Why Canadians Volunteer and Make Charitable Donations (or Don't): A Quantitative Analysis of Data on Self-Reported Reasons

A Research Report

by

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1. Introduction

In the search for the dynamics that generate contributory behaviour, concern with "motives" and "reasons" has long been a central element. The question of why people volunteer or donate to charities is obviously important for organizations and organizers in the voluntary sector since both activities are central to their ability to provide the goods and services that are their purpose. The question is also of general interest to social science since both behaviours reflect, in a very specific way, an individual's values and connection to their social milieu. Yet there is little sign of convergence in views concerning what the essential motives might be; different studies identify a variety of apparent motivations for these behaviours.

Perhaps the most conventional perspective rests on the dichotomy between self-interest and altruism. The self-interest component is firmly rooted in economic models of utility maximization; there have been efforts to extend the economic model to "non-rational" (altruistic) social behaviour (see Becker, 1981: 282-294). Other research has offered more and different motives that people offer to explain their actions. Some are largely psychological (see Clary <u>et al.</u>, 1996), while others are more generally sociological (see, for example, Sokolowski, 1998; Amato, 1990). In all this research, the main conclusion is that volunteering and giving are characterized by what Von Til calls <u>motivational</u> <u>multiplicity</u> (1988:25); that contributory behaviour generally involves a complex mixture of related and unrelated motives which fall into two broad categories: other-oriented motives, and those that are self-oriented (Girdon, 1977).

There is, however, no clear consensus as to how motives should be characterized, what should be the principal set of motives, what dimensions motives represent, or the appropriate technique(s) for identifying motives. Surprisingly, the absence of a reliable conceptual or methodological foundation for probing the motivation for contributory behaviours is not even seen as problematic. Surveys are designed according to loose conventions about what motives are presumed to be predominant and the manner in which respondents should be queried about them.

In this study, we examine the motives or reasons selected by Canadians, from a list of seven, for why they volunteer and why they give to charities. We also examine an aspect of contributory behaviour that is less often dealt with – the reasons given by people who <u>do not</u> volunteer or <u>do not give to charities</u> to account for their decisions. For each type of behaviour (volunteering; not volunteering; donating), we describe which reasons are most commonly offered and which ones less so. We also look at the <u>number of reasons</u> respondents selected as indicator of the multiplicity of motives typical in Canada. We look for <u>clustering of motives</u> as another indication of multiplicity: do people tend to be self-oriented or other-oriented exclusively, or are their motives a mixture of both? Finally, we examine whether or not there are socio-demographic characteristics that differentiate people in regard to the motives they give for their actions.

2. Data and Method

Our analysis utilizes data from the 1997 National Survey of Giving, Volunteering, and Participating in Canada. This national survey contained a number of questions concerning motives for contributory behaviour, with a specific set of questions for each of the four groups we examine. (See Appendix A for the questions.) Because each set differs from the others, we examine motivations in four separate sections. Comparisons across the sets of questions are not possible because they are neither mutually exclusive nor exhaustive of the range of possible motives that might be relevant. Since respondents could only agree or disagree with each reason, and could do so for any or all the choices of motive, it is impossible to know if one particular motive is most important or unimportant for a person's actions.

We present this analysis within the framework that is conventional for research on volunteering and donative behaviour without addressing its problematic aspects. We note here, for example, that our own research (Reed, Selbee <u>et al.</u>, 2000) and that of others (Freeman, 1997) has shown that when discussing motives for contributory behaviour, particularly volunteering, there may be a large difference between the motives <u>for</u> <u>commencing</u> the behaviour and the <u>motives for continuing to do it</u>. As well, contrary to

some assertions in the literature (Von Til, 1988:27), much of the time the decision to become a volunteer, for example, is not a decision weighed in a carefully deliberate fashion. Instead, it is most often reported as something that "just happened", or happened because one was asked o some other accident of circumstance. Moreover, we have found that for many volunteers, the reasons for being a volunteer changed over time as a consequence of their experience(s) — motives are different at different stages of individuals' volunteering histories.

This analysis is limited to examining percentages in frequency distributions and cross tabulations. Given the large number of tables that would be involved in looking for clusters of motives and socio-demographic correlates, we present only the tables where distinct patterns are evident. Tests of the statistical significance of the patterns identified are not undertaken, but given the exceptional size of this data set, a difference of five percent could be expected to be statistically significant, whether or not it is substantively important. As a rule of thumb, we examine and report on differences that are 10 percentage points or larger; these are large enough to be substantively important and of analytical interest, as well as statistically significant.

