

Theoretical Approaches to Voluntarism

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Definitions of Voluntarism

VOLUNTEER is a concept that was first used in description of a religious life long commitment to serve the church. It was linked to military service at least as early as in the time of Crusades¹. From those usages it has shifted to altruistic public service². However, the definitions of volunteering are not unanimous. Steinberg notes that the difference is whether and how informal volunteering (helping neighbours and friends) is counted or not. The definition of the value of voluntary work is unclear as well. Steinberg argues that there must be a separation of "the opportunity cost of donor time, the value of voluntary production to the firm, [and] the social welfare value (which incorporates both concepts)." Additionally, the productivity of voluntary work is hard to measure because "on the one hand, voluntary workers may be harder to organize and discipline. On the other hand, volunteers may be more dedicated to the organization's cause."³

These questions have been studied by *Ram A. Cnaan, Femida Handy* and *Margaret Wadsworth* in 1996. They found that in third sector literature there are 11 widely used definitions of volunteers. When they synthesised these definitions they found out three significant issues. First, authors state that "none of these definitions succeeds completely in distinguishing between who is a volunteer and who is not." Second, they note "in the more than 300 articles and reports that we reviewed, the term volunteer was seldom defined." Mainly it was taken for granted.⁴

The third finding of Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth was that these eleven definitions have four key dimensions in common. In all these dimensions the definitions go from 'pure' to 'broadly defined' so that broad definitions also include pure ones according to the Guttman scale⁵. The first dimension concerns the *nature of the act*: what does it mean that something is done voluntarily? Here the authors found three traditions: Free will, relatively uncoerced⁶ and obligation⁷ to volunteer.⁸

The second dimension concerns *remuneration*. According to the purest criterion "there should be reward or even interest in the specific subject matter of the volunteering activity." According to moderate definitions the expenses can be covered, and according to the broadest ones there can be some kind of stipend or low pay.⁹

In the first case, even the expenses should be paid by the volunteer and there should be no immaterial compensations. An immaterial compensation is, for example, when a lawyer gives free advice to a club of older people. If someone then really needs lawyer's services, the voluntary work has served as an advertisement. In the case of the broadest definition, the criterion is whether the payment exceeds the amount of money she/he would get if she/he would work that amount of time. In that case the payment can be seen as a compensation of lost work time. Additionally, there are non-monetary compensations, like training, free lunches, new personal networks, new experiences, reputation, etc. that are rewarding. However, even the strictest criteria do not exclude personal satisfaction as a reward.

¹ Karl 1984,497f.

² Cnaan, Handy F. & Wadsworth 1996,366.

³ Steinberg 1990,164ff.

⁴ Cnaan, Handy F. & Wadsworth 1996,366-369.

⁵ Guttman 1944.

⁶ For example, when somebody has to do something that is related to her/his job or related to her/his position in the group or society. In such cases there exists a social pressure to volunteer.

⁷ For example, when someone works in a nonprofit library because a court has ordered to do it as a part of a community service. In that case the free choice is between voluntary work and prison.

⁸ Cnaan, Handy F. & Wadsworth 1996,369,371.

⁹ Cnaan, Handy F. & Wadsworth 1996,370f.

Third dimension of voluntarism definitions is *context*. Basically the distinction is between formal and informal volunteering. The strict definition excludes all informal help to friends, neighbours and relatives. According to this criterion only work in a formal organisation can be counted as voluntarism.¹⁰

Related to the previous dimension, Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth also note that the reward in different kinds of voluntary tasks differ a lot even if the cost (time) is the same. Thus, a doctor volunteering "at a soup kitchen, local clinic or his or her favourite symphony orchestra" will get different kinds of rewards. Contacts that she/he makes at the concert may bring more rich patients than contacts with the homeless at the soup kitchen.¹¹

One problem of this dimension is that the concept of formal organisation is unclear as well. In some countries associations need no formal registration and in others there are strict requirements that an organisation must fulfil in order to have a status of an association. Moreover, even if the work for the family, friends and neighbours is excluded there remains the question of social movements. Many social movements are ad hoc processes that, at least in the beginning, do not have formal organisations. There is a danger that the voluntary work in them is excluded because of the definition.

