberships and formal activities like members' meetings and board meetings. Only GAs with a neighborhood focus and sports clubs increase their memberships and activities. In many established organizations the number of memberships and local groups is declining. Memberships are more frequently terminated, and people involve themselves in organizational activities without being members of the actual organization. The number of member-less organizations and foundations (trusts) is increasing, while the number of GAs is stagnating (Christensen, Strømsnes, and Wollebæk 2011:17). Members are more passive, and an increasing number of inhabitants remain outside the organizations (Christensen, Strømsnes, and Wollebæk 2011:9). Torpe (2003) writes about Denmark: "the member-based organization is under pressure ... It has become more difficult for associations to recruit members and to continue to base their activities on volunteering."

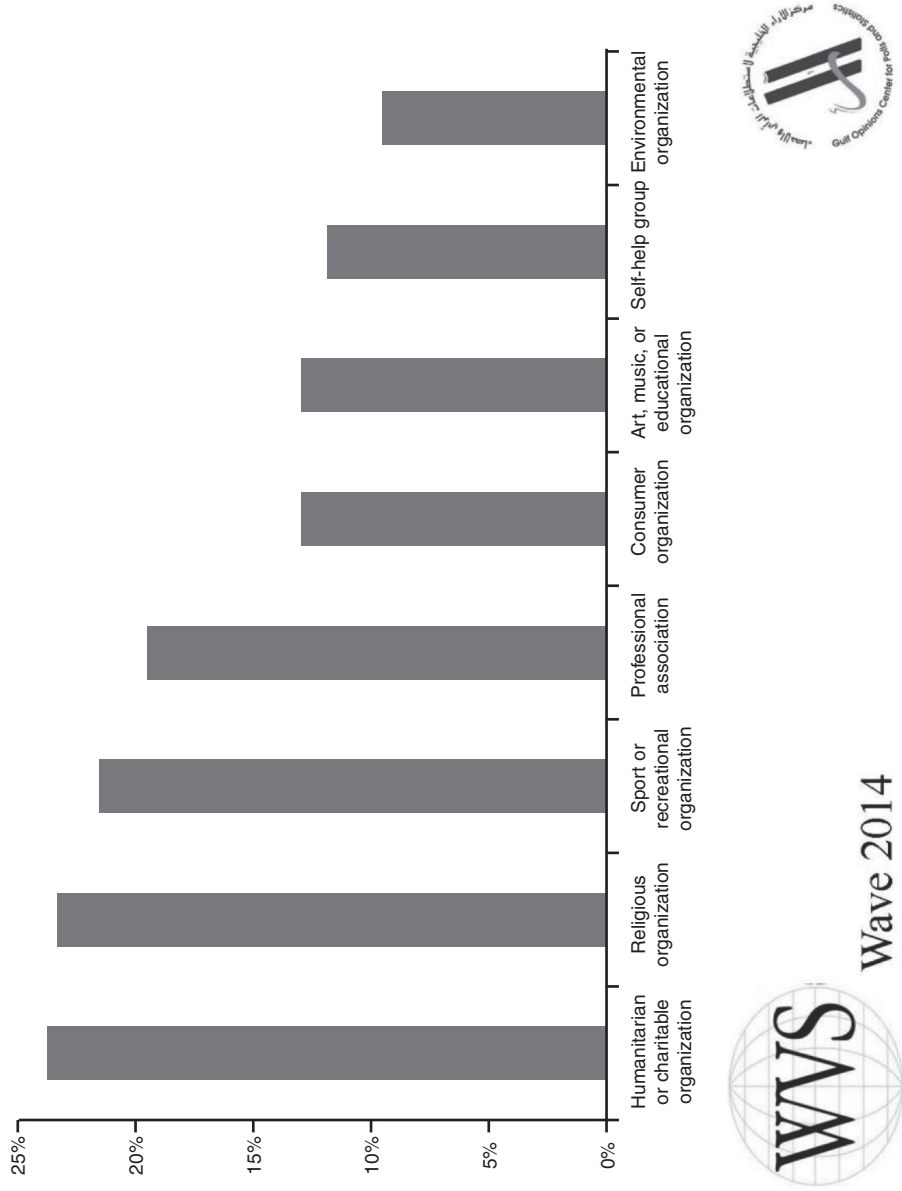


Figure 51.2 Kuwaiti memberships in NPO organizations

While the civil sector in the Nordic countries in many respects traditionally has had similar organizational features, Norway and Sweden now seem to have a development in different directions (Christensen, Strømsnes, and Wollebæk 2011:9; see also Lundstrom and Svedberg 2003). The altruistic and philanthropic perspectives of the organizations have diminished since the 1960s, while the concentration of members' benefits has become more obvious (Christensen, Strømsnes, and Wollebæk 2011:10). Norwegian GAs traditionally were organized in three levels: local, regional, and national. The regional level has been considerably weakened in recent years, and there is a more obvious split between the local and national level (Christensen, Strømsnes, and Wollebæk 2011:47; Wollebæk and Selle 2002:108).

(j) Pakistan

Pakistan today has a large number of NGOs working in different sectors, many of them being MAs. According to a 2002 study by Pasha et al., the total number of registered NGOs in Pakistan was estimated to be over 56,000. The study further concluded that there is a strong influence of religious faith in the shaping of the voluntary sector in Pakistan. Faith-based organizations (FBOs), especially Madrasahs¹ for imparting religious education, accounted for about 30% of the total registered NGOs (Pasha et al. 2002). Another 18% of registered NGOs are estimated to be involved in advocacy. About 8% of such NGOs are involved in the education sector and around 4.5% are associated with the health sector (ibid.).

A recent report by Naviwala (2010) states that the total number of registered and unregistered NGOs in Pakistan is over 100,000, with most of them being associations. However, only a small fraction of these NGOs can be regarded as well organized, sustainable, and effective.

(k) Switzerland

In Switzerland, civil society and voluntary associations have a long history and continue to be strong and active. Much of the political system is still dependent on voluntary action and associations. About 25% of the population above 15 years old is engaged in formal volunteering, while about 30% is active in informal volunteering (Stadelmann-Steffen et al. 2010). Intermediate organizations, like *Benevol*, actively promote volunteering and match interested persons with associations and other NPOs. The most common organizational form where formal volunteering takes place is the association (von Schnurbein and Bethmann 2010). In Switzerland, only two people are needed to found an association. If the association does not have any commercial interest (i.e., seek a profit), it does not need to list itself with any national register. Careful estimations count around 76,000 associations (Helmig et al. 2010:157). Within Switzerland, the density and scope of voluntary associations differ significantly between the

German- and the French-speaking parts of the country. Formal volunteering is estimated to be around 17% higher in the German-speaking part, as in western Switzerland (Stadelmann-Steffen et al. 2010:124).

(l) Six-nation European data on GAs for selected cities

Table 51.1 reporting the density of civil society is taken from a six-city/six-nation investigation of local associations in Europe. The GA density in Aalborg is presumably representative for other Danish cities. A newer study from another region shows a similar result. This study also shows that the density is higher in smaller towns or rural areas than in the cities (Ibsen 2006). In smaller municipalities, there are twice as many associations per 1000 inhabitants than in cities such as Aalborg. This finding confirms the many studies of GA density in the United States reviewed in Smith (2000:36–45), which showed generally much higher GA densities in smaller towns and rural areas.