In looking at motivation as a multiplex phenomenon, we examine the tendency for individuals to select multiple motives, and whether or not these form unique clusters. At issue here is whether motives show an affinity for occurring together in sets. Two motives show a mutual affinity when the likelihood of those who select one motive also selecting a second motive is higher than the likelihood of the second motive being selected by the general population under consideration. To illustrate: we find that among those who volunteer to improve their job opportunities, 78% also volunteer to explore their own strengths. In comparison, among all volunteers only 54% volunteer to explore their own strengths. There is, then, a distinctly greater likelihood that someone who selected the first particular motive will also have selected the second motive, a likelihood that is markedly greater than for volunteers in general. The conclusion is that there is a connection between exploring strengths and job opportunities as motives for being a volunteer — they exist as a cluster for a significant proportion of respondents.

In addition to examining the univariate distributions of the motives for contributory behaviour and how these might cluster into comprehensible or related groups, we look at how various characteristics of both the individuals (such as socio-demographic traits) and the contributory behaviour (e.g., type of organization volunteered for) might be correlated with different motives or combinations of motives.

3. What Reasons Do Canadians Give For Why They Volunteer?

The proportions of volunteers who agreed with each of the seven reasons for volunteering are shown in Table 1. The first row in the table, the top panel, shows the proportion of all volunteers who agreed with each of the seven motive questions. The rows in the bottom panel of the table show the proportion of volunteers who, having selected the motive in the left-hand column, also select each of the other motives in the set. These indicate the affinity between motives and the extent to which they form clusters.

Virtually all volunteers state that one reason they volunteer is to help a cause they believe in. It is evident that this question is either too vague, or the notion of a cause is so broad as to be universal; in either case, it does not give any useful information. It seems that a 'cause' is understood by these respondents, not so much as an ideological commitment, but as a 'good cause' -- something simply worth doing or supporting. Helping out with the Parent-Teachers Association, for example, hardly qualifies as working for a cause in the sense of a strong personal commitment to specific political, social or even religious goals. Interestingly, among the 3.4% who disagreed with this question, their main reasons for volunteering have to do with self-realization -- mainly to improve job opportunities. This motive option points out a serious limitation in asking people why they participate in actions that are strongly socially sanctioned, either in a positive or negative manner. There is a strong expectation that noble or altruistic motives should be a fundamental part of people's motivations (Cummings, 1977; Smith,1981).

The remaining reasons that more effectively discriminate among volunteers fall into two groups. "Using one's skills", "having been personally affected", and "exploring their

own strengths" are the next three most important motivating factors at 78%, 67% and 54% respectively. (It is not entirely clear what "exploring their own strengths" means for individual volunteers.) Reasons of religion, sociability (friends are volunteers), and job

	A cause in which you personally believe	Use skills and experience	Personally affected or know someone affected	Explore own strengths	Fulfill religious obligations or beliefs	Friends volunteer	Job opportunities
			Perc	ent who als	o chose		
All volunteers:	96.0	77.9	67.0	54.3	28.9	25.0	21.9
Volunteers who chose :							
A cause in which you personally believe	100.0	78.3	68.5	54.7	29.7	24.8	21.5
Use skills and experience	96.5	100.0	69.4	64.5	30.3	26.3	26.3
Personally affected or know someone affected	98.1	80.6	100.0	56.9	32.9	25.2	21.8
Explore own strengths	96.7	92.6	70.3	100.0	32.7	28.4	31.4
Fulfill religious obligations or beliefs	98.6	81.5	76.1	61.3	100.0	26.6	18.2
Friends volunteer	95.3	81.9	67.6	61.6	30.8	100.0	28.7
Improve job opportunities	94.2	93.6	66.9	77.7	24.0	32.7	100.0

opportunities are of importance to only one quarter of volunteers (29%, 25%, and 22% respectively). Since religious factors are usually very strongly associated with this behaviour, the fact that religious reasons do not figure prominently could be considered surprising (see Wuthnow <u>et al.</u>, 1990). However, this appears to be due to the low prevalence of strong religious commitment in the population; among people who rate themselves as very religious, 68% volunteer for religious reasons, but these people represent only 17% of all volunteers. For those who rate themselves as being less than very religious, between 6% and 30% volunteer for religious reasons than are volunteers in

general. Improving job opportunities would also be expected to be a less common reason for volunteering. It is mainly people working part-time who give this as a reason for being a volunteer (33%) but they represent 17% of all volunteers. Those who work fulltime or are without a job are less likely to be seeking to improve their jobs (17% and 23% respectively select this reason).

It is certain that the motivation to volunteer is multifaceted. Table 2 shows the distribution of the number of motives selected by each volunteer. About 80% of volunteers gave three or more reasons, while about 57% agreed with four or more! The majority of volunteers gave three, four or five reasons for their actions. Along with the very high percentages for the first three motives, this suggests that many people volunteer for both other-oriented (a cause or having been affected) and self-oriented (use skills) motives.

