

**The Civic Core in Canada: Disproportionality in Charitable Giving,
Volunteering, and Civic Participation**

by

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Abstract

Three principal modes of civic involvement are volunteering, giving to charities, and participating in civic associations. We investigate how total effort is distributed in the Canadian population among these three behaviours. Our results show that in each area there is a small group of individuals who are responsible for the majority of contributory effort. When activity in the three areas is considered all together, we find a remarkably high degree of concentration. Six percent of Canadian adults account for 35-42% of all civic involvement. This group of individuals represents the "civic core" in Canada. The implications of the existence of a small but dedicated civic core for the voluntary domain and for patterns of citizen engagement are discussed.

Although from a moral standpoint it is considered desirable that such formal civic behaviours as volunteering, charitable giving and participating in civic organizations be distributed widely in our society, there is no theoretical or empirical basis in social science for expecting any specific distribution of the incidence or magnitude of such behaviours. Tocqueville (1969) remarked a century and a half ago on the elevated levels of civic engagement by Americans relative to Europeans, while Wuthnow (1991) queries why so few Americans today engage in acts of caring and compassion. In Canada, the incidences of volunteering, giving and participating are moderately high at about 30%, 80% and 50% respectively. A few countries (the U.S. among them) are higher and many are lower. There is, however, much greater variation in the magnitudes of these civic behaviours in Canada.

In Canada in 2000, 18% of adults were responsible for 80% of all money donated to organized charities, 9% accounted for 80% of hours volunteered, and 21% accounted for 65% of civic participation. The pattern also shows little change over time in recent years. Further, this skew in total effort is not unique to Canada; Schervish and Havens, for example, found that in the United States in 1994, 20% of givers accounted for 67% of all the money donated to charities (2001:10). These statistics are broadly consistent with the 80/20 rule and the “small world” thesis, both of which posit that in the social domain a large proportion of many behaviours are located within a small proportion of the population. (See Koch, 1998 and Kochen, 1989 for explication of these principles.)

Giving to charities, volunteering one's time and actively participating in community organizations are key components of citizen involvement in society. Putnam's discussions of the function of social capital in sustaining liberal democracy highlight the central role of these three forms of contributory behaviour as

facets of citizen engagement (Putnam, 1993, 1995). In this perspective, everyone shares in maintaining the community and social order. Yet a variety of studies suggest that some do considerably more than their share and many others, less (Schervish and Havens, 1995a, 1995b). Moreover, viewed separately these numbers do not tell the whole story. While it is obvious that there is a relatively small group -- a core -- of individuals who account for the lion's share of effort in each sphere of activity, the question remains as to how much these core groups overlap in terms of the individuals who make them up. Is it largely the same individuals who are responsible for much of the effort in each of the three activity spheres? If so, what are the implications for our understanding of society of the existence of a relatively small cadre of individuals who are atypically active in giving, volunteering, and participating? In short, might they represent a civic core in Canada? To answer the question, this article presents details about the size and structure of this civic core -- the extent and manner in which the most active participants in one area or sphere are also the most active participants in the other spheres -- and provides a profile of the distinguishing traits of people who comprise the core. Our purpose is to document the extent of overlap and to discuss the consequences of a civic core for the voluntary sector and for society in general.

Data and Analysis Procedure

Our analysis uses data from the 1997 and 2000 National Surveys of Giving, Volunteering and Participating (NSGVP) that were conducted by Statistics Canada in November of each year. The 1997 NSGVP data file contains detailed information from 18,301 individuals aged 15 years and older, the 2000 NSGVP from 14,724 individuals. The research we report in this article focuses mainly on the

data from the 2000 survey, but where appropriate, also presents findings from 1997.

The first step in identifying a civic core is to identify the principal contributors in each one of three spheres of activity: volunteering, giving, and civic participation.¹ A core group is defined as those who are responsible for two-thirds of all effort in a particular sphere of activity. For volunteering, total effort is taken to be the sum of hours volunteered for formal associations over the preceding year by all volunteers. For giving, total effort is the sum of all money donated to formal charities in a year. For civic participation, total effort is the total number of types of civic organizations respondents held memberships in, or simply participated in, over the last year.²

The choice of the top two-thirds of total effort as the cut-point in defining the cores is obviously arbitrary -- other fractions of effort could equally be chosen to define a 'core'. We settled on the 67 % cut-point as one that reflects a substantial but not overwhelming majority of the total contributory effort in each area. Preliminary analysis showed that selecting other cut-points for defining the cores had relatively little effect on the size of the core groups, given the very marked skew in total effort in the population. For example, when the volunteer core is defined as those who account for the top 80 % of hours volunteered, the core represents 8.5 % of the population. Using the 67 % cut-point the core represents 5.4 %, and using the 50 % cut-point, the core represents 2.8 %. In all three cases, the size of the core group is very small relative to the proportion of total effort they represent.

Core groups identified in this manner are not expected to represent coherent or cohesive social groups in the usual sociological sense. They are simply empirical descriptions of the distribution of formal

contributory effort in the population. Nonetheless, the distribution of overall effort -- the overlap of these three spheres of activity -- is an important indication of the pattern of civic engagement in Canada.

Whether or not these core groups constitute identifiable social groups, particularly in specific geographic locales, is beyond our ability to determine, but is an intriguing possibility for further research.