3. Global estimates of numbers of MAs and volunteers

The global association density estimation procedure used by Smith here is based on his estimate that there are about 7 GAs per 1,000 of population on average in the nations of the world, population-weighted (Smith 2014). The data in Table 51.1 here roughly support this estimate by showing that the density of GAs in six cities in six post-modern, post-industrial nations of Europe seems to average about 10 GAs per 1,000 population when weighted. As expected, this rough average is higher than the estimated global average of 7, because more GA density is to be expected, both theoretically and empirically, to be higher in post-modern, post-industrial, highly educated, wealthier, and more democratic nations (Smith and Shen 2002; Schofer and Longhofer 2011).

Smith (2000:36–45) reviewed many studies that suggested the density in the United States was about 30 GAs per 1,000 of population circa 1990, and likely had been that way for decades. The estimated density of associations, especially GAs, in China recently is about 7 per 1,000 of population (see chapter section D,

Table 51.1 The relative density of GAs in six cities

| | Number of GAs | Number of inhabitants | GAs per inhabitant | GAs per 1,000 population |
|--------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| Aalborg, Denmark | 2.031 | 161.661 | 1 per 80 | 12.6 |
| Aberdeen, United Kingdom | 1.907 | 212.650 | 1 per 112 | 8.9 |
| Bern, Switzerland | 1.198 | 122.537 | 1 per 102 | 9.7 |
| Enschede, Netherlands | 1.658 | 150.499 | 1 per 91 | 11.0 |
| Mannheim, Germany | 5.002 | 319.444 | 1 per 61 | 15.6 |
| Sabadell, Spain | 1.129 | 185.270 | 1 per 164 | 6.1 |

#2, d above). Estimated GA density varies in other nations (Smith 2000:40), but roughly confirms average densities in the 1–10 GAs per thousand of population range. Most studies in cities with a population of 50,000 or larger have not been thorough about counting and estimating numbers of GAs, using inadequate methodology. Hence, their estimates of the total of GAs present tend to be significantly low, often substantially low.

Given all of the foregoing, Smith (2014) concluded that an estimate of 7 GAs per thousand of population globally was the most likely figure. At the very least, *this estimate is likely of the correct order of magnitude, based on all available data and on methodological shortcomings of all lower estimates* (i.e., the rarity of use of hypernetwork sampling; McPherson 1982). Thus, it is very likely that the correct number for GA density is between 0.7 and 70 per thousand population, with the highest probability of the figure being between 7 plus or minus 4 (i.e., from 3 to 11 GAs per thousand of population). Identifying/discovering the correct order of magnitude of a given phenomenon of interest is perhaps the most basic, empirical aspect of the physical and biological sciences. *To have identified the correct order of magnitude for GA density in human society worldwide is thus a substantial achievement*, the work of many researchers in many societies over many decades.

Based on the estimated 2013 global population of about 7 billion, and the estimated global prevalence of seven GAs per thousand population, Smith (2014) estimated that *there were about 56 million NPGs worldwide circa 2013, including nonprofit agencies. Of these, about 49 million (roughly 90%) are GAs*. Some 7 million additional NPGs are PSNPOs, mainly nonprofit agencies (including foundations), but also some large nonprofit associations. An estimated one billion people now are members of one or more associations, and even more will be members sometime during their lifetime. If more accurate world population figures are used, or figures for a more recent year, calculations can be redone using the 7/1000 prevalence rate.

The population-weighted percentage of adults (aged 15 years or more) in the world who were volunteering for an organization in 2010 was 16%, according to Gavelin and Svedberg (2011). For this same year, approximately, the adult population of the world was about 74% of the total population, or about 5.2 billion (taking the world population as about 7.0 billion; CIA, 2014). The 74% figure for adults varies with the level of GDP per capita or modernization, as developing nations tend to have a significantly larger percentage of children and youth. Also, some post-modern nations (e.g., Japan) have an unusually high percentage of people over the age of 65.

Given that population-weighted average of 16% of the adult population involved in formal volunteering, as estimated above, this approach provides an estimate of 829,000,000 formal volunteers. The vast majority of these were probably association volunteers, not volunteers in VSPs, but we do not know

the actual percentage (see Handbook Chapter 15). Too many researchers fail to identify and measure distinctively association volunteers versus VSP volunteers, as was a problem with various US surveys of giving and volunteering by independent sector (e.g., Kirsch et al. 1999).

If we assume all of these are association volunteers, we may divide the 829 million association volunteers by the estimated 49 million GAs. We obtain as a result about 16.9 volunteers per GA. There are nearly always inactive members of a GA, so the total number of members of GAs on average must be higher than the 16.9 active members (volunteers), probably in the range of 20–30 members in total. This range includes the number of members per GA obtained independently by McPherson (1983) in his extensive research on associations (mainly GAs) in 10 US cities and towns of different sizes. This congruence of different estimates lends significant credibility to the estimates of numbers of volunteers and of GAs in the world.

Salamon, Sokolowski, and Haddock (2011) estimated from their own (Johns Hopkins Project comparative multi-national) research by extrapolation that there are about 971 million volunteers worldwide, including both formal and informal volunteers. This is likely to be a substantial underestimate, because nearly all socialized humans do some *informal* volunteering in any given year. But the authors also estimated that 2/3 of these volunteers were informal volunteers, indicating about 324 million formal volunteers. This estimate is likely quite *not* correct and very low, given the independent estimate of 829 million formal volunteers derived by Smith, as above. The low estimate likely results from the Johns Hopkins Project failing to properly measure association volunteering in its many national studies of the nonprofit sector.

4. How much wealth and how much income per year do MAs have globally?

We know little about the wealth (assets, such as real estate/buildings, moveable property/equipment, cash on hand, money in the bank, financial instruments – stocks, bonds, and money market accounts) or annual income of NPGs for most nations and for the world as a whole. However, based on research in about 40 nations, Salamon et al. (2004) have estimated that NPOs generally (focusing mainly on nonprofit *agencies*, *not associations*) have cumulative budgets amounting to 2% to 10% of the GDP of their respective nations. Boje (2008) reported that in the four Scandinavian nations of Denmark, Finland, Sweden, and Finland, the income of NPGs was from 3.8% to 7.4% of GDP. Less developed nations of the Global South have lower percentages cumulative NPG budgets/income as a percentage of GDP. The most modern/post-modern, post-industrial, service-information nations are at the upper end of this range. In general, the NPGs of the VNPS seem to account for an average of about 6% of GDP of their own nation.

What seems likely from fragmentary data in the United States is that the wealthiest NPOs on average are nonprofit agencies, not associations, especially private foundations. However, NPO hospitals and universities as well as very large MAs can also be quite wealthy. The income figures available for a few nations tend to suggest that universities and hospitals are highest on economic measures, along with certain very large associations.

Data in some nations (United States, United Kingdom, Israel, Australia, Canada) also suggest that there is much concentration of wealth and income among NPGs: A small proportion, perhaps 10%, of NPGs is likely to own the majority of assets and have the majority of income. For example, in the United States, NPGs below the 90th percentile had USD 166 billion in assets (circa 2010), while those at or above have USD 2.177 trillion (National Center for Charitable Statistics 2013).

In general, GAs tend to be poor in both assets and income. However, GAs are massive in numbers and rich in volunteer time, which has clear economic value. When the economic value of volunteer time is imputed/estimated, then GAs as a whole in all nations are much higher in income. But volunteer time cannot be stored or accumulated, unlike money or physical assets, so the wealth/assets of GAs remains quite small even when economic value is imputed to volunteer time.