Number of Motives	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
0	39	0.7	0.7
1	274	4.8	5.4
2	827	14.4	19.8
3	1329	23.1	43.0
4	1600	27.9	70.8
5	1177	20.5	91.3
6	398	6.9	98.2
7	101	1.8	100.0
Total	5743	100.0	

Table 2: Number of Motives Agreed With by Volunteers

There is some evidence for a clustering of the offered motives for volunteering in Table 1. By comparing the percentage in each row of the table to the percentage of volunteers in general who selected a particular motive (the percentage in row 1), we can see whether or not two or more motives tend to be given by the same volunteers---whether or not there is an affinity between the two motives. A cluster exists to the extent that individuals who select one motive are noticeably more likely to select a second specific motive, and visa versa. To see these patterns in Table 1, we look for percentages in the bottom panel

of the table that are distinctly larger than the percentages given for all volunteers in row 1. We can also identify divisions between motives when there is a notable tendency for people who select one motive not to select a second. This would show up as percentages in the bottom panel that are distinctly lower than those for all volunteers. For the motives to form a cluster, the pattern must be generally symmetrical: if people who select motive A more likely select motive B than are volunteers in general, then those who select motive B must be more likely to select motive A. To identify divisions between motives, the same symmetric pattern will exist except that individuals will be less likely than the population as a whole to select the two motives in question.

In Table 1, there are several symmetric patterns (affinities) that point to one cluster of motives. Those who volunteer to use their skills are also more likely to volunteer in order to explore their strengths--65% versus 54% for volunteers in general. Conversely, those who volunteer to explore their strengths are more likely also to volunteer to use their skills--93% versus 78% for all volunteers. This pattern is symmetric, so these two motives constitute a cluster. These two also tend to cluster with improving job opportunities---94% of those who volunteer in order to improve job opportunities, also volunteer to use their skills (versus 78% of all volunteers) and 78% volunteer to explore their strengths (versus 54% of all volunteers). The pattern is symmetric for exploring their strengths (31% versus 22%) but is less certain for using skills (26% versus 22% for all volunteers). These three represent the most specific self-oriented motives in the list of motives. There is also weak evidence for a second cluster that may be more in the nature of other-oriented motives. Those who volunteer for religious reasons are more likely to volunteer because they've been personally affected than are volunteers in general (76% versus 67%), and conversely, those who have been personally affected are slightly more likely to volunteer for religious reasons (33% versus 29%).

4. Correlates of Motives for Volunteering

It is clearly understood that volunteering is a very diverse activity. The reasons people give for being a volunteer may well be related to characteristics of the behaviour itself.

Two factors we examine here are the type of organization a person volunteered for, and how they first became a volunteer -- in particular, whether they were asked to volunteer or did so on their own initiative.

Whether we view the selected type of organization as being affected by the motives for volunteering (as a dependent variable), or as a factor that might influence the reasons people give for volunteering (as an independent variable), organizational type is not, in general, associated with specific motives. The one exception has to do with religious organizations. Not surprisingly, those who volunteer to fulfil religious beliefs are substantially more likely to volunteer for religious organizations than are volunteers in general (37% versus 14%). Conversely, among those who volunteer for religious organizations, 80% give religious reasons as a motive as compared to just 29% of volunteers as a whole.

How a person <u>became</u> a volunteer may be related to the motives they express about volunteering. In particular is the question of whether they responded to being asked to become a volunteer or did so on their own initiative. However, the data do not show that different motives are associated with how individuals began volunteering other than a small but obvious difference ----those who were asked to volunteer by friends are a little more likely to volunteer because their friends do, and those who were asked to volunteer by their employer are less likely to say they volunteer for religious reasons. So, in essence, whether a person was asked to volunteer or did so on their own is not associated with any distinct difference in the reason(s) they give for volunteering.

We also examined whether or not people's reasons for volunteering differed significantly depending on various of their socio-demographic traits. The factors we looked at were region, community size, religion and religious attendance, age, education, and youth experience factors. (As a youth, having been in a youth group, in student government, in a religious youth group, in team sports, a volunteer, had a volunteer role model, was a canvasser, was helped by others, or had parents who were volunteers).

Where a person lives in Canada has very little impact on reasons for volunteering with one exception -- volunteers in Quebec were markedly less likely to volunteer because they were personally affected (50% versus 66%), to fulfil religious beliefs (21% versus 29%), or to explore their strengths (42% versus 55%) than are volunteers in Canada generally. Community size also has little association with particular motives, although there is a modest tendency for volunteering for religious reasons to increase as community size decreases (from 27% in large urban areas to 34% in rural areas).