David Horton Smith has made a definition that includes "not only participation in voluntary associations but also volunteer work for nonprofit programs and organizations." Together they are volunteer participation. Voluntary action (VA), in turn, includes "VAP (individual voluntary association participation) and FVG (a formal voluntary group, association, or organisation)¹²." The difference between voluntary work and work in associations is that the previous "is generally public benefit activity, while association participation can be either public benefit or member benefit activity."¹³

The final dimension of voluntarism, that Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth represent, concerns the *benefactors*. Here again, the purest criterion excludes friends and relatives and urges that the work must be done for strangers. A moderate criterion accepts friends and relatives and the broadest definition also includes oneself, in the list of benefactors.¹⁴

The first problem concerning benefactors is how to define the one who benefits. In the case of environmental organisations or community service organisations one can see that the work in them benefits, after all, everyone. However, the definitions have not dealt with the issue in this sense. Instead, they have concentrated on immediate benefactors. As Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth noted above, the first border has normally been between strangers and one's own reference group (ethnicity, religion, gender, residency). According to the purest definitions the work that benefits only ones own group is not volunteering. The broadest definitions also include the voluntary work in self-help groups as volunteering.

DEFINING VOLUNTARY ORGANISATION is the second question that arises from the definition problems of 'who is a volunteer?' David Horton Smith proposes counting the work hours of volunteers and comparing that to the working hours of paid staff. If there is more voluntary work than paid work, then an organisation is a voluntary organisation¹⁵. However, in federations this distinction can be problematic. Should we count the whole amount of the work at all levels or should we take each single association as a separate case? In the case of the YMCA the former is practically an impossible task because of the size of the organisation (30 million members). In the latter case it could appear that one branch is a voluntary association and a neighbour association is not; or that the local associations are voluntary associations but the alliances are not.

Lucas C.P.M. Meijs has made a distinction between volunteer-governed, volunteer-supported and volunteer-run organisations. The first one refers to organisations "in which the goals and policies are formatted by volunteers in the board of the organisations." Thus, these decisions can be implemented by professionals. The second one refers to organisations in which "primary activities are done by paid personnel" and "volunteers perform only (valuable) support roles." In the last case "policies and goals are prepared, set and implemented by volunteers who also perform the primary activities."¹⁶

Meijs' distinction lead us to focus on the roles of the volunteers in the organisations, not only the number of them. However, there is one problem with the definition of the volunteer-governed organisations. Meijs' definition would, in some cases, cover parishes and municipalities as well. If the members of councils (and boards) receive only a low pay or no pay at all they may be defined as volunteers. This would, in turn, make these public organisations voluntary organisations.

¹⁰ Cnaan, Handy F. & Wadsworth 1996,370f.

¹¹ Cnaan, Handy F. & Wadsworth 1996,374f.

¹² Smith D.H. 1975,248.

¹³ Smith D.H. 1994,244.

¹⁴ Cnaan, Handy F. & Wadsworth 1996,370f.

¹⁵ Smith D.H. 1995a,100.

¹⁶ Meijs 1997,228.

IN SUMMARY, definitions of voluntarism and voluntary organisations are highly multivariate. There are strict purist definitions that reflect the classical philanthropical or diaconal service for the others. Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth note that

in modern and biblical Hebrew, the term volunteer is derived from a word meaning 'to willingly give,' which may also be interpreted as 'a charitable donation.' This linguistic note is important because it implies that people were expected to be altruistic and that the giving of one's wealth was the highest form of altruism.¹⁷

These strict criteria exclude so much of the phenomenon that broader definitions of voluntarism are needed. Whatever definition is chosen, it is important to acknowledge the implications of the decision on the research. These questions of definitions also make it difficult to compare different studies because they use different standards for inclusion and exclusion. What is needed, is a study in which the different definitions are recognised and the data has been arranged according to the Guttman scale like Cnaan, Handy and Wadsworth arranged the criteria.