Associations have cumulative global incomes and assets in the hundreds of billions of US dollars. Many associations strongly support the economic systems and economic development in their own nations and globally, such as occupational-economic associations. Examples are labor unions, farmers associations, professional associations, and scientific societies, with individual members, but also trade associations with business firms as organizational members (see Handbook Chapter 19).

5. How many informal and formal volunteers are there in the world?

(a) Numbers of informal volunteers

Gavelin and Svedberg (2011) estimated the scope and magnitude of volunteering in the world, based on a Gallup World Poll in 2010, as part of the UN Volunteers' 2011 State of the World's Volunteerism Project (see Leigh, Smith et al. 2011). That poll studied representative samples of about 1,000 adults in 153 nations of the world, which contained about 95% of the world's total population.

Taking account of the population of each nation, they found *a population-weighted global average of 39% of the adult population who do informal volunteering for the 153 countries studied*. The Gallup data on IV is based on a single question about *helping a stranger in the past month*, which greatly underestimates INV. Most INV is done for friends, neighbors, co-workers, and extended family, *not*

Table 51.2 Average informal volunteering by world region (2010)

| |
|---|
| 65% North America |
| 64% Pacific |
| 51% Africa |
| 48% Middle East and Northern Africa |
| 47% Latin America and Caribbean |
| 45% Western Europe |
| 41% Asia (Southeast) |
| 35% Eastern Europe and Russian Federation |
| 30% Asia (East) |
| 29% Asia (South) |

Note: Interview item asks about “helping a stranger” in the past month, ignoring more frequent helping of people who are known.

Source: Gavelin and Svedberg (2011:71–73).

for strangers (Amato 1990). The rank order of population-weighted average (mean) INV by world regions is presented in Table 51.2.

Using the European Social Survey (2002), there is fairly wide variation in INV among European nations, ranging from a low of 17% of people in Greece who report helping *others daily or several times weekly* to a high of 51% in Austria. Countries in central Western Europe (Austria, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Germany) tend to be highest in INV of the nations studied (see Table 51.3). By contrast, some nations in Southern and Eastern Europe (Greece, Portugal, Spain, Poland, the Czech Republic) tend to be lowest in average INV, but *not all* nations in these sub-regions. Slovenia is unusually high in average INV, being just higher than Denmark and the United Kingdom. Finland is unusually low in average INV among Northern European nations, being tied with Spain.

These results are roughly similar to the data reported by Gavelin and Svedberg (2011), but use a much more adequate interview item. Unlike the Gallup World Poll, the INV question in the European Social Survey is much broader than simply helping strangers.

(b) Numbers of formal non-stipended volunteers

Here are the results for Formal Non-Stipended Volunteers (FNVs) – volunteering without any remuneration done as part of a group or organization, either in a membership association or as part of a VSP in an NPO, government agency, or for-profit business, especially hospitals (see Handbook Chapters 10 and 11 regarding stipended volunteering). From here on, we will *only* refer to FNVs and to Formal Non-Stipended Volunteering when we refer to formal volunteers or formal volunteering in this chapter.

Based on the 2010 Gallup World Poll (Gavelin and Swedberg 2011:32), *the population-weighted global average of adults who did formal volunteering is 16%.*

Table 51.3 Percentage informal volunteering in Europe (2002)

| | Help others daily or several times weekly | Help others monthly | Help others rarely or never |
|----------------|--|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Austria | 51 | 30 | 19 |
| Belgium | 39 | 33 | 29 |
| Switzerland | 47 | 37 | 16 |
| Czech Republic | 19 | 21 | 60 |
| Germany | 45 | 33 | 22 |
| Denmark | 37 | 35 | 28 |
| Spain | 22 | 23 | 56 |
| Finland | 22 | 32 | 46 |
| United Kingdom | 37 | 24 | 39 |
| Greece | 17 | 38 | 45 |
| Hungary | 30 | 31 | 39 |
| Ireland | 35 | 23 | 42 |
| Italy | 25 | 19 | 56 |
| Luxembourg | 31 | 27 | 42 |
| Netherlands | 46 | 30 | 24 |
| Norway | 31 | 34 | 36 |
| Poland | 20 | 32 | 48 |
| Portugal | 20 | 47 | 33 |
| Sweden | 36 | 31 | 33 |
| Slovenia | 38 | 36 | 26 |

Note: Interview item asks about "How often, if at all, do you actively provide help for other people?"
Source: European Social Survey (2002).

The rank order of population-weighted average FNV by world regions is given in Table 51.4 note that the South Asia is mostly the effect of India, while East Asia is mostly the effect of China, given their huge populations).

There is great variation in FNV across world regions, ranging from an average of 6% in Asia (East) to 42% in North America. Perhaps the most striking result is the low levels of FNV in the Middle East and North Africa, yet the robust levels of INV. The caveat is that the Gallup World Poll measures of both INV and FNV are very limited, being based on only one question each, without the usual prompts to respondents that elicit a more expansive and accurate view of either.

The World Values Study (2004) has also tracked FNV, breaking it down by three purposive-activity types of associations for which one is volunteering (Table 51.5).

Twenty-eight countries were represented in the 2000–2004 Wave, but the question has not been replicated in successive instruments. One can see from the data that there is also a large variation across world regions in rates of FNV. Most striking is the very high level of volunteering for church

Table 51.4 Average formal volunteering by world region (2010)

| |
|---|
| 42% North America |
| 39% Pacific |
| 27% Asia (Southeast) |
| 24% Africa |
| 24% Western Europe |
| 17% Eastern Europe and Russian Federation |
| 16% Latin America and Caribbean |
| 12% Asia (South) |
| 9% Middle East and North Africa |
| 6% Asia (East) |

Note: Interview item asks about having “volunteered your time to an organization” in the past month.
Source: Gavelin and Svedberg (2011:30–32).

Table 51.5 Percent of population on average volunteering (type) by world region (2004)