Religion has some effect on motives but there is no consistent pattern (Table 3). Protestants, and conservative Protestants in particular, are more likely to volunteer

	Religion						
	No Religion	Catholic	Liberal protestant	Conservative protestant	Other	Total	
Motive		Pe	ercent who a	chose each mo	tive		
A cause in which you personally believe	93.9	95.6	97.3	97.8	94.5	95.9	
Use skills and experience	79.5	75.3	81.2	77.8	73.2	77.9	
Personally affected or know someone affected	66.9	61.1	70.3	76.0	64.8	67.0	
Explore own strengths	55.6	49.8	57.4	55.5	62.0	54.2	
Fulfill religious obligations or beliefs	7.2	26.7	32.7	55.6	42.4	29.0	
Friends volunteer	25.0	25.0	25.8	24.0	25.8	25.1	
Job opportunities	27.1	22.4	18.0	17.4	27.9	21.9	

Table 3: Motives for Volunteering, by Religion

because they have been personally affected. Conservative Protestants are also notably more likely to volunteer for religious reasons, while Catholics are less likely to do so. This may point to a basic difference between Catholic and Protestant voluntary organizations. The greater degree of formal organizational structure in the Catholic church may limit both the need and opportunities for volunteering, where the less formal structure of many Protestant church-related organizations, and particularly the conservative sects, promotes volunteering. Nonetheless, there may well be different ideologies associated with each religious philosophy that also have impacts on contributory behaviours. Church attendance is associated with some motives for volunteering. The proportion of volunteers who specify a religious motive rises from 7% for those who never attend services to 63% for those who attend weekly or more frequently. Overall, however, the religious factors do not have a large effect on motives for volunteering.

Of all the socio-demographic traits we examined, age had the strongest and most consistent impact on motives (Table 4). The proportion of individuals who reported volunteering to improve job opportunities, explore their strengths, or use their skills declines markedly as age increases. On the other hand, fulfilling religious beliefs tends to increase as a motive with age. In other word, self-oriented motives tend to be associated with younger individuals while religion-based motives are associated with those who are older.

91.9 82.4	96.4	Age Group 45-64 t who chose e 97.1	65+	Total 95.9
91.9	Percent 96.4	t who chose e	ach motive	
	96.4			95.9
		97.1	97.6	95.9
82.4				
02	79.5	75.4	70.5	77.8
58.8	68.5	70.0	66.4	67.0
67.8	56.8	48.3	37.3	54.2
20.3	23.7	34.4	48.8	28.9
33.2	22.4	21.6	31.1	25.0
54.4	20.9	10.8	2.8	21.9
	67.8 20.3 33.2 54.4	20.3 23.7 33.2 22.4	20.3 23.7 34.4 33.2 22.4 21.6	20.3 23.7 34.4 48.8 33.2 22.4 21.6 31.1

Table 4: Motives for Volunteering, by Age

Education has little influence on motives. Volunteering because one's friend does so declines as education increases -- from 35% of those with elementary education, to 21% of those with university education. Volunteering for religious reasons follows a U-

shaped pattern, with those with low and high education more likely to do so than those between the polarities.

We examined the link between nine youth experience factors and motivations: in previous research we found youth experiences to have important effects on both types of contributory behaviour (Reed and Selbee, 2000(b)). With only two exceptions, youth experience factors are <u>not</u> connected with volunteer motives. Those who had been members of religious youth groups are markedly more likely to volunteer for religious reasons than those without this experience (45% versus 17%). Those who were volunteers as youths are significantly more likely to volunteer to improve job opportunities: 28% vs. 14%. This last may be a knowledge effect -- having been a volunteer as a youth may increase awareness of how volunteering can lead to job opportunities, and thus lead to volunteering as an adult, perhaps in order to take advantage of this route into the labour force.

In general, the traits we examined do not appear to have substantial impacts on volunteering. Type of organization, and whether or not one volunteered on one's own initiative show no connection with motives. Among the socio-demographic traits, only age and religion have notable effect, although in both cases the link is not surprising. Instead, with the exceptions noted, the motives offered for this contributory behaviour tend to be relatively undifferentiated in terms of individual traits.

5. Why Non-Volunteers Don't Volunteer

Individuals who <u>had not volunteered</u> in the twelve months prior to November, 1997, were asked ten questions about why they did not volunteer (Appendix A). Two factors clearly stand out: concerns about time and commitment (Table 5). More than half of all non-volunteers selected these two reasons. About one-third of respondents said they give money instead of time, had not been asked, or had no interest in volunteering. Very few individuals expressed worries about being sued in connection with volunteering.