The Size and Composition of Canada's Civic Core: The National Profile

Along with the participation rates for each type of activity in the population in general, Table 1 presents the proportions of the population who belong to each of the core groups at the specified level of effort. Volunteering is the least common form of civic engagement in Canada; from 1987 and 2000, the rate of volunteering was between 27% and 31% of the population. About half the population were involved attending meetings or as members of organizations (civic participation) and about 80% had made a contribution to formal charities. The proportion of the population

[Table 1 about here]

who form the core in each area of citizen participation is fairly stable over time. However, the slight decline in the size of the volunteer and giving cores suggests that the skew in the distribution of volunteering and giving is moving upwards: those who are more active are contributing even more relative to those who are less active. The meaning of the small change in the civic participation core is unclear because the proportion of total civic participation accounted for by the core is not the same 1997 (63 %) as in 2000 (65 %); the increase in the size of the core may simply be due to this difference. The final row in Table 1, the participation rates for 'combined', shows the proportion of the

population which participated at any level in any of the three activities. In terms of the level of overall citizen engagement the participation rates are quite high, over 85 % of the population were involved in at least one of these activities in each reference year. However, as we shall see later, by other measures of citizen engagement the picture is quite different.

We have been looking at very small changes in these numbers. And while all but the change in the rate of volunteering are within the limits of chance variation across samples, they are suggestive. More certain is the conclusion that the size of the core groups has not changed to any substantial degree over time. Stability appears to be an enduring feature of these entities.

As noted earlier, considering the core groups separately may give some indication of how participation is concentrated in each area. But to understand the overall concentration of citizen engagement requires looking at the overlap of the three core groups. Figure 1 displays the distribution of Canadian adults among the seven sections of a Venn diagram generated by the overlap of three circles representing the core groups for volunteering, charitable giving and civic participation. Also displayed for each section is the proportion of total time volunteered, charitable dollars donated, and civic participation, that is accounted for by the set individuals

[Figure 1 about here]

within that component. By summing various of these numbers we can better understand what they mean. Summing the percentage of Canadians for all the sections in the circle labeled 'volunteer core' gives 5.4% -- the size of the volunteer core in Table 1. Summing the volunteer hours for the same four sections gives 67.1 %, the (approximately) two-thirds of total volunteer effort done by the volunteer

core. More interesting are the levels of effort accounted for by those in each section of the diagram. For example, section (b) contains the individuals who are in both the volunteer and the participation cores, but not the giving core. These people, about 1.7 % of the population, account for 21.6 % of all hours volunteered and 5.7 % of civic participation -- well above their population proportion. In contrast, the fact that they are not in the giving core shows in that they account for only 1.3% of all money given to charity. Compare this to a section that is one-quarter their size, section (d) with 0.4 % of the population, but which accounts for three times as many dollars donated (3.8%).

Taken together, we have characterized the three core groups as the civic core. In its entirety, this core comprised 29% of adults in 2000; they account for 85% of total volunteer hours, 78% of total charitable dollars donated, and 71% of civic participation, as shown in Figure 2. Sections (a), (b), (c) and (d) in Figure 1 represent the individuals who were members of at least two of the three basic core groups -- those in section (a) are in fact members of all three cores. Individuals in section (e), (f) and (g) represent those who are members of only one of the core groups. If we introduce the distinction between a primary core consisting of individuals who are involved in two or three of the areas of activity, and a secondary core consisting of individuals who are involved in only one of the three areas, we find that the primary core comprises 6% of the adult

[Figure 2 about here]

population and the secondary core 23% (Figure 2). There is a much higher concentration of effort in the primary core, which provides 42% of all volunteer hours, 35% of all charitable dollars donated, and 20% of all civic participation. The secondary core, which contains 23% of the adult population, accounts for 42% of total volunteer hours, 43% of donated dollars, and 50% of all civic participation.

The impact of this distinction for the pattern and density of civic engagement is clear when we compare the level of activity in the civic core as a whole with those who are not in the core, those we have labeled the non-core -- the 71% of adult Canadians who provide 15% of total volunteer hours, 22% of charitable dollars, and 29% of civic participation (Figure 2). These three sets of numbers, and the extreme contrast between the core and the non-core, reveals the wide disparity in levels of engagement. On the one hand is the one quarter of Canadians who account for about three-quarters of all civic engagement, and on the other, the three-quarters of the population that accounts for the remainder.

Proportionality and the Civic Core

The idea of a civic core rests on the notion of degree of proportionality in contributory activities. If contributory effort is evenly distributed across the population, any particular group's effort will be proportional to the size of the group relative to the total population. The group can then be said to undertake "its share" of contributory activities.³ The idea of proportionality clearly shows some important features of the distribution of citizen engagement in society. Proportionality is expressed as the ratio of the amount of effort a group accounts for (numerator) to their proportion of the population (denominator). For example, in section (e) of the civic core in Figure 1, 28.9% of volunteer hours are provided by 2.3% of the population, giving a ratio of 12.6 to 1. This group does nearly 13 times its 'share' of volunteering. In contrast, the 70.8% of the population in the non-core accounts for about 15% of hours volunteered -- this is about two-tenths their 'share'. When the share a group does is very different from their expected share (which always equals their population proportion), we can speak of disproportionality in contributory activities.

Table 2 presents both the information used to construct the Venn diagram in Figure 1, and the proportionality ratios for Canada as a whole. Table 2 also gives sub-totals for the primary and secondary civic cores, and in the total column, the overall contribution of each sector to total contributory effort.

[Table 2 about here]

Table 2 shows that the greatest disproportionalities exist for volunteering, followed by charitable giving and civic participation respectively. In the primary core, 9 of the 12 ratios are far greater than 1.0. As a group, those who are actively involved in two or more activities tend to account for between 3 and 13 times their share of effort in each activity category. The three cases where the ratios are equal or close to 1.0 reflect those sections of the primary core where the individuals are in two of the base core groups but not the third; when this occurs, these groups are contributing close to their expected share of effort. When the contributions to each area are combined in the Total effort, all sectors of the primary core contribute much more than their share -- from about 4 to 8 times more.