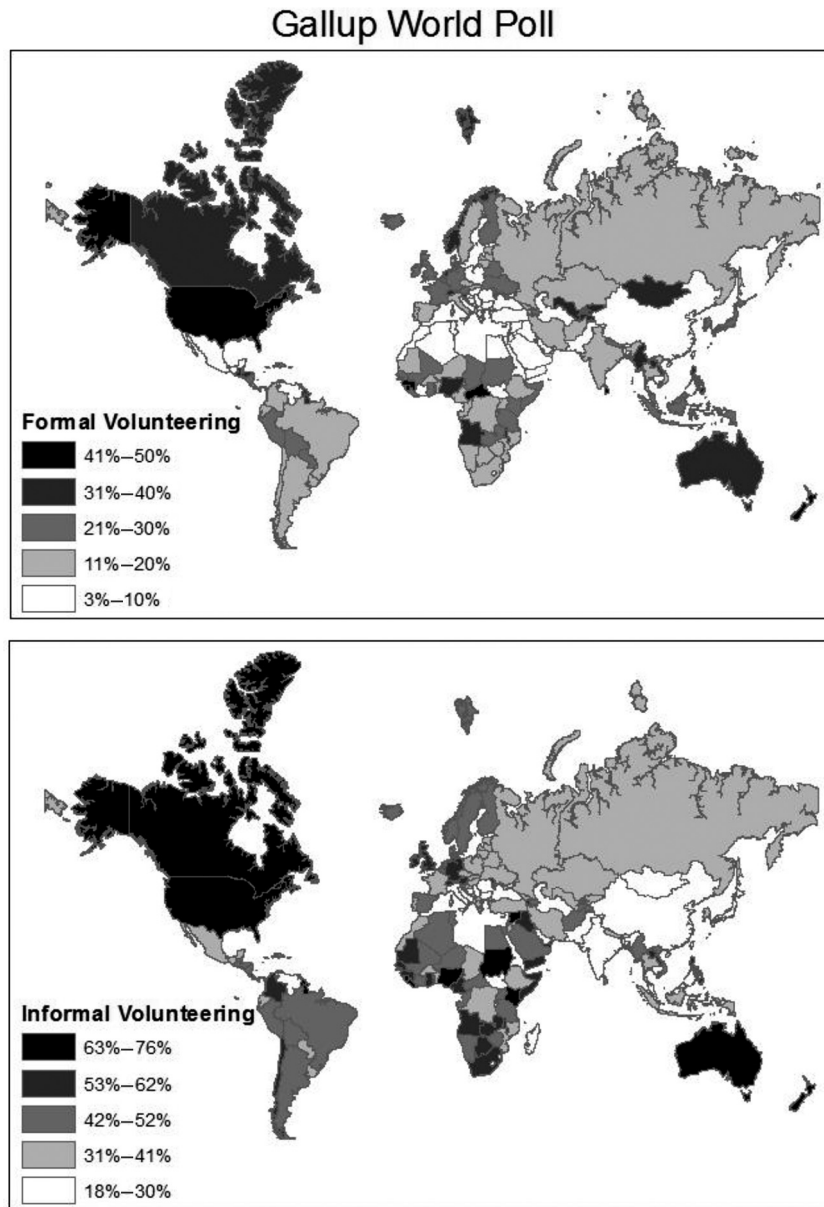
| | Church org | Sports or recreation | Cultural activities |
|---------------|------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| Asia | 15.7 | 11.2 | 10.9 |
| Africa | 41.1 | 16.9 | 13.0 |
| Australia | – | – | – |
| Europe | 9.3 | 7.2 | 5.8 |
| North America | 26.7 | 11.0 | 11.0 |
| South America | 15.3 | 7.6 | 6.8 |

Note: Survey item asks about “currently doing unpaid voluntary work.”
Source: World Values Study (2000–2004).

organizations/GAs in Africa, and to a lesser extent in North America. For Sports/Recreation and for Cultural FNV, the magnitudes are fairly similar across world regions

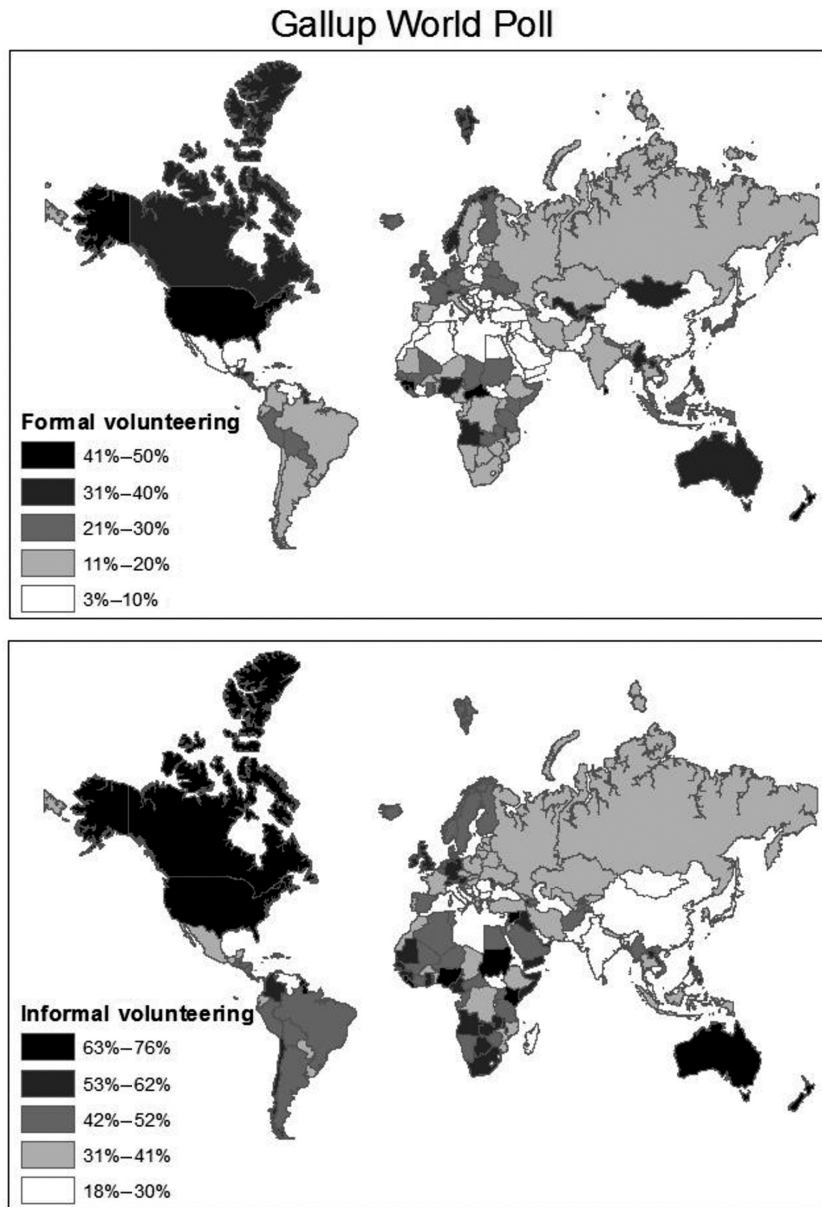
One way to grasp quickly the data on the global scope of volunteering is to look at maps of FNV and INV, as in Maps 51.1 and 51.2, which are based on the Gallup World Poll data gathered in 2010 (Gavelin and Svedberg 2011). These maps, as well as the other tables of global data on volunteering and associations reviewed above, tell us some very important facts about volunteering and associations in the world. Map 51.1, prepared by the second author here, Brent Never, illustrates the geographic dispersion of FNV, using the Gallup World Poll as reported by Gavelin and Svedberg (2011). Map 51.2 does the same for INV, based on the same data source.

There is volunteering in significant, and often substantial, amounts in every world region. Volunteering is *not* exclusively a Western or Global North activity, but a global activity. All world regions have at least 6% of adults who did formal volunteering recently and at least 29% who did informal volunteering recently,



Map 51.1 World map of formal volunteering/FNV
Source: New map from data of Gallup World Poll (2010).

AQ1



Map 51.2 World map of informal volunteering/INV
Source: New map from data of Gallup World Poll (2010).

according to the Gallup World Poll data. Most global volunteering occurs in voluntary associations, not in VSPs, and such associations are similarly found in all contemporary nations and thus all world regions. By far the most frequent type of associations is local or GAs, although estimating the numbers of GAs in any place or geographic territory larger than a small town is difficult and costly to do accurately, requiring hypernetwork sampling (McPherson 1982). Supra-Local Associations (SLAs), especially National Associations, are also present in all contemporary nations and thus in all world regions, as are Transnational Associations (INGOs).