Table 5: Motives for Not Volunteering

	No extra time	Unwilling to commit	Give money instead of time	Not asked	No interest	Already made a contribution	Health or physical problem	Financial cost	Don't know how	Sued or taken to court
				Pe	ercentage	who also chose				
All Non-volunteers:	68.8	50.1	33.7	32.5	30.4	22.6	21.8	18.5	15.8	4.9
Non-volunteers who chos	se:									
No extra time.	100.0	55.5	35.8	33.4	29.6	19.1	12.3	18.3	15.7	5.5
Unwilling to commit	76.2	100.0	44.8	40.4	39.0	25.7	19.2	23.3	19.7	7.0
Give money instead of time.	73.2	66.6	100.0	39.1	37.5	32.6	22.1	18.9	16.8	8.6
Not asked	70.8	62.2	40.4	100.0	32.2	20.7	16.0	24.3	36.6	9.0
No interest	67.0	64.3	41.5	34.4	100.0	26.6	22.8	26.2	17.4	6.5
Already made a contribution	58.3	57.0	48.6	29.8	35.8	100.0	35.0	21.1	10.3	8.4
Health or physical problem	38.6	44.1	34.1	23.8	31.7	36.2	100.0	23.1	12.0	7.0
Financial cost	68.0	63.2	34.3	42.7	43.1	25.8	27.3	100.0	29.0	11.4
Don't know how	68.5	62.4	35.8	75.5	33.5	14.7	16.6	34.1	100.0	12.1
Sued or taken to court	76.5	71.1	58.6	58.9	40.1	38.5	30.8	42.7	38.7	100.0

Reasons for not volunteering are less multiplex than for volunteering. Table 6 shows that 43% of non-volunteers selected two or fewer motives, as compared to only 20% of volunteers (Table 2). Even with more motives to choose from, non-volunteers are less likely to offer a variety of reasons for why they do not participate.

There is, however, substantial evidence for the existence of distinct clusters and divisions among the motives for not volunteering. One might expect that the two most common reasons for not volunteering would be strongly connected. Being unable or unwilling to give a long term commitment to volunteer might well be related to the time available for the voluntary activities. However, the affinity between not having time and being unwilling to commit is quite weak. While there is a tendency for those who select one motive to also select the other, this tendency is not much greater than for non-volunteers

Number of Motives	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
0	316	2.5	2.5
1	2230	2.5 17.8	2.5
2	2879	22.9	43.2
3	2724	21.7	64.9
4	2115	16.8	81.7
5	1353	10.8	92.5
6	625	5.0	97.5
7	206	1.6	99.1
8	60	0.5	99.6
9	39	0.3	99.9
10	10	0.1	100.0
Total	12558	100.0	

Table 6: Number of Motives Chosen by Non-Volunteers

in general. It is also the case that the insufficiency of time motive does not cluster with any other motive, while the commitment motive does show an affinity with several other motives. Not having the time to volunteer may be viewed as a conventionally accepted reason; we have found in our qualitative research on reasons for volunteering that committed volunteers repeatedly brush off the question of time constraints by saying there is always a way to re-schedule one's time if one really wants to do something (Reed <u>et al.</u>, 2000(a)). Nor do those who feel a time constraint seem to buy off any sense of obligation to help -- they are no more likely to suggest that they give money instead of time than are other non-volunteers. There is also a disaffinity between this motive and two others. Those who feel they've already made a contribution and those who have health problems are distinctly less likely to say they have no time. In the first case, these people feel they have already discharged their obligation, while in the second case , they have a 'real' reason for not being a volunteer.

Being unable or unwilling to make a commitment seems to be a more realistic and, perhaps, a more reasoned self-evaluation of why people do not volunteer. Not making a commitment shows a strong connection with two other motives. These individuals are distinctly more likely than average non-volunteer to say that they give money instead of time, or that they have no interest in being a volunteer. Giving money instead of time indicates that the individual is concerned with helping others, but the form this takes is giving financial resources rather than their time. Having no interest in being a volunteer might seem to reflect such a lack of concern but this does not appear to be the case. Although not strong, these two motives do show some affinity. Both groups are more likely to select the other motive than are non-volunteers in general. Together, these three motives---unwillingness to commit, having no interest, and giving money instead of time represent a group of people who have some concern to help others but are not oriented to volunteering as the means of helping, and some of them give money instead of their time.

Not having been asked is given as a reason by one-third of the non-volunteers. If the implication here is that they would volunteer if asked, this group has the potential to be a resource for the voluntary sector if ways can be found to "ask" them. And such ways need to be found because this group is more than twice as likely to say they don't know how to become involved as are the non-volunteers (37% versus 16%). Conversely, those who don't know how to become involved are more than twice as likely to also state they have not been asked to volunteer. This affinity strength of this pair of reasons suggests that there is a large but relatively passive group of individuals may give their assistance if solicited. However, this apparent readiness to volunteer if only someone would ask must be tempered by the fact that these people are also slightly more likely to be unwilling to make a commitment (62%) than the average non-volunteer (50%), so their latent willingness to volunteer may not be as high as appears at first glance.

There is yet another strong cluster of motives, which may indicate that some people misapprehend volunteer activity. These people say they do not volunteer because of the financial costs, a fear of being sued, or because they don't know how. Since the first two are more likely to be misperceptions of volunteering than real obstacles, these three

reasons may indicate a lack of accurate information as the source of their apprehension. These people are also more likely to not have been asked to volunteer. Since all three groups are distinctly more likely to also say they are unwilling to commit, while the reverse is not true, it may be the case that their lack of information leads to their unwillingness to commit. As a direct policy implication, increased dissemination of accurate information about the volunteer experience may allay their apprehension and encourage their participation.