6.4. Motivations for Volunteering

If the definitions of voluntarism are multivariate, so are the motivations of volunteers. David Horton Smith has dealt with the theme in his dissertation in 1966¹⁸ and in reviews of studies focusing in volunteer participation in 1975 and in 1994. In his dissertation Smith used three sets of variables: *personality traits, attitudes toward formal organisations in general* and *attitudes toward special formal voluntary organisations*¹⁹. He argues that they function differently:

For the discrimination of members from non-members, the specific and general FVO-relevant attitudes should be given most weight, while for the discrimination of active from inactive FVO members, the personality variables should be given most weight.²⁰

Smith also adds a fourth variable, namely *social background characteristics*, and argues that the process is similar to friendship choice and mate selection. In this basis he develops his own Smith model of voluntary participation:

First, proximity and lines of communication together with social background characteristics filter out from the general population the "effective eligibles" for the FVO or FVO's; then, general and specific FVO-relevant attitudes, values, and interests come into play and filter out members from non-members within the set of effective eligibles. Finally, with the increasing interaction of members within the FVO, personality variables come into play and filter out from the other members the highly active participators - those who really feel at home and who personally fit with the organization's programs and people.²¹

In his 1975 review Smith makes some general observations of voluntary action studies. First, he notes that "for customary and basically non-theoretically justifiable reasons, church participation is usually omitted from consideration, arguing that membership is ascriptive and involuntary." However, Smith argues that "this is only true for the very young." For him "religious organisations are clearly FVGs." At this point Smith again notes the difference between church membership and church participation: the reported membership is normally higher than participation in ceremonies. Applying his thesis above, one could suppose that if participation rates are lower than membership reporting, voluntarism rates are lower than passive participation rates.²²

A similar exclusion from voluntary action studies, as in the case of church participation, is seen in the case of industrial labour unions. As in the case of church membership Smith criticises this exclusion to be non-theoretical. In neither forms of organisations, membership or voluntary action are basically compulsory. As a result, this exclusion of union membership from national sample surveys in industrial societies "show an average of 10% lower rates of VAP than when unions are included."²³

¹⁷ Cnaan, Handy F. & Wadsworth 1996,370f.

¹⁸ In this study I refer to his article that is, as Smith says "a condensed version of parts of my Ph.D. dissertation." Smith 1966,249.

¹⁹ Smith D.H. 1966,250f.

²⁰ Smith D.H. 1966,259.

²¹ Smith D.H. 1966,261f.

²² Smith D.H. 1975,249.

²³ Smith D.H. 1975,249f.

In his 1994 review Smith notes that there are six sets of variables that determine the decision to volunteer: *contextual variables*, *social background variables*, *personality variables*, *attitudinal variables*, *situational variables* and *social participation variables*.²⁴

THE CONTEXTUAL VARIABLE has, according to Smith's 1994 review, two subcategories: territory and organisation. In the case of the territorial variable, Smith notes that several studies show that voluntarism is more usual in small, rural communities than in large, urban towns. Smith states that "these kind of studies speak of the importance of community characteristics in volunteer participation." The organisational variable shows that organisations (companies, universities, etc.) that have some kind of philanthropic subculture 'give' more volunteers than those that do not encourage voluntarism. On the other hand, there are differences between community self-help organisations and more bureaucratic voluntary organisations in terms of outputs, ideology, linkages, recruitment, etc.²⁵

According to Smith's earlier review in 1975, a third subcategory could be added, namely that of *possibility to participate*. Thus, among married women with children the VAP is greater in winter than in summer. Similarly, among older people those who have access to personal transportation participate more than those who do not have such possibilities.²⁶

SOCIAL BACKGROUND VARIABLES include such variables as social status, gender, sex, marriage, employment and children. The *dominant status model* of *Mona Lemon*, *Bartolomeo J. Palisi* and *Perry E. Jacobson Jr.*²⁷ states that "participation is generally greater for individuals who are characterized by a more dominant [sociocultural system-valued/preferred] set of social positions and roles, both ascribed and achieved." Some of the variables are supported by the studies Smith reviews. These include age (volunteer participation peaks in the middle age), education, high income, marriage, full-time-employment, and school age children. However the model does not fit into the multivariety analyses of minority groups or gender issues. While bivariate analyses show that male and white Americans are more active in voluntary associations, multivariate results show that Afro-Americans volunteer more²⁸ than whites and that the difference between sexes vanishes.²⁹

Richard A. Sundeen and *Sally A. Raskoff* argue that "the theory of volunteering must be distinguished between adult and teenage volunteering." Although there are similarities, "the significant role of the family, church, and school experiences... in contributing to volunteer behaviour by teenagers distinguishes them from adults."³⁰

PERSONALITY VARIABLES are mainly studied by psychologists in relation to volunteer participation. In Smith's dissertation the variables that correlated positively with membership were autonomy, trust, moralism and efficacy in public affairs. However, in the case of active participation he found positive correlations with trust, willingness to meet new people, lack of cynicism, achievement orientation, belief in efficacy in public affairs, planning orientation, and optimism³¹.