Given that most formal volunteering occurs in voluntary associations, not in VSPs, there is a global positive correlation of association density with formal volunteering frequency in nations of the world found, as expected. Combining these two measures for a nation results in a new kind of quantitative Civil Society Index that is more purely focused on volunteering and associations as the twin, core phenomena of the nonprofit sector at any time in human history, irrespective of economic considerations, including paid staff.

Formal volunteering and informal volunteering are also *not* universal in the sense that every adult in every country engages in either type of activity during the past month (data not shown, but from same source as tables), given the data currently available from the Gallup World Poll. For FNV, the countries with the lowest percentages were reported in Bulgaria (3%), China (3%; probably due to a methodological error), Iraq (4%), and Bosnia/Herzegovina (4%). For INV, the lowest percentages were reported in Madagascar (18%), Burundi (19%), Pakistan (20%), and Kosovo (20%).

Informal volunteering is far more frequent in all world regions than formal volunteering, with an average of 23% more INV than FNV in the Gallup World Poll 2010 data. In some countries, INV is over 50% greater than the FNV (Kuwait 59%, Syria 50%, Iraq 55%). The developing regions of the Middle East/North Africa (39%), Latin America/ Caribbean (31%), and Africa (27%) show the greatest absolute differences of INV over FNV. Thus, the Western and Global North emphasis on FNV neglects the very large amounts of INV that is relatively (not absolutely) more common in the Global South.

As might be expected, FNV is most frequent in North America and the Pacific (Australia, New Zealand) as world regions in Table 51.4. In addition to having very post-modern social structures, these Anglophone societies seem to have some cultural values (like personal independence, individualism, and trust) that promote FV in particular (e.g., Hofstede 2001; Inglehart et al. 2010). However, in the World Values Survey, Africa is the region with higher FNV. Methodological differences in the questions asked likely account for this, with the latter data likely more accurate – based on a question with several prompts.

There is no evidence of INV or FNV *compensating* for each other (or reducing involvement in the other type) on a global basis: The North American and

Pacific regions as well as Africa are high on *both* INV and FNV, contrary to compensation expectations. Similarly, South and East Asia are low in rank on both INV and FNV.

Surprisingly, in Table 51.4 Western Europe as a world region is lower in the rank order of FNV than would be expected, but clustered with Africa and Southeast Asia in absolute frequency of FNV (24–27%).

The high relative and absolute frequencies of both FNV and INV in Africa will be a surprise to many, especially in the Global North. This high level of African volunteering (especially in Table 51.5) most likely reflects some distinctive values regarding pro-social activity, mutual aid, reciprocity, cooperation, and solidarity, not necessarily altruism and helping in the Global North sense (Wilkinson-Maposa and Fowler 2009; Wilkinson-Maposa, Fowler, Oliver-Evans, and Mulenga 2005).

The much lower FNV in Eastern Europe and the Russian Federation than in Western Europe is as expected, given some counter-reactions to former forced *volunteering* in the region from about 1945 to 1989. There is also a smaller than usual excess of the INV percentage over the FNV percentage for this region (18%).

The Middle East and Northern African region jumps up markedly in volunteering percentage (up 39%) and rank order when INV is examined as contrasted with FNV. Latin America and the Caribbean jump up 31% and Africa jumps up 27% in INV compared to FNV. Other world regions also show major but smaller increases, with the smallest regional increases found in Southeast Asia (14%) and South Asia (17%).

Except for North America and the Pacific region, data on volunteering rates in specific countries show great *intra*-region variation (not shown here) as well as the *inter*-region variations shown in the tables here. In the Gallup data, the range of FNV percentages is 29% or more within most world regions, 18% for the Mideast/North Africa, and negligible in North America and the Pacific (combining the three sub-regions of Asia into one). The range of INV percentages within regions is 29% or greater in all world regions except North America and the Pacific for the Gallup data (combining the three sub-regions of Asia into one).

6. What is the estimated economic value of all volunteering worldwide?

Salamon, Sokolowski, and Haddock (2011) estimated from their own research by extrapolation that there are roughly 1 billion volunteers worldwide (971 million). This is likely to be an underestimate, because nearly all socialized humans (e.g., adults over age 15) do some *informal* volunteering in any given year. Also, as noted above under key issue K#3, their estimate for formal volunteers is also likely incorrect and very low.

These authors (p. 3) take as their definition of volunteering the version recently accepted by the International Labour Organization: “Unpaid non-compulsory work; that is, time individuals give without pay to activities performed either through organizations or directly for others outside their own household.”

The authors review and assess various alternative approaches to valuing volunteer time. They conclude that the most useful approach is to assign observed market values for volunteer time taking a replacement cost perspective (i.e., the cost to an organization of replacing a volunteer with a paid worker of similar skill level).

Data from the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project for 43 nations on formal volunteering and Time Use Survey data for 26 nations on informal volunteering were extrapolated to estimate volunteering time for 182 of 192 nations of the world. Such extrapolation is very loose and inadequate, but the best we have at present. The authors term their approach *conservative*.

The results indicate about 971 million people volunteer in a typical year worldwide (p. 22), with 36% being formal volunteers and 64% being informal volunteers. The estimated total economic value of this volunteering in 2005 was USD 1.348 trillion (p. 23). This number was equivalent to the seventh largest economy in the world in that year. Another estimate yields the total value of USD 1.49 trillion, with more extensive extrapolation (p. 23, fn).

7. What is known about the internal structures and processes of MAs worldwide?

(a) Polymorphic versus monomorphic structures of GAs

Table 51.6 provides information on the internal structure of local associations/ GAs (Torpe and Ferrer-Fons, 2007), as part of the six-city study of selected European cities in six nations (Maloney and Rossteutscher, 2007). Vertical refers to the proportion of GAs that are vertically structured, as part of a regional

Table 51.6 Six-city study of selected cities: Polymorphic/monomorphic structures of GAs and formal representative rule (in %)

| | Aalborg | Aberdeen | Bern | Enschede | Mann-heim | Sabadell | Total |
|------------------------------------|---------|----------|------|----------|-----------|----------|-------|
| Horizontal/ monomorphic | 51.3 | 39.4 | 38.0 | 60.7 | 33.1 | 31.1 | 42.6 |
| Vertical/ polymorphic | 48.7 | 60.6 | 62.0 | 39.3 | 66.9 | 68.9 | 57.4 |
| Formal repre- sentative rule | 87.1 | 17.4 | 74.5 | 61.9 | 65.1 | 69.4 | 66.0 |

Source: Torpe and Ferrer Fons (2007:101).

or national umbrella organization or themselves an umbrella organization. In the terminology of this Handbook (see also Smith et al., 2006), these are polymorphic GAs. Horizontal refers to the number of associations that are free standing or monomorphic in Handbook terminology. The *index of differentiation* measures the degree to which the GAs include different officer positions, such as a treasurer or secretary, and also subsidiary internal subgroups, such as standing and special committees.

As can be seen, most organizations are polymorphic, and a clear majority have formal representative rule, with Aberdeen as an interesting exception. Furthermore, the leadership/management in most GAs is divided into several subgroups and official positions. Thus, in most cases, formal representative rule is supplemented by administrative differentiation.

There are more informal structures among newer associations than among older ones. Rather than just age, however, this fact also reflects association size. Smaller associations tend to have more informal structures, and new associations are usually smaller than older associations (Torpe and Ferrer-Fons 2007). Thus, there seems to be great continuity with regard to formal representative rule in associations across cities in Europe.