In the secondary core, the picture is distinctly different. Because these people are in only one of the base core groups, we would expect their contribution to the effort of the other two core activities to be lower. The data reflect this pattern; while the level of contribution for their core activity is distinctly above their share, for activities outside their base core, they generally do substantially less than their share. Nonetheless, in terms of their contribution to total effort they all do more than their share.

On average, the primary core does about 5 times its share of total effort while the secondary core does twice its share. The civic core in total (primary and secondary) does about 3 times its share. This contrasts sharply with the non-core that accounts for less than one-third of its share. The data also show that the total share accounted for by the primary core is 16.7 times larger than the non-core's share, and the total core accounts for 8.2 times as much as the non-core.

To the extent that hours volunteered, money donated and civic participation indicate levels of civic engagement, these numbers clearly show the degree to which engagement is unevenly spread across the Canadian population. Even granting that low levels of participation do represent engagement of a kind, the disparity in levels of engagement implies the existence of very different levels of civic activity in Canada. If the overall social capital thesis, (Putnam, 1993) that the health of democracies depends on elevated levels of citizen participation and engagement, is correct, finding that high levels of engagement are typical of only a small fraction of the population either bodes ill for democracy in Canada or suggests that the engagement thesis must be revamped.

Earlier we found that the base core groups had not changed appreciably between 1997 and 2000 (Table 1). Table 3 shows what happened to the civic core as a whole over that period. Given the short span of three years, we would not expect large change in the core overall, and this is borne out by the very small increase in the core totals and the small decrease in the non-core totals. Yet

[Table 3 about here]

within the core there were changes of interest. As a proportion of the population the primary core shrank a little (-1.5%) while the secondary core grew (2.2%). This means that among those responsible

for two-thirds of effort in each contributory area -- the base core groups -- there was a decline in the tendency to be highly active in more than one area. They appear to have restricted the breadth of their participation. By restricting their effort to only one core activity, the size of the secondary core grew. This was most pronounced in giving and less so in volunteering and civic participation.

Regional Variations

Research on the voluntary sector in Canada has shown marked variation across regions and provinces in many of the characteristics of volunteering, giving, and civic participation (Reed and Selbee, 2000; Caldwell and Reed, 1999). Whether or not these translate into differences in the character of the civic core in different locales is the next question we address. Table 4 presents the distribution of effort and the proportionality ratios for three of Canada's ten provinces, Quebec, Ontario and Saskatchewan. We chose to highlight these three because they tend to reflect each end and the middle of the spectrum of contributory activities in Canada.

[Table 4 about here]

Quebec typically has the lowest rates of formal volunteering, giving and civic participation, Saskatchewan typically has the highest, and Ontario usually lies in the middle of the range.

Starting with the size of the total core in each province, Quebec's is the lowest at 26% of the population, Saskatchewan's is the highest at 40% and Ontario's is between these two at 29%. Since Quebec has the smallest civic core, each person in that core contributes a larger proportion of volunteering, giving and civic participation than is the case in the other provinces and in the nation as a

whole. This is evident in the fact that the proportionality ratios in Quebec are the highest of the three provinces. In other words, the concentration of contributory activities is greatest in Quebec and lowest in Saskatchewan. The lower proportionality ratios for Saskatchewan imply that contributory activities are more evenly distributed throughout the population than elsewhere.

Characteristics of People in the Civic Core

The large disparity in overall effort that typifies those in the civic core raises the question of who these individuals are and why they invest so much more effort compared to others in Canadian society. Are they in some way different from others and if so, how? Other research suggests that there could be important differences. In a comparison of the characteristics of active volunteers (those who give an above-average number of hours per year) to non-volunteers, Reed and Selbee (2000) found that active volunteers do possess a number of characteristics that distinguish them from non-volunteers. This is a complex question, but as an initial attempt at understanding the civic core we used discriminant analysis to compare individuals in the civic core in general with those in the non-core, and then those in the primary core with those in the non-core.

Discriminant analysis produces a linear model that maximizes the difference between two groups in terms of a set of individual traits. The standardized canonical discriminant function coefficients (Table 5) reflect the relative importance of the independent variables in differentiating between the two groups of interest. The larger the coefficient, positive or negative, the more the particular variable discriminates between the groups. (The full list variables used in the analysis is in the Appendix.)

Table 5 presents the results of our analysis for Canada. The first model compares the civic core as a whole to the non-core. The model is relatively effective at distinguishing between the groups. It accounts for about 25% of the variance in discriminant scores between the groups and correctly classifies 50% of core members, and 88% of non-core members. The second model

[Table 5 about here]

compares those in the primary core with those in the non-core. This model does less well in discriminating between the two groups. It does account for about 23% of the variance and correctly classifies 98% of the non-core, but correctly classifies only 32% of the primary core. The results of this model must be viewed with caution.

The factors that strongly discriminate between non-core individuals and either those in the entire civic core or the subset in the primary core, tend to be the same. In both models, for example, eight of the ten strongest effects are the same, although their rank order changes somewhat.