There are two other motivational affinities worthy of note. Those who say they have already made their contribution have an above-normal likelihood of saying they give money instead of time. This may imply that these people feel their charitable giving fulfils all of their design or obligation to contribute. The second cluster involves those who have a health problem and those who feel they've already made a contribution. This link may be due to the fact that most people with health limitations will be older individuals who, in fact, have made a significant contribution, either in time or money, over the course of their lives. This inference is supported by the fact that two-thirds (over 63%) of those who gave health reasons for not being a volunteer were over the age of 55.

			Regi	on		
Motives	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	BC	Total
		Р	ercent wh	no chose		
No extra time	59.8	67.0	71.6	69.8	68.1	68.7
Unwilling to commit	47.0	57.6	47.3	46.7	46.5	50.0
Give money instead of time	36.6	32.2	35.6	34.2	28.5	33.6
Not asked	32.9	25.7	34.8	33.4	39.3	32.5
No interest	30.0	38.0	26.7	26.5	28.5	30.4
Already made a contribution	23.9	25.4	20.7	24.7	18.8	22.5
Health or physical problem	25.5	21.4	21.8	23.0	19.3	21.8
Financial cost	21.1	22.8	16.5	16.4	15.3	18.5
Don't know how	16.8	10.7	18.3	15.7	18.8	15.8
Sued or taken to court	5.3	2.8	5.5	4.9	7.9	4.9

Table 7: Motives for Not Volunteering, by Region

6. Correlates of Not Volunteering

Unlike those who are volunteers, we cannot analyse the connection between characteristics of the contributory behaviour and motives for not volunteering, but we can examine some of the socio-economic traits of non-volunteers.

There are region-specific patterns of motives for not volunteering, but virtually all of the effect is due to differences between Quebec and the rest of Canada (Table 7). Non-volunteering people in Quebec are slightly less likely than non-volunteers elsewhere in

Canada to select "not being asked" and "not knowing how" as the reason for why they do not volunteer. On three other motives, people in Quebec are more likely to agree -- the financial cost, have no interest, and being unwilling to make a commitment. People in the Atlantic provinces are also more likely to be concerned with the cost of volunteering, but are less likely to give lack of time as a reason not to volunteer compared to other areas of Canada. People in British Columbia are more likely to report not having been asked. In all these cases, the differences are not large, however. Community size has no discernible association with motives except, perhaps, with the question of time -- this seems to become less of a problem as community size decreases.

The reasons people give for not volunteering differ by religion to some extent (Table 8). Liberal Protestants tend to be more likely than others to point to health problems, giving money rather than time, and to feel they've already made their contribution. They are least likely to feel a lack of time. Catholics are more likely to express an unwillingness to commit and, along with those with no religion, to be uninterested. Those of other religions are more likely to say that no one has asked them to be volunteers or that they don't know how to become involved. These people will disproportionately be from non-

			Religion					
	No religion	Catholic	Liberal protestant	Conservative protestant	Other	Total		
Motives		Percent who chose each motive						
No extra time	72.2	68.7	61.9	65.9	75.7	68.8		
Unwilling to commit	45.7	55.3	47.0	45.7	49.9	50.4		
Give money instead of time	28.6	34.6	41.5	37.4	30.4	34.0		
Not asked	35.7	29.8	32.4	35.5	42.9	33.0		
No interest	33.1	33.3	23.2	24.9	17.7	30.1		
Already made a contribution	18.9	22.3	29.3	24.2	19.5	22.4		
Health or physical problem	15.6	22.7	29.9	21.1	16.7	21.3		
Financial cost	19.3	19.8	17.0	16.0	13.0	18.5		
Don't know how	17.2	13.6	14.5	14.9	33.8	16.1		
Sued or taken to court	4.1	4.2	6.3	7.6	7.9	5.0		

Table 8: Motives for Not Volunteering, by Religion

European, non-Christian traditions, so this may reflect a greater separation from the dominant cultural and religious traditions in Canada.

How often a person attends religious services has no discernible link to which motives non-volunteers offer. Having health problems and feeling one has already made one's contribution do tend to become more prevalent as religious attendance increases, but for the other motives there is no clear pattern.

Age has some quite distinct connections to the motives of non-volunteers (Table 9). Health problems, giving money instead of time, and having already made a contribution all increase very significantly with age. These are not surprising associations -- in each case, it is understandable that older people would be more likely to give such reasons. Not having been asked and not knowing how to volunteer decrease sharply with age. Again, this is not an especially profound result. As people grow older, the chance that they have been asked, or know how to help out, probably increases. Not having time shows a truncated inverted U-shaped pattern -- 76% of the youngest age group give this reason, and this rises to 83% among those 25-44. Thereafter, the proportion drops sharply to only 31% among the oldest group. So age does have an effect, but the patterns are very obvious and not analytically challenging.