(b) Percentage of paid staff

The study of six European cities also includes information about the frequency and size distribution of paid staff (Kriesi 2007). As can be seen in Table 51.7, the paid staff are concentrated in a minority of GAs. Most GAs in all cities and nations studied have no paid staff, as Smith (2000:45–53) suggested was the usual case. These GAs are the majority, *all-volunteer* GAs, found in all societies for the past 10 millennia when the economic complexity level is above hunting-gathering bands (Nolan and Lenski 2006; Smith 1997a). When any

Table 51.7 Six-city study of selected cities: Number of paid staff

| Paid Staff # | Bern | Aberdeen | Enschede | Mannheim | Sabadell | Aalborg | All |
|--------------|------|----------|----------|----------|----------|---------|------|
| 0 | 57.9 | 61.5 | 69.9 | 73.3 | 77.9 | 81.6 | 71.3 |
| 1–5 | 24.1 | 20.1 | 14.1 | 13.9 | 12.8 | 8.8 | 14.9 |
| 5–9 | 8.6 | 7.5 | 6.9 | 5.2 | 3.9 | 6.1 | 6.2 |
| 10–29 | 5.4 | 6.3 | 4.5 | 4 | 3.6 | 2.7 | 4.2 |
| 30 and over | 3 | 2.9 | 3.5 | 2.7 | 0.6 | 0.4 | 2.3 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| N | 665 | 478 | 817 | 1590 | 335 | 935 | 4.82 |

Source: Kriesi (2007).

paid staff are present in GAs, they are usually few in number (e.g., there are as many GAs with 1–4 paid staff as with more paid staff in Table 51.7).

8. What is known quantitatively about the rates of participation within MAs worldwide?

The Eurobarometer surveys, put into the field by the European Union, have covered issues germane to associational activity and volunteering, although this has occurred through special surveys that are commissioned by EU members and agencies (see Table 51.8). This means that the topic of each survey is different, and one cannot count on an even flow of responses over time. Of course, the responses only relate to the 25 EU member countries.

One question that was repeated twice (2005, 2007) relates to whether respondents *participate actively or do voluntary work*. The results indicate a clear Northern and Middle European pattern of more active participation, with a pattern in former Communist, Eastern European countries as well as in southern Europe of less participation. However, fairly dramatic shifts in average FNV between the surveys raise questions about the comparability of specific questions in the different surveys. Variations in question wording and in word translations for the same country in different surveys/years are the likely causes of some inconsistent and unbelievable results.

Table 51.8 Participate actively or do voluntary work (in %, Europe)

| | European Social Survey 2002 | Eurobarometer 2005 | European Values Survey 2008–2010 |
|----------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| Norway | 37 | | 35 |
| Sweden | 35 | 50 | |
| Netherlands | 29 | 49 | 45 |
| Denmark | 28 | 42 | 35 |
| Germany | 26 | 35 | 21 |
| United Kingdom | 23 | 33 | 19 |
| Belgium | 23 | 38 | 33 |
| France | 19 | 36 | 25 |
| Ireland | 16 | 41 | 19 |
| Austria | 14 | 43 | 24 |
| Hungary | 9 | 16 | 11 |
| Spain | 7 | 15 | 11 |
| Portugal | 6 | 11 | 13 |
| Italy | 5 | 23 | 20 |
| Poland | 5 | | 7 |
| Czech Republic | | 23 | 27 |

Source: Special Eurobarometer 223, Social Capital (2005): Survey item asks about “currently participat[ing] actively or do[ing] voluntary work.”

Aside from general magnitudes of FNV, only surveys with identical wording and translations in different years can be seen as valid and reliable estimates of genuine changes over time for any specific nation, let alone across time as well as nations.

The Afro-barometer survey for 20 years has considered a series of topics germane to sub-Saharan Africa. In general, the Afro-barometer faces special methodological challenges related to the difficulty of accessing all cultural segments of the populations in developing nations. These problems involve finding or constructing adequate sampling frames for random area probability sampling in each nation, translating an interview into all relevant languages across cultural groups within and across African nations, and finding/training interviewers fluent in all relevant languages.

In two recent waves (2008/2009 and 2011/2012), participants were asked to identify whether they are active members of *groups that people join or attend*. The results in Table 51.9 show a clear division between former Francophone colonies, with depressed activity levels, and former Anglophone colonies, with higher levels of activity. There is a large variation in the percentage of active members over the two waves: Lesotho and Ghana both saw 13-point drops. Such large drops likely involve some methodological errors (e.g., wording changes), being unlikely in reality.

9. What do we know about recent empirical trends in MAs and volunteering worldwide?

The rapid changes in the late 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century have led to speculations about the future of associations. Focus has been on two interconnected processes of late modern society: First is the growing individualization, and second is the decline of class and popular-based collective movements. In the United States, Putnam saw growing individualization as accompanied by a *decline of participation* in associations both in terms of membership and in terms of voluntary work related to an association (Putnam 1995, 2000).

These findings by Putnam for the United States regarding the decline of associations and of activity in them have *not* been confirmed for Europe (Stolle and Hooghe 2005). Smith and Robinson (2016) conclude that Putnam's conclusions about this *double-decline* do not fit generally with data for the rest of the world. Both association membership and levels of member activity in associations have mostly been rising globally in recent decades.

For instance, Harris (2011) describes and discusses the growth of volunteering and associations in the United Kingdom over the past six decades, and especially over the past three decades, for which quantitative data exist. The data he reports, based on the General Household Survey (GHS), show a doubling

Table 51.9 Percentage of who are active members of African GAs (2008/2009, 2011/12)

| | Active member 2008/2009 | Active member 2011/2012 |
|--------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Total | | 18 |
| Algeria | | 3 |
| Benin | 14 | 13 |
| Ivory Coast | | 15 |
| Botswana | 15 | 12 |
| Burkina Faso | 11 | 12 |
| Burundi | | 8 |
| Cameroon | | 23 |
| Cape Verde | 12 | 16 |
| Egypt | | 4 |
| Ghana | 30 | 17 |
| Guinea | | 20 |
| Kenya | 33 | 36 |
| Lesotho | 25 | 12 |
| Liberia | 34 | 32 |
| Madagascar | 2 | 3 |
| Malawi | 16 | 19 |
| Mali | 16 | 18 |
| Mauritius | | 15 |
| Morocco | | 9 |
| Mozambique | 14 | 19 |
| Namibia | 11 | 10 |
| Niger | | 10 |
| Nigeria | 23 | 22 |
| Senegal | 17 | 17 |
| Sierra Leone | | 34 |
| South Africa | 14 | 11 |
| Africa | | 21 |
| Tanzania | | 30 |
| Togo | | 16 |
| Tunisia | | 2 |
| Uganda | 25 | 19 |
| Tanzania | | 35 |
| Zambia | 20 | 19 |
| Zimbabwe | 11 | 18 |

Source: Afrobarometer, Round 4(2008/2009) and Round 5(2010/2012). Survey item asks about "groups that people join or attend."

of the percentage of British adults (for England and Wales) reporting volunteering from 1973 to 1992. Another series of national surveys by the National Centre for Volunteering finds little change from 1981 to 1997, but the levels are double than those in the most recent GHS, probably because of methodological differences. Still more recent data from the Citizenship Survey found a steady level of civic participation in five surveys from 2001 to 2008/2009, with

a 4% decline between 2008/2009 and 2009/2010, which may or may not be an anomaly versus a trend reversal.