Individuals in the core tend to be older, in higher education, occupation and income categories, and more religious than individuals in the non-core. These results are broadly typical of other research results on all three types of activity (cf., Smith, 1994). Those in the core tend to be more socially active than non-core people, a fact that supports the importance attributed to social networks in the analysis of contributory behaviour (cf., Schervish and Havens, 1997; Wilson and Musick, 1998; Sokolowski, 1998). Not only are those in the core more active in formal contributory behaviours, they are also more active in non-formal ways of helping and giving. People in the core also show a distinct tendency to have

been active in both religious and secular youth groups and in student government, or to have had parents who were volunteers. The presence of children over six years of age is associated with being more active, a pattern seen before in the rates of volunteering in general (Reed and Selbee, 2000). In general terms, women are less likely to be in the civic core, but are as likely as men to be in the primary core. Finally, there is a tendency for those who live in the Canadian west (the prairie provinces and British Columbia) and for those who have lived longer in their community, to be in the civic core.

This constellation of factors that distinguish the core from the non-core is consistent with prior research that examines separately the characteristics of those who are most active in each of the three areas of activity, so it is not surprising that the same factors appear here. But this does show a strong degree of consistency, across the types of contributing, in the traits that distinguish active people from the less active. This provides some initial evidence that all three forms of civic engagement spring from a similar set of social conditions, whether these involve attributes of personal history, sub-cultures of benevolence, or communities of participation.

Conclusions

The presence of a civic core in Canada likely does not come as a surprise, certainly not for people familiar with the voluntary sector. Yet it is not an explicit element in the average citizen's mental map of our society and it is not a recognized component in social science. What do the existence and properties of this civic core, especially the primary core, imply about the character of the voluntary domain and the nature of Canadian society?

This study has shown that the population is strongly bifurcated between a small proportion who are heavily involved in various civic activities and the overwhelming majority who are not.⁴ Furthermore, the population of those who are heavily involved comprises two sub-populations, one made up of individuals active in multiple domains of contributory behaviour and the other of individuals active in only one. In light of this, it is inappropriate to treat the population of civically involved people as a homogeneous entity. Clearly, this distinction must be taken into account in future research on Canada's voluntary sector, and perhaps in that of other societies as well.

This core is evidently a principal source of initiative and action in civic life; we may surmise that it is in the civic core that one would find many of Canada's civic leaders. The profile of characteristics of people in the civic core includes those that are customarily found among elites: elevated levels of occupational status, education and income. Others of their characteristics are not associated with elites: a strong religious orientation, multiple forms of personal generosity and supporting a common good, and explicit commitment to the community. Is it appropriate to think of the civic core as a distinctive type of elite, perhaps a moral elite — one that exercises a moral authority or authority in support of some public good? In what ways might the civic core differ fundamentally from other types of elite, in other contexts, such as an economic elite, a political elite, an intellectual elite? The conventional understanding of elites is that they are higher-status individuals of influence who act in concert to advance their own interests and those of a dominant collectivity they identify with. The social science literature is almost entirely mute on the matter of civic elites (cf., Heying 1995, 1998; Lasch, 1995; Verba *et al.*, 1995) but the fact that some of the defining traits of the civic core's members are comparable, and are others non-

comparable, with those of conventional elites raises the question of what the essence of the civic core is and what its place and function in Canadian society are.

A second issue concerns the social dynamics that underlie the civic core. This core is evidently the product of forces and conditions that vary in different parts of the country and produce civic cores of significantly different size, orientation and density. To what extent is membership in the civic core the result of personality and socialization factors? A subculture of generosity? A distinctive worldview that couples concern for a common good of some kind with a sense of personal responsibility to support that common good, perhaps buttressed by a particular set of religious beliefs or values? Does the core result from the conjunction of a set of demographic conditions (above-average age, and the presence of dependent children) with certain social conditions such as living in non-metropolitan communities or embeddedness in social networks? Or might today's civic core be the product of what has been called the "long civic generation"? (Goss, 1999).

As well, the presence and character of the civic core bears directly on current public discussion about the nature of civil society and the challenge of citizen engagement. Contrary to an image of giving, volunteering and civic participation widely embraced in Canada, we have shown that the majority of Canadians practise them only incidentally or not at all. The civic core, although small, is clearly of major significance in an efficient and fair society. We believe the civic core, once understood, will be recognized as a strategic social resource and a fundamental and consequential component of Canada's social structure. While nothing is known of such things as the core's impact, whether it has an interior structure of its own such as the interlocking relationships one finds in economic elites, or whether a

distinctive ethos is found among people in the core, it is certain that if the civic core is made the focus of systematic social inquiry, the resulting understanding will tell us much about Canada's voluntary sector and about the larger Canadian society.

Appendix: Variables in the Discriminant Analysis

1. Region: Atlantic, Quebec, Ontario, Prairies, British Columbia.
2. Community size: size of respondent's community of residence. Large Urban = population over 100,000; Small Urban and Rural = under 100,000.
3. Religiosity: Respondent's assessment of importance of own religious beliefs. Scale from 0=not religious to 4= very religious.
4. Age: recorded in years.
5. Social participation: social participation score. A scale constructed by counting the positive responses to 12 questions about participation in social activities. Score runs from 0=low to 12=high.
6. Income: Grouped household income scale using group medians.
7. Household size.
8. Own children 0-5: Number of children ages 0 to 5 living in the home.
9. Own children 6-12: Number of children ages 6 to 12 living in the home.
10. Own children 13-17: Number of children ages 13 to 17 living in the home.
11. Own children 18+: Number of children ages 18 and older living in the home.
12. Education: Years of schooling.
13. Hours worked per week: 0=part-time or not working; 1=full-time.
14. Gender: 0=male; 1=female.
15. Class of Worker:
 - Paid employees. (reference group)
 - Self-employed workers
 - Workers in unpaid jobs.

Not in the labour force.

16. Marital Status:

Married (reference group).

Single, never married.

Other marital status, (widowed, separated and divorced).

17. Occupation:

Managers and administrators (reference group).

Professionals.

White collar clerical, sales and service.