In 1975 Smith argued that "most of the results of these studies tend to be consistent with the psychological model of individual VAP suggested by Smith (1966)." However, he also noted that "the principal exception in the foregoing studies is that the internal/external control factor seems to have two separable components that operate differently for conventional vs protest forms of VAP."³²

In 1994 Smith noted that "personal capacities do not seem to be included in the volunteer participation literature under review." The only study he refers to is *Natalie J. Allen* and *J. Philippe Rushton's*³³ review. "They found much consensus in their results that volunteer participation was higher for individuals with more efficacy (internal locus of

²⁴ Smith D.H. 1994. E. Gil Clary, Mark Snyder and Arthur A. Stukas give a slightly different list of variables. They divide motivations into six functions: 1. *Values function* is an expression of the "values important to the self"; 2. *Understanding function* focuses on the knowledge of the world and to the opportunity to "develop and practice skills that might otherwise go unpracticed"; 3. *Enhancement function* serves an individual's psychological development; 4. Career function serves as training to paid job; 5. *Social function* satisfies the need to get along with people; 6. *Protective function* affords some protection from inner anxieties. Clary & Snyder & Stukas 1996,487.

²⁵ Smith D.H. 1994,245f; see also Smith D.H. 1975,259.

²⁶ Smith D.H. 1975,259.

²⁷ Lemon & Palisi & Jacobson 1972.

²⁸ *Jean Kantambu Latting* has also reported this and links it to the group consciousness of blacks. However, he notes that "whether such group consciousness stems from a common cultural heritage or a reaction to historical discrimination as a minority group in a majority society is a subject of debate." Latting 1990,131.

²⁹ Smith D.H. 1975,254; 1994,246-250,254.

³⁰ Sundeen & Raskoff 1994,400.

³¹ Smith D.H. 1975,258.

³² Smith D.H. 1975,256.

³³ Allen & Rushton 1983.

control), empathy, morality, emotional stability and self-esteem or ego strength - all indicators of a social orientation."³⁴

ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES were, according to Smith in 1994, studied more than any other variable during his review period. Among the themes that have been studied are, attitudes to the possible rewards or gained skills, altruism and moral obligation, identification to the group or group's purpose, attitudes to the leader, political discontent and values³⁵

However, there are some differences concerning the type of organisation in which someone participates. Thus, according to Smith's 1975 review, greater village and community identification is associated with VAP in rural communities; "lower Srole anomie scores to predict higher VAP among middle-class, midwestern urban women"; authoritarianism, alienation and anomie are determinants of sectarian churches; political attitudes, foreign-policy attitudes, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation and perception of social explanation for problems describe the members of peace groups; sociopolitical radicalism, lack of acquiescent-traditionalism, intellectualism and political activity interest characterise Latin American student's involvement in voluntary action; and teenage ethnocentrism, restrictiveness, rejection of older people, Srole's anomie and self-esteem were variables that describe youth groups in London. These different results show, as Smith states, "why individuals with certain kinds of attitudes are more likely to be found in some corresponding kinds of VAP rather than others." Smith argues that these findings "can be readily absorbed by the Smith model."³⁶

The empirical results in the studies that Smith reviewed in 1994 show that

the most important attitudinal predictors seem to be perceived effectiveness of the group, perceived benefits relative to costs, altruistic attitudes, civic duty, and political efficacy³⁷.

SITUATIONAL VARIABLES contain, according to Smith, issues of invitation or encouragement to participate, service receiving and friends in organisation. They have all to do with "symbolic interaction between one individual and others." The last, social participation variable, is also closely connected to these items. "Volunteer participation is associated significantly with other forms of socioculturally approved uses of discretionary time." The *general activity model* of Smith and *Jaqueline Macaulay*³⁸ states that the participation is cumulative. In other words: "the more one participates in one kind of... activity, the more one will tend to participate in other kinds of such activity."³⁹

RELIGIOSITY is one discussed item that has been linked to volunteerism. In the US the percentage of churches and church-based institutions is approximately 66% of all contributions and 34% of voluntary labour⁴⁰. In fact, the whole concept of philanthropy in Western history has been religious activity. From these starting points one would expect high correlation between religiosity and voluntarism. However, the findings do not support this in all cases. While some researches have found strong correlation, the others find almost no connection⁴¹.