Regarding the trend for membership in associations, Harris reports data from Grenier and Wright (2006) from the United Kingdom for the period from 1981 to 1999 (three surveys) that show steady and substantial growth of the average number of memberships per person (from about 0.9 to about 1.4), but stability in the percentage of the population (about 50%) belonging to associations. These findings are again contrary to Putnam's (2000) decline thesis for the United States.

When the data on government-registered charities in the United Kingdom are considered, based on registration statistics (see www.ncvo-vol.org.uk/accessibles-behind-almanac), there is a clear and rather steady upward sloping curve from about 1965 to 2007, after the initial registration period from 1960–1965, when the curve is much more sharply upward. Since 1990, there have been annual removals of registration for charities, but not before that date. In 2008, there were an unusually large number of charities removed, making the graph of registered charities turn downward. Similarly, in 1991 an unusually large number were removed, causing a temporary downturn in the upward curve and growth in numbers of registered charities. Although no data were presented on the proportion of associations that were registered in any given year or years, presumably the majority of registrations were for associations, not nonprofit agencies. There is little systematic data for prior years.

Several, but not all, of the inputs to this chapter about various specific nations in Section D, sub-section 3, above report substantial growth of numbers of associations in recent decades, plus some corresponding growth in volunteering (e.g., for Armenia, China, and the Czech Republic). Again, *all data here refute Putnam's decline thesis from his US data*. Some Scandinavian nation data (e.g., Norway) show declines in frequencies of associations and volunteering, but starting from very high levels.

In Denmark, both membership and formal volunteering have *increased* during the last 30 years (Torpe 2013). In Norway, volunteering has *slightly* decreased from 1997 to 2009 (Wollebæk and Sivesind 2009). For Sweden, Lundstrom and Svedberg et al. (2003) mainly discuss the current scope of the nonprofit sector at the time of writing, but suggest some growth of associations over the last decades of the 20th century. For Denmark, although the relationships between individuals and associations have changed, such change has so far not been expressed in lower membership rates and less volunteering. However, many associations have adapted to a changing role of membership and association volunteering. Association leaders often recognize that individuals are no longer willing to enter long-term commitments and therefore offer opportunities for more flexible forms of affiliation and volunteering (Hustinx 2010; Torpe 2011).

The decline of class-based and other traditional social movements is seen to be accompanied by two changes in the organizational society: Firstly, there is a weakened role of associations in pluralist democracy as a result of growing specialization, fragmentation, and professionalization (Selle 2002; Wollebæk and Selle 2002; Wollebæk 2008). Secondly, there has been a decline of the classical secondary association model (Torpe and Ferrer-Fons 2007).

The weakened role of associations in pluralist democracy is well documented for Norway (Wollebæk 2008; Wollebæk and Selle 2002), but the same tendencies can be observed in Denmark (Ibsen 2006). In general terms, such changes can be described as a displacement from voluntary organizing as an arena for promoting values and interests to voluntary organizing as an arena for producing services and organizing activity (Selle 2002). These changes have weakened the role of associations in public debate and deliberations (Wollebæk 2008). Moreover, research has found a weakened role of associations in public decision-making and implementation in Scandinavia since the 1980s (Christiansen et al. 2010).

It was also to be expected that the decline of class-based and other traditional social movements would challenge the classical secondary association model as the dominant form of organization. The classical secondary association model combines formal democratic representative structures, where members control the leadership, in polymorphic/hierarchical structures that connect local associations with regional and national umbrella/peak organizations. From the late 19th century, this federative polymorphic form became dominant in Scandinavia, where it was regarded as an advantageous instrument in the creation of strong movements capable of mobilizing large number of members and participants. Skocpol et al. (2000) showed that this civic voluntarism model developed in the United States in the early 1800s.

As the social basis of this organizational model has dissolved, one would expect that the classical secondary model is to be gradually succeeded by, on the one hand, more loose knit and informal forms of organization and, on the other hand, business-like organizations with either no formal representative rule or with formal representative rule, but where the leadership is not effectively controlled by the members (Maloney and Jordan 1997; Putnam 1995; Torpe 2003; Torpe and Ferrer-Fons 2007; Wuthnow 1998).

Scholars have attempted to theorize the variations in voluntarism and associational membership in several different ways. Curtis, Baer, and Grabb (2001) examine three dominant explanations in political science and sociology: economic organization, religious tradition, and political organization. Theories of economic organization hold that advanced economies allow for specialization and differentiation in the population, which allows for more time and opportunity to be engaged in associations. Theories of religious tradition contrast societies rooted in Protestantism, where individuality can be highlighted

and there is more ability to volunteer in the religious setting, with Catholic societies with more hierarchical, corporatist arrangements that may restrict voluntary behavior. Lastly, theories of political organization look at different types of democratic cultures: liberal democratic, social democratic, and corporatist. Liberal democratic societies, with devolved welfare states, encourage the growth of a third sector as a substitute for government services, which in turn allows for more opportunities for engagement through membership and voluntarism. Social democratic regimes, according to Janoski (1998), have a different mode of associational membership, through unions and political parties. Corporatist regimes, with partnerships between government and third-sector organizations, can crowd out voluntarism and membership.

All such explanations point to the importance of deeper institutional structures on channeling individual behavior. The difficulty in securing internally valid data, and in particular instruments that pose the same question over a series of time periods, challenges scholars who would attempt to evaluate these three explanations. Of particular interest are two facets: explanations for within-group variations and for across-time variations. Are both types of these variations a result of poor survey methodology and design, or do they point to new theories that can better account for these changes?

Norwegian studies have shown a growth in small freestanding (monomorphic) associations and a decline of *polymorphic* associations integrated in regional and national umbrella organizations (Selle 1999; Selle and Wollebæk 2002). The six-city study mentioned above (Maloney and Rossteutscher 2007) indicates that this could be true more generally, as that data show newer associations to be more frequently *monomorphic*. This effect remains after a control for size of the association. We can, however, not rule out similar associations becoming interconnected through regional and national umbrella organizations as they grow older.

By contrast, the six-city study (Maloney and Rossteutscher 2007) shows that formal representative rule generally is still the dominant form of organization across the cities and nations. This result also applies to newer associations. Thus, there are no signs of a break with the classical civic voluntarism model. But formal democracy is one thing. The degree of effective democracy is something else. Although associations have maintained representative structures, many of them may have become or are simply continued as bureaucratic machines, where ordinary members have no say. Research on democracy versus oligarchy in national associations (Handbook Chapter 33, Section D, #4, d) suggests that *oligarchy and limited democracy are and have long been usual in such associations*, often for practical reasons of dispersal of members geographically and related issues of communication and transportation.

To what extent this is true has been investigated in Denmark (Torpe 2003). In a national survey respondents were asked about their possibilities

to influence the organizations to which they belonged. As most people in Denmark belong to several associations, they were at the same time asked to indicate whether it was important for them to be able to influence the organization.

The results showed that a majority of those members who wanted to have an input or influence on their association's policies also felt they had good opportunities to do so. However, the results varied from one organization to another. Those most satisfied with their relative opportunities to influence policies were members of parents' organizations, religious organizations, and sports associations. Least satisfied were members of trade unions, where only half of those who wanted to influence also felt they had good opportunities to do so. But, even half of the members feeling influential is still very substantial.