			Age		
	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+	Total
Motive					
No extra time	76.3	82.8	66.5	30.7	68.7
Unwilling to commit	48.0	51.9	53.7	41.6	50.0
Give money instead of time	16.6	34.4	38.4	40.7	33.6
Not asked	44.0	34.5	30.0	20.4	32.5
No interest	30.4	28.4	32.5	31.7	30.4
Already made a contribution	6.8	14.7	28.8	46.8	22.5
Health or physical problem	4.8	8.1	25.7	65.6	21.8
Financial cost	19.5	19.0	18.6	15.9	18.5
Don't know how	27.7	15.9	13.7	6.9	15.8
Sued or taken to court	3.3	4.6	7.0	4.0	4.9

Table 9: Motives for Not Volunteering, by Age

The effects of education are like those of age; there are some clear patterns, but they are not entirely unexpected. Health problems and financial costs decline in importance as reasons as education increases. The first is probably due to the negative connection between age and education. The second simply reflects the fact that income is positively related to education, so the cost of volunteering becomes less significant as education increases. In contrast, unwillingness to make a commitment and lack of time both increase as education increases, while lack of interest decreases. Thus, those with low education are more willing to commit and have more time, but are not interested in volunteering and those with high education are interested but say they have no time and are unwilling to commit.

The nine youth experience factors have one notable effect on the types of reasons proffered for not volunteering. In every case, those with youth experience are distinctly less likely to say they have no interest in volunteering. Having been involved in youth activities of any sort appears to enhance an individual's concern for helping others, even if they do not act on that concern.

Those who were in student government, sports teams, or canvassed as youths are less likely to give health problems as a reason for not volunteering. Since these factors are associated with age -- younger people are more likely to have had these types of experiences -- the link is probably due to the association with age. In addition, for these same three experience factors, there is a greater likelihood of giving lack of time as a reason for not volunteering. Since none of the other youth experience factors clearly shows this pattern, it is unclear how it should be interpreted.

7. Why Give?

As is the case with motives for being a volunteer, compassion towards the needy is almost always given as a reason for charitable giving -- certainly it is the most socially appropriate response (Table 10). Giving to a cause that one believes in also falls in this category, although in this case the obvious question is why someone would give to a cause they did not believe in. Both motive options are not very informative regarding motives for giving.

More than half of givers say they do so because they've been personally affected or because they feel they owe it to their community. Over a third report doing so for religious reasons, while only a small minority do so because they receive a tax credit.

As with volunteering, the motivation for giving is multifaceted: over half of givers offer four or more reasons for their actions (Table 11). This also shows in the way the motives cluster. The two motives that respectively represent generalized self-oriented and otheroriented reasons---being personally affected, and owing something to the community--show a tendency, albeit weakly, to cluster. Those who select the one are slightly more likely to select the other than are givers in general. Giving because you, or someone you

	Compassion for people in need	Personal cause	Personally affected	Owe your community	Fulfill religious obligations or belief	Tax credit
			Percent who a	also chose		
All Givers:	94.5	92.1	65.1	58.2	34.4	10.8
Givers who chose:						
Compassion for people in need	100.0	93.8	66.5	60.1	34.9	11.0
Personal cause	96.2	100.0	68.2	60.7	35.4	11.2
Personally affected	96.5	96.5	100.0	64.2	36.8	12.3
Owe your community	97.4	96.0	71.7	100.0	42.0	13.5
Fulfill religious obligations or belief	95.8	94.7	69.6	71.1	100.0	15.5
Tax credit	95.7	95.5	74.1	72.5	49.4	100.0

Table 10: Motives for Giving

know, has been affected, is evidently seen as also fulfilling one's obligation to the community at large.

The multifaceted character of giving also appears in the tendency for the tax credit motive, a direct indicator of self-orientation, to cluster with the other-oriented motives of owing the community and religious reasons, although the latter may be as much a self as an other orientation.

The strongest affinity in Table 10 is between giving for religious reasons and owing something to the community. It is the hallmark of most religious doctrines that the conscientious fulfilment of one's religious obligations includes compassion and assistance to those in need. But this does not appear to exclude sensible financial management, since those who give for religious reasons are those who are most likely to

do so because of the tax credit. Again, <u>the combination</u> of a utilitarian consideration with an other-orientation is a prevalent pattern in the reasons people make donations.