John Wilson and *Thomas Janoski* offer one solution to this dilemma. They note that "not all religious bodies emphasize volunteering to the same degree." Conservative Protestants especially interpret biblical stewardship and charity in spiritual terms. Their volunteering would be in the fields of evangelism and stewardship that is inside the church⁴². Wilson and Janoski call this *other-wordly* emphasis. On the other hand, the liberal congregations are much more involved in social activity than evangelicals which authors call *this-wordly* emphasis. However, the authors found that not only the denominational differences effect the different volunteering but also effect the location of the congregation, participation in a church group (not only to service) and life-course stages of parishioners⁴³. All of this emphasises that the crucial point is the type of religiosity - not the religiosity *per se*. *Elton F. Jackson, Mark D. Bachmeier, James R. Wood* and *Elizabeth A. Craft*, in turn, found that participation in a church group also increased secular helping while no net effect of just church attendance was found⁴⁴.

Hannu Sorri has studied the volunteers in the Finnish Telephone Emergency Service. Although the service is part of the official organisation of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, it is based on voluntary labour. Sorri found similar kinds

³⁴ Smith D.H. 1994,250f.

³⁵ Smith D.H. 1994,251f.

³⁶ Smith D.H. 1975,257f.

³⁷ Smith D.H. 1994,252.

³⁸ Smith D.H. & Macaulay 1980.

³⁹ Smith D.H. 1994,252f,255.

⁴⁰ Cnaan & Kasternakis & Wineburg 1993,33.

⁴¹ Cnaan & Kasternakis & Wineburg 1993,37f,43ff.

⁴² Examples of the stewardship could be serving as leaders of Sunday Schools or other groups, singing in the choir, arranging bazaars, playing instruments in the service, etc.

⁴³ Wilson & Janoski 1995.

⁴⁴ Jackson & al. 1995,74.

of motivations as presented above but also dealt briefly with the *lay theology* behind the motivations. In the stories of volunteers he found two kinds of theology. The first one emphasised *Christian charity* and voluntarism was one way to implement it. The other one underlined *God's guidance*. According to this theology being a volunteer was seen as fulfilment of God's secret plan in the life of the individual.⁴⁵

One problem in the sociological study of voluntarism and religion lies in the gap between sociology and theology⁴⁶. If a sociologist has not enough knowledge of the doctrines, liturgies, other religious activities, habits and other dimensions of religiosity, there is a danger to see religions as a homogenous entity. However, religions differ a lot from each other and even Christian churches have different ethical emphases. During this study it has been seen that religious organisations can be found in the background of the majority of the nonprofits. Economists and social scientists note this, but from then on, the majority of them lack the tools for deeper studies. Unfortunately, theologians have 'shined with their absence' from the field of third sector studies. To correct this, we would need again people like Weber who was talented in economics, sociology and theology.

SELF-REGARDING MOTIVATIONS for volunteering are as important as altruistic motivations. Sorri reports that the volunteers in the Telephone Emergency Service also expressed selfish motivations like interest in people, training and experience, desire for a new content of life⁴⁷. In a similar way *E. Gil Clary, Mark Snyder* and *Arthur A. Stukas* reported in 1996 the findings of the US national survey of volunteers' motivations. They noted that "volunteering consists of several actions and decisions about actions (volunteering in one specific time period..., volunteering over time..., and type of activity in which to engage)⁴⁸." Additional to altruism, the authors list volunteer's motivations like "opportunity to increase their knowledge", "psychological development", "experience", participating in a social group and coping "with inner anxieties and conflicts." All these have different motivational and demographic backgrounds. The motivations are overlapping and may change during the time used in volunteering⁴⁹.