Blue collar skilled and unskilled .

Not in the labour force.

18. Religion:

No religion (reference group)

Catholic.

Protestant.

Other religion.

19. Health: Self-evaluation of health. Scale runs from 1=poor to 5=excellent.

20. Immigrant status. 0=Canadian born; 1=foreign born.

21. Years resident in current community.

22. Ethnicity:

Canadian (reference group).

English, or English and Other ancestry.

French, or French and Other ancestry.

English and French ancestry.

Other ancestry.

23. Language of interview, 0= English; 1=French.

24. Satisfaction with life. Scale runs from 1=low to 4=high.

25. Voted: Respondent voted in last federal, provincial or local elections. Scale runs from 0=did not vote, to 3=voted in elections at all three levels.

26. News: Scale measuring how much the respondent follows the news. Scale runs from 1=not much, to 3=often.

27. Hours per week spent watching TV.

28. Count of pure giving reports: Number of types of 'pure' informal donations (i.e., not through an organization and where there was no potential benefit to the donor).

29. Count of impure giving reports: Number of types of 'impure' informal donations where there was potential benefit to the donor, such as in a charitable lottery.

30. Number of informal helping types: Number of different types of informal volunteering respondent engaged in.

31. Give because owe community: Reason for donating to organizations is a belief that they owe something to their community.

32. Give because personally affected: Reason for donating to organizations was because someone they know has been affected.

33. Youth experience; volunteer: respondent did volunteer work as a youth.

34. Youth experience: role model: Someone they admired was a volunteer during their youth.

35. Youth experience: sports teams: Youth experience in organized team sports.
36. Youth experience: youth group: Experience in youth groups.
37. Youth experience: student government: Experience in student government.
38. Youth experience: religious group: Youth experience in religious organizations
39. Control: Control over everyday decisions. Scale goes from 2=some or none, to 4=all.

Notes.

1.

To identify the respondents in each core, we cumulate effort, either hours, dollars or civic participation types, starting at the high end of the distribution, until 67 % of the total effort is reached. The annual value of hours, dollars, or civic participation this point represents is the boundary between the core and the non-core. The individuals at or above this boundary form the core for that particular activity. Those below form the non-core. Specifically, for volunteering the total annual effort by the sample was 635,975 hours volunteered; 2/3 of this is 423,983 hours. Cumulating hours volunteered for individuals in the sample, beginning with those who volunteered the most hours, until 423,983 is reached produces a cut-point of 224 hours volunteered annually. Individuals who volunteered this many hours or more constitute the volunteer core in Canada as we have defined it. As it turns out, only 5.4 % of all Canadians volunteered more than 224 hours in the preceding year. The same procedure was followed to identify the core of givers for dollars donated (those giving 475 or more dollars per year), and the core for civic participation (those participating in 2 or more types of organization). When the core groups are disaggregated by province, the appropriate cut-points for each activity are calculated on the basis of provincial distributions so that each core group represents the top two-thirds of contributory effort in that province.

2.

As with many other surveys of participation in organizations (civic participation), the National Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating did not ask for the actual number of organizations that a respondent was a member of, but instead asked whether or not they belonged to, or participated in, any of seven organizational types (e.g., Grabb and Curtis, 1992: 375-376). In the NSGVP these types were:

service clubs, union/professional, political, cultural/educational/hobby, sport/recreation, religious-affiliated, and school/neighbourhood/community. In our analysis, we take the number of positive responses to these seven questions as the count of civic participation. Clearly this underestimates the actual number of organizations a person is involved with to the extent that a person may be active in more than one organization in a given organizational category (two service clubs, for example). Since the cut-off between those in the core and those not in the core was between one and two organization types, undercounting multiple civic participation events of the same type may incorrectly exclude a person from being in the core group. In the 1984 National Election Study, for example, Curtis *et. al.* (1989: 152), find that when respondents were presented with a much more extensive list of association types (22), 29% report only one type of membership, while 36% report two or more membership types. In our data 28% report one organization type, while 21% report two or more types. So while the number who report one type is about the same, the proportion who report more than one organization type is about 15 percentage points lower. Thus our data and method may underestimate the number of multiple events by a fairly substantial margin. However, Curtis *et. al.* (1989: 152) also show that in 1984, only 35% of Canadians report no memberships. By 2000, that number had grown to 50%, a very significant rise. If there has been a general decline in the tendency to join associations, we would expect the number of multiple joiners to decline while the single joiners could remain relative stable (single joiners become non-participants while multiple joiners become single joiners). So the mis-estimation in our data would be considerably lower than the 36% versus 21% spread might suggest. To examine this possibility, we investigated the consequences of mis-classification for our analysis of the core groups. Because anyone with two or more participation types is included in the core, the possibility of mis-classification exists only for those who report one type. We randomly assigned 1/3 of

this group a count of 2 for their level of civic participation and recalculated the size of the membership core, as well as the degree of overlap between the re-estimated participation core and the volunteering and giving cores. This in fact *reduces* the size of the participation core because the two-thirds cut-point moves to between 2 and 3 organization types. Moving the one-third of those who reported one organization type to having 2 types increases the total level of civic participation. The 2/3 cut-off point then moves to between 2 and 3 organization types and the size of the core actually declines. Thus our procedure may under-estimate the size of the core if the under-count of civic participation is small. But if the under-count is large, approaching one-third of those reporting one type, then our analysis actually underestimates the size of this core and thus the size of the overlap with the other cores. For this reason, we take the number of membership types to be very close to the actual number of organizations respondents belong to or participate in.

3.