The overall conclusion is therefore one mainly of stability and continuity of associations and volunteering in them, not a double decline, contrary to Putnam. If anything, there is a gradual upward trend in the global numbers of associations, especially GAs, and also in association volunteering. Recent general changes in the structure of post-modern societies do not usually lead to associational decline, neither with regard to membership and voluntary work nor with regard to the organizational structure. Where people in the past organized in accordance with ideas and values, they now rather organize in accordance with specific positions and roles. Despite these changes, voluntary associations worldwide are still viewed as effective for organizing collective activity and representing collective interests. Further, the long-existing, civic voluntarism, *federative polymorphic model* (see Handbook Chapter 3) of national association structure is still felt to be a relevant tool for such purposes. And members of GAs, often polymorphic in structure, still are motivated to be active in GAs in all nations studied.

Goss (1999) showed that, even in the United States, volunteering in Volunteer Service Programs (VSPs) has increased since the 1970s. She concludes that nearly all of that increase comes among older Americans. Similar trend data for VSP volunteering elsewhere is hard to find. Most global research on DV focuses on association volunteering, and the methodology for distinguishing VSP volunteering from association volunteering is inadequate (e.g., Davis-Smith 1994). The best global source of data on association volunteering is the various waves of the World Values Surveys and European Values Studies, with now surveys covering about 100 countries of all types with nearly 90% of the world's population by 2007 (Inglehart, Basañez, Caterberg, Diez-Medrano, Moreno, Norris, Siemienska, and Zuasnabar 2010). The interview items asked invariably about association membership and hence association volunteering, not about VSP volunteering. Such volunteering has been increasing globally 1981–2007 (ibid.), as would be expected, based on the global

association prevalence research by Smith and Shen (2002) and by Schofer and Longhofer (2011).

10. What is the special methodology and software for computer mapping of associations and volunteering?

This chapter considers trends in associations and voluntarism, with geography being as crucial a variable as a region's sociological or historical roots. Formal mapping of sectors has occurred for decades, yet the pace and scale of spatial analysis has increased due to increased access to data and inexpensive software. One can think of map creation, writ large, as a process of displaying the relationship between variables. Here we argue that there have been three phases in map-making in the voluntary sector.

The first phase of mapping did not necessarily involve a sense of space, but rather simply located organizations and their organizational demographics. The use of official databases served to hasten this work, with the caveat that the resulting maps only represented what was included in databases quite literally leading to flat-Earth maps. The second phase began to take advantage of the ability to layer information by adding new data sources to existing ones. For example, Grønberg's Indiana Nonprofit Project has been instrumental in layering data on employment, voluntarism, and finances on top of existing IRS and Secretary of State information. The third phase argues that while scholars have been proficient at thinking about the supply of associations, there is a need to layer on top maps of demand for associations (Never 2010, 2011). In a sense, maps would be able to model the push and pull of supply and demand as conditions change over time in order to understand under what conditions associations become active in situations of need.

Maps are only as complete as the data that they illustrate. The dark matter of many sectors illustrates the need to develop, in some cases, simple means to collect information about the sector and display it. The technology available for mapping has become increasingly available to practitioners and researchers. From a cost standpoint, Geographic Information Systems have become cheaper with GeoDa produced at Arizona State University being a free option; likewise, ESRI has free and deeply discounted software for NPOs registered as 501(c)(3) in the United States. Mapping is now possible using free web applications such as Geo.Data.Gov in the United States or Maps.Google.com.

E. Usable knowledge

Knowledge of the current and prior scope and trends of voluntary associations and volunteering can serve as useful guides to national government and VNPS policymakers, helping them to understand where a given society is at present in terms of the larger, global society and the global VNPS. Thus, information in

this chapter provides a kind of global map of associations and volunteering as the oldest and most vital parts of the VNPS (e.g., Rochester 2013; C. Smith and Freedman 1972; Smith 1997b).

F. Future trends and needed research

Evidence on the prevalence of associations of most kinds, but especially on GAs and SLAs, suggests that these domestic associations are continuing to grow worldwide. Putnam's view of decline of associations in the United States is *not* true globally, if even true in the United States, which some doubt (Smith and Robinson 2016; see also Handbook Chapter 50). *Crucially, most of the major determinants of voluntary association prevalence in nations are lined up globally, on average (Smith and Shen 2002; Schofer and Longhofer 2011) to foster the current, fourth global associational revolution (Smith 2016).* As Smith (2016) has recently noted, there have been *four* global associational revolutions, not just one, as suggested by some scholars (e.g., Casey 2016; Salamon 1994, 1995). Because of the fourth and latest of these revolutions, still continuing, associational volunteering has been increasing globally on average since about 1950, when the fourth such revolution began in certain post-modern, service-information-technology led economies/nations. It is likely that VSP volunteering has also been growing in these same nations in the past several decades, but we lack adequate data to be sure. We do know that VSP volunteering has been growing in the United States since the 1970s (Goss 1999).

Future research is needed on all the topics reviewed in this chapter. However, we especially need research on the following:

- Improving the comparability and methodology of multi-national surveys of *volunteering* and maintaining such comparability over decades. Especially important is the use of lists of types of both formal and volunteering contexts, with interviewer prompts to respondents that elicit a more expansive and accurate view of either. Also important is carefully distinguishing VSP volunteering from associational volunteering.
- Improving the comparability and methodology of multi-national surveys of *associations* and maintaining such comparability over decades. Especially important is the use of lists of types of associations (see several relevant, new typologies in Handbook Chapter 5), with interviewer prompts to respondents that elicit a more expansive and accurate view of either.
- In addition to using hypernetwork sampling to estimate GA density for a broad, global sample of nations, including all the largest ten nations in population (which, in 2014, had a combined population of about 4.1 billion, or 56% of the total of 7.2 billion), the global population total, future research needs to examine the density of GAs for the segment of a nation's

population that is 13 years old or older, to include youth volunteering and GAs, but to omit the pre-teen segment of the population for which both volunteering and GAs are rare. As above, such studies need to be repeated over time, perhaps at five- or ten-year intervals.

- Performing much more multi-national research on various determinants/influences affecting informal volunteering (INV) and trends over time.
- Performing more multi-national research on how both formal and informal volunteering fit with the Leisure General Activity Pattern/LGAP (see Handbook Chapter 6), and trends in such patterns over time.
- Performing more multi-national research on the internal structures and processes of associations and also on the external relations of associations, both studied over time.

G. Cross-references

Chapters 1, 26, 37, and 50.

Note

1. Madrasah is an Arabic word of Semitic origin and it refers to a place where learning and studying is done. By and large the sole purpose of Madrasah education is to enable children to read Quran and understand some Shariah law.

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Relevant websites

- www.icsera.org – the International Council of Voluntarism, Civil Society, and Social Economy Researcher Associations (ICSERA), and its *Palgrave Research Handbook of Volunteering and Nonprofit Associations* (forthcoming 2014).
- www.arnova.org – the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action (ARNOVA;) and its journal, *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*.
- www.istr.org – the International Society for Third Sector Research (ISTR) and its journal, *Voluntas*.
- www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html – The World Factbook.

PROOF

QUERIES TO BE ANSWERED BY AUTHOR (SEE MARGINAL MARKS)

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Chapter 51

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