Robert A. Stebbins argues that along altruistic volunteering there is a type that he calls *serious leisure*. He defines it as follows:

Serious leisure is the systematic pursuit of an amateur, a hobbyist, or a volunteer activity sufficiently substantial and interesting in nature for the participant to find a career there in the acquisition and expression of a combination of its special skills, knowledge, and experience.⁵⁰

Stebbins makes three statements on serious leisure. First, that "self-interestedness is a cardinal feature of all serious leisure." Second, it is "career volunteering." Third, "careers and self-interestedness in volunteering are inspired for a good part by a person's experiences with the special rewards found in all types of serious leisure." These rewards include both personal (personal enrichment, self-actualisation, self-expression, self-image, self-gratification, recreation and financial return) and social (social attraction, group accomplishment) rewards.⁵¹

VOLUNTEERING, in general, can be modelled, according to Jackson and others, with the Schwartz-Howard Model of the Helping Decision. This model has several steps that an individual has to pass through in order to make a decision to help. The first step is *attention* which again has three steps: awareness of needs, realisation that certain actions can help and the conclusion that an individual is able to do it. The second stage is the *motivation* which is based on nonmoral (time, costs, danger, etc.), moral (individual values) and social (approval of others) costs and benefits. The third stage is the *evaluation* of the various costs and benefits. If the balance is not clear, the cycle begins again.⁵²

Although the model is perhaps too cognitively oriented (in many cases the decision is made unconsciously), it is one way to combine situational and motivational variables together.

However, there are some special forms of voluntarism that the theories above did not mention. They are linked with the findings of the institutional theory and sociocultural determinants. The first one occurs in situations where the reference group of an individual urges somebody to take a post that she/he is not so willing to take. In these cases the group has the motivation and the individual's motivation derives from the social norm. The second one is also a position of trust. Because INGOs never have much extra money, they try to save whenever it is possible. One way is to recruit volunteers from the staffs of IGOs and Church Federations. These kinds of volunteers can do their volunteering simultaneously with their own work and thus cover the costs from their own organisation. For example, when an employee of an IGO has to visit some distant country, she/he may arrange the timetable in a way that there is also time to visit the national or local project or group of the organisation in which she/he is volunteering. In this way, the organisation has no need to

⁴⁵ Sorri 1998,72f.

⁴⁶ Cnaan & Kasternakis & Wineburg 1993,34,49. See also Gill 1977; Martin & Mills & Pickering (eds.) 1980.

⁴⁷ Sorri 1998,42-68.

⁴⁸ Clary & Snyder & Stukas 1996,501.

⁴⁹ Clary & Snyder & Stukas 1996,487,502f.

⁵⁰ Stebbins 1996,215.

⁵¹ Stebbins 1996,215ff.

⁵² Jackson & al 1995,70ff.

send its own staff person on that journey⁵³. A variant of this is the practice of nominating IGO people as representatives of INGOs to such organs that are located near the places where volunteers work. In both cases the professional level of the volunteer is required to be high.

Donations and volunteering seem to go hand in hand. The literature stresses the net influence that taxes have on both cash donations and to volunteering. This seems to have a reason. It is always easier to give if it does not cost much to the donor. However, history does not support this thesis unanimously. When the tax exemptions of donations were launched in the USA for the first time after the Great Depression, the amount of donations actually fell⁵⁴. Hall's note reminds that donating is not only a question of economical calculation but there are other aspects as well.

NOW IT IS TIME TO GIVE A PARTIAL ANSWER to the main research question of this study: "Why are third sector theories important?" What the voluntarism theories have shown is that volunteering is a powerful force in our societies. People are not only longing for *panem et circences* but they want to do something useful for their neighbours. Questions of altruism and love (or their absence) are important parts of an individual's life worlds. In these worlds the social constructions of reality are made and thus it is important to know what kinds of phenomena influence to these constructions.

An important aspect in voluntarism theories is that they, again, point to the importance of an individual. Although we can say that different structures guide the actions of individuals, structures do not act - individuals do. Thus, voluntarism studies note that there is still one level that DiMaggio and Anheier do not mention when they state the three levels of analysis: organisation level, sector level and society level. The remaining level is the micro level: without individuals there are no organisations.

⁵³ A good example is from the time of the First World War when Dr. Paul de Gouttes was both president of the World Alliance of YMCAs and secretary of the International Red Cross. Strong 1953,28.

⁵⁴ Hall 1987,15ff.