The notion of doing one's share may require qualification when it comes to contributions of money. Because wealth varies greatly across the population, the proportion of annual income, or the proportion of wealth donated would have to be included in a measure of 'doing one's share.

4.

Note that in contrast to the 6.3% primary core of highly civically engaged individuals, 13% of the adult population engaged in none of these activities (Table 1). We emphasize, however, that these statistics are measures of formal civic behaviours, i.e., via formal organizations and because so they do not provide a complete picture of the distribution of contributing in Canada.

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Table 1. Population Participation Rates and The Contribution of Core Groups in Canada, 1987-2000

	All Canadians			Proportion of effort	Core groups		
	Participation rate (%)				Percent of Canadians		
	1987 ^a	1997	2000		1987 ^a	1997	2000
Volunteering	26.7	31.4	26.7	67%	6.3	6.5	5.4
Giving Money	-	78.0	78.1	67%	-	10.5	9.5
Civic Participation	-	51.1	49.8	63-65% ^b	-	20.3	21.4
Combined ^c	-	85.5	86.9				

a. Data on giving and civic participation was not available for 1987.

b. The core cut-point in 1997 was 63% of civic participation, and 65% in 2000. See endnote 2 for a detailed explanation.

c. Combined reflects participation in any of the three areas.

Table 2. The Civic Core and Proportion of Contributory Effort^a, Canada 2000

		Distribution of Effort					Proportionality Ratios			
Sector ^b		% Population	% Hours	% Giving	% Participation	% Total	Hours	Giving	Participation	Total ^c
		A	B	C	D	B+C+D/3	B/A	C/A	D/A	total/A
Primary	a. V-G-C	1.0	12.0	8.3	3.8	8.0	12.00	8.30	3.80	8.03
	b. V-C	1.7	21.6	1.3	5.7	9.5	12.71	0.76	3.35	5.61
	c. G-C	3.2	4.0	21.4	10.3	11.9	1.25	6.69	3.22	3.72
	d. V-G	0.4	4.6	3.8	0.4	2.9	11.50	9.50	1.00	7.33
	sub total	6.3	42.2	34.8	20.2	32.4	6.70	5.52	3.21	5.14
Secondary	e. V	2.3	28.9	1.1	1.5	10.5	12.57	0.48	0.65	4.57
	f. C	15.4	10.3	9.0	45.5	21.6	0.67	0.58	2.95	1.40
	g. G	5.0	3.1	33.1	3.4	13.2	0.62	6.62	0.68	2.64
	sub total	22.7	42.3	43.2	50.4	45.3	1.86	1.90	2.22	2.00
Core total		29.0	84.5	78.0	70.6	77.7	2.91	2.69	2.43	2.68
Non-Core		70.8	15.4	21.9	29.4	22.2	0.22	0.31	0.42	0.31
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0				

a. The cut-point for the volunteer core is 224 or more hours per year. for the giving core the cut-point is \$475 or more per year.

and for civic participation it is 2 or more types of organization.

b. V: Volunteering. G: Giving. C: Civic participation

c. Ratio of Primary core to Non-core: 16.5. The ratio of the Total core to the Non-core: 6.7

Table 3. Civic Cores and Distribution of Effort, Canada 1997-2000

Sector ^a	% population			% hours			% giving			% participation			% Total			
	1997	2000	00-97	1997	2000	00-97	1997	2000	00-97	1997	2000	00-97	1997	2000	00-97	
Primary	a. V-G-C	1.4	1.0	-0.4	15.4	12.0	-3.4	10.8	8.3	-2.5	4.8	3.8	-1.0	10.3	8.0	-2.3
	b. V-C	2.2	1.7	-0.5	21.3	21.6	0.3	1.5	1.3	-0.2	7.3	5.7	-1.6	10.0	9.5	-0.5
	c. G-C	3.6	3.2	-0.4	4.4	4.0	-0.4	25.4	21.4	-4.0	11.9	10.3	-1.6	13.9	11.9	-2.0
	d. V-G	0.6	0.4	-0.2	6.2	4.6	-1.6	4.8	3.8	-1.0	0.6	0.4	-0.2	3.9	2.9	-1.0
	sub total	7.8	6.3	-1.5	47.3	42.2	-5.1	42.5	34.8	-7.7	24.7	20.2	-4.5	38.2	32.4	-5.8
Secondary	e. V	2.3	2.3	0.0	23.8	28.9	5.1	1.0	1.1	0.1	1.7	1.5	-0.2	8.8	10.5	1.7
	f. C	13.2	15.4	2.2	9.7	10.3	0.6	7.6	9	1.4	39.2	45.5	6.3	18.8	21.6	2.8
	g. G	5.0	5.0	0.0	2.8	3.1	0.3	25.9	33.1	7.2	3.5	3.4	-0.1	10.8	13.2	2.4
	sub total	20.5	22.7	2.2	36.3	42.3	6.0	34.6	43.2	8.6	44.3	50.4	6.1	38.4	45.3	6.9
Core total	28.3	29.0	0.7	83.6	84.5	0.9	77.0	78.0	1.0	69.1	70.6	1.5	76.6	77.7	1.1	
Non-Core	71.7	70.8	-0.9	16.4	15.4	-1.0	22.9	21.9	-1.0	30.9	29.4	-1.5	23.4	22.2	-1.2	
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		
Basic cores groups																
V	6.5	5.4	-1.1													
C	20.3	21.3	1.0													
G	10.6	9.6	-1.0													

a. V: Volunteering, G: Giving, C: Civic participation

Table 4. Civic Core Effort and Proportions, Quebec, Ontario and Saskatchewan, 2000

sector ^a	Distribution of Effort					Proportionality Ratios				
	% pop	% hrs	% aive	%civic	total	Hours	Givina	Civic	Total	
	A	B	D	C	B+C+D/3	B/A	D/A	C/A	total/A	
Quebec										
Primary	a. V-G-C	0.6	9.3	4.5	2.8	5.5	15.5	7.5	4.7	9.2
	b. V-C	0.7	15.1	0.4	2.6	6.0	21.6	0.6	3.7	8.6
	c. G-C	4.4	3.0	21.6	17.3	14.0	0.7	4.9	3.9	3.2
	<u>d. V-G</u>	<u>0.6</u>	<u>8.2</u>	<u>6.6</u>	<u>0.5</u>	<u>5.1</u>	<u>13.7</u>	<u>11.0</u>	<u>0.8</u>	<u>8.5</u>
	sub total	6.3	35.6	33.1	23.2	30.6	5.7	5.3	3.7	4.9
Secondary	e. V	2.2	34.7	1.0	1.5	12.4	15.8	0.5	0.7	5.6
	f. C	9.0	7.2	5.6	35.4	16.1	0.8	0.6	3.9	1.8
	<u>g. G</u>	<u>8.2</u>	<u>4.8</u>	<u>35.6</u>	<u>6.9</u>	<u>15.8</u>	<u>0.6</u>	<u>4.3</u>	<u>0.8</u>	<u>1.9</u>
	sub total	19.4	46.7	42.2	43.8	44.2	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.3
Core total		25.7	82.3	75.3	67.0	74.9	3.2	2.9	2.6	2.9
<u>Non-Core</u>		<u>74.4</u>	<u>17.8</u>	<u>24.7</u>	<u>33.0</u>	<u>25.1</u>	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.3
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0				continued

Table 4 Cont.										
sector ^a	Distribution of Effort					Proportionality Ratios				
	% pop	% hrs	% aive	%civic	total	Hours	Givina	Civic	Total	
	A	B	D	C	B+C+D/3	B/A	D/A	C/A	total/A	
Ontario										
Primary	a. V-G-C	1.1	12.8	8.1	4.0	8.3	11.6	7.4	3.6	7.5
	b. V-C	1.6	20.7	1.3	5.4	9.1	12.9	0.8	3.4	5.7
	c. G-C	3.6	4.5	21.5	11.9	12.6	1.3	6.0	3.3	3.5
	<u>d. V-G</u>	<u>0.3</u>	<u>3.2</u>	<u>1.4</u>	<u>0.3</u>	<u>1.6</u>	<u>10.7</u>	<u>4.7</u>	<u>1.0</u>	<u>5.4</u>
	sub total	6.6	41.2	32.3	21.6	31.7	6.2	4.9	3.3	4.8
Secondary	e. V	2.0	31.0	1.0	1.4	11.1	15.5	0.5	0.7	5.6
	f. C	15.0	11.0	8.8	44.8	21.5	0.7	0.6	3.0	1.4
	<u>g. G</u>	<u>5.8</u>	<u>2.9</u>	<u>35.8</u>	<u>4.1</u>	<u>14.3</u>	<u>0.5</u>	<u>6.2</u>	<u>0.7</u>	<u>2.5</u>
	sub total	22.8	44.9	45.6	50.3	46.9	2.0	2.0	2.2	2.1
Core total		29.4	86.1	77.9	71.9	78.6	2.9	2.6	2.4	2.7
Non-Core		70.6	13.9	22.1	28.1	21.4	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.3
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0				continued

Table 4 Cont.										
Distribution of Effort							Proprtionality Ratios			
sector ^a	% pop	% hrs	% give	%civic	total	Hours	Giving	Civic	Total	
Saskatchewan										
Primary	a. V-G-C	2.3	17.1	11.2	6.3	11.5	7.4	4.9	2.7	5.0
	b. V-C	4.0	28.3	3.1	10.5	14.0	7.1	0.8	2.6	3.5
	c. G-C	3.8	3.6	16.4	10.0	10.0	0.9	4.3	2.6	2.6
	<u>d. V-G</u>	<u>0.8</u>	<u>4.9</u>	<u>5.1</u>	<u>0.6</u>	<u>3.5</u>	<u>6.1</u>	<u>6.4</u>	<u>0.8</u>	<u>4.4</u>
	sub total	10.9	53.9	35.8	27.4	39.0	4.9	3.3	2.5	3.6
Secondary	e. V	2.5	17.0	1.5	1.4	6.6	6.8	0.6	0.6	2.7
	f. C	21.5	12.2	10	47.4	23.2	0.6	0.5	2.2	1.1
	<u>g. G</u>	<u>5.5</u>	<u>2.8</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>3.0</u>	<u>13.3</u>	<u>0.5</u>	<u>6.2</u>	<u>0.5</u>	<u>2.4</u>
	sub total	29.5	32.0	45.5	51.8	43.1	1.1	1.5	1.8	1.5
Core total		40.4	85.9	81.3	79.2	82.1	2.1	2.0	2.0	2.0
Non-Core		59.6	14.1	18.8	20.8	17.9	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3
<u>Total</u>		<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>				

a. V: Volunteering, G: Giving, C: Civic participation

Table 5. Standardized Canonical Discriminant Function Coefficients, Canada 2000

Core vs Non-Core			Primary vs Non-Core		
Variables in the Model	Rank	Beta	Variables in the Model	Rank	Beta
Age of respondent	1	0.305	Age of respondent	1	0.287
Education in years of schooling	2	0.249	Total household income	2	0.275
Social participation scale	3	0.239	Education in years of schooling	3	0.217
Count of pure giving reports	4	0.195	Other religions	4	0.203
Youth experience: religious group	5	0.193	Professionals	5	0.199
Household size	6	-0.188	Youth experience: religious group	6	0.198
Total household income	7	0.184	Religiosity	7	0.195
Professional	8	0.169	Social participation scale	8	0.183
Religiosity	9	0.163	Count of pure giving reports	9	0.180
Give because personally affected	10	0.150	Number of informal helping types	10	0.179
Number of informal helping types	11	0.144	Immigrant to Canada	11	-0.149
Youth experience: parents volunteered	12	0.137	Give because owe community	12	0.139
Years in community	13	0.133	Youth experience: student government	13	0.131
Other religions	14	0.130	No class of worker	14	0.117
Give because owe community	15	0.127	Years in community	15	0.116
Gender	16	-0.118	Youth experience: parents volunteered	16	0.109
British Columbia	17	0.096	Self-employed	17	0.098
Own children 18 Yrs and over	18	0.091	Hours per week watching television	18	-0.098

continued

Table 5 Cont.

Core vs Non-Core			Primary vs Non-Core		
Variables in the Model	Rank	Beta	Variables in the Model	Rank	Beta
Health	19	0.091	Catholic	19	-0.082
Own children 6-12 yrs	20	0.090	Prairies	20	0.080
Hours per week watching television	21	-0.084	How satisfied with life	21	0.080
Protestant	22	0.080	British Columbia	22	0.079
Youth experience: helped by others	23	0.079	Size of Community (CMA)	23	-0.079
Youth experience: youth group	24	0.077	Protestant	24	0.078
Prairies	25	0.063	Youth experience: youth group	25	0.078
Immigrant to Canada	26	-0.060	Single	26	0.064
Blue collar	27	-0.055			
Count of impure giving reports	28	0.055			
Self-employed	29	0.047			

$R^2 = 0.247$			$R^2 = 0.230$		
Percent correctly classified:	Core	49.7	Percent correctly classified:	Primary Core	32.2
	Non-Core	88.2		Non-Core	97.9

Figure 1: Components of Canada's Civic Core, 2000

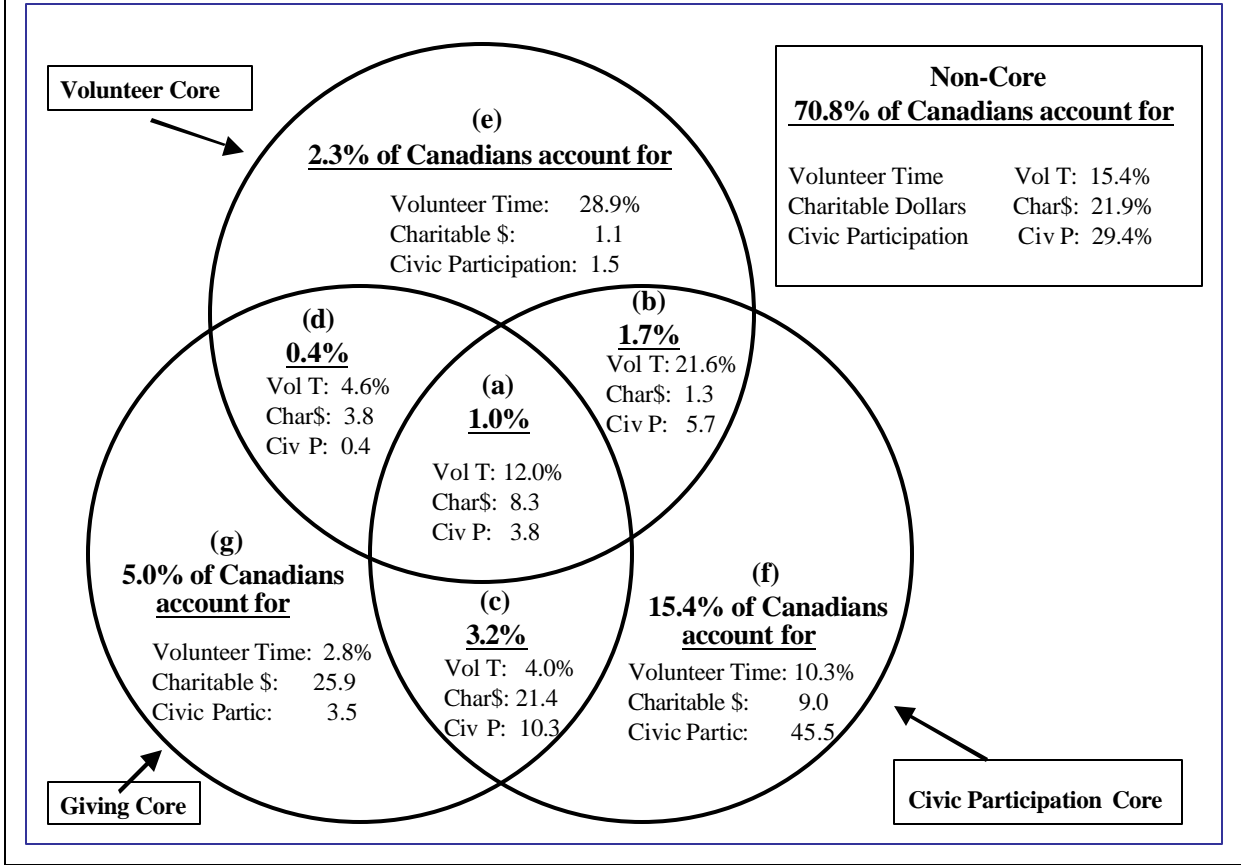


Figure 2: Distribution of Contributing and Participating across Canada's Adult Population, 2000