Number of Motives	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
0	280	2.0	2.0
	481	3.4	5.3
2	1888	13.2	18.6
3	4081	28.6	47.2
4	4447	31.2	78.3
5	2597	18.2	96.5
6	495	3.5	100.0
Total	14269	100.0	

Table 11: Number of Motives Chosen by Givers

8. Correlates of Giving

In addition to examining the effects of socio-demographic factors on reasons for giving, we examined the relationship between the degree of intentionality in giving and the motives for giving. Givers were divided into two groups: individuals for whom the majority of their giving was planned in advance, or was a mixture of both planned and in response to being asked (planned giving), and those for whom the majority of giving is in response to being asked to give (unplanned giving). Only in the case of giving for religious reasons does planned giving have a clear correlation: planned givers are markedly more likely than unplanned givers (43% vs. 30%) to cite religious reasons for their giving.

There are regional variations in motives for giving, but again, virtually all of these take the form of differences between Quebec and the rest of Canada (Table 12). Individuals in Quebec are less likely to say they give because of a tax credit, for religious reasons, because they owe the community, or because they have been personally affected. Only people in British Columbia are less likely to give for religious reasons. People in the Prairie provinces show the highest tendency to report that they give for tax reasons, and they and people in the Atlantic provinces are most likely to give because they have been personally affected.

	Region					
Motive	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	BC	Total
	Percent who chose each motive					
Compassion for people in need	94.3	92.5	94.3	94.1	93.0	93.7
Personal cause	93.2	85.2	93.5	95.2	89.7	91.3
Personally affected	75.5	48.1	68.1	74.2	64.8	64.5
Owe your community	65.3	47.9	60.0	65.1	55.3	57.8
Fulfill religious obligations or belief	39.4	28.0	37.7	37.1	27.2	34.1
Tax credit	8.5	6.3	12.8	14.4	9.5	10.7

Table 12: Motives for Giving, by Region

The very clear differences between Quebec and the rest of Canada in regard to all aspects of contributory behaviour is a puzzle that we have yet to solve. However, compared to the other regions, and excepting the one motive where Quebec and B.C. are equal, people in Quebec have the lowest overall rate of agreement (or alternatively, the highest rate of *disagreement*) with all of the motives offered to them in the survey. This set of motives appears not to include those that are important to people in Quebec. This conclusion is supported by the fact that 30% of people in Quebec agreed with 2 or fewer of the cited possible motives while in the rest of Canada, the next highest proportion was 19% -- for those in B.C. This suggests that there is a clear but subtle difference in the motives for giving in Quebec that is not captured by the motives respondents could choose from. This failure to capture the unique style of Quebec's contributory behaviour may extend to other aspects of volunteering and giving, and may account for some of the differences observed in other of our analyses of contributory behaviour in Canada.

Community size is associated with two small but consistent patterns in motives for giving. The proportion of individuals who give because they have been personally affected or because they feel they owe something to their community increases as community size decreases. This makes sense when we recognize that people in less urbanized settings tend to have more knowledgeable and less anonymous contact with others in their community.

Religious affiliation is associated with motives for giving, but this involves only the Protestant groups and those of other religions. Protestants report they are more likely to give because they have been personally affected than are givers in general. Individuals with liberal protestant religious affiliation are more likely to give because they feel they owe something to their community or have been personally affected, while conservative Protestants are more likely to give for religious reason or because they've been personally affected. Those of other religions also give for religious reasons but less so because they have been personally affected.

Frequency of church attendance is connected to only two motives. The likelihood of giving for religious reasons increases enormously as attendance increases (from 23% for low attendees to 72% for those who attend weekly or more). Giving because one feels an obligation to the community also increases, although not as dramatically (from 53% for those who never attend church to 69% for weekly attendees). The other motives are largely unaffected by attendance.

Three motives are affected by age; giving for religious reasons, because one feels that one has an obligation to the community, or because one has been personally affected, all increase with age. Giving for tax reasons increases as education increases, and those with university education are more likely to feel they owe the community. Those with elementary education are distinctly more likely to give for religious reasons; this probably is more of an effect of age than of education. Youth experiences show two distinct links to motives for giving. For those with each of the youth experiences, there is a tendency, some stronger than others, to give because they feel they owe the community or because they have been personally affected. As was the case for volunteering, the experience of participation as a youth appears to increase the individual's level of concern for others.

	Table 13: Motives for Not Giving							
	Saving for own needs	Spend money in other ways	Money will not be used efficiently	Dislike the way requests are made	Give time instead of money	Give directly to people in need	Hard to find a worthy cause	Don't know where to contribute
				Percent who a	lso chose			
All Non-Givers:	67.4	67.3	33.3	28.0	21.4	21.2	16.8	9.7
Non-Givers who c	hose:							
Saving for own needs	100.0	83.2	38.2	32.2	23.1	24.2	20.8	10.9
Spend money in other ways	83.4	100.0	42.6	34.8	24.2	26.4	20.5	11.4
Money will not be used efficiently	77.8	86.6	100.0	59.0	28.0	38.2	37.6	16.3
Dislike the way requests are made	77.9	84.0	70.1	100.0	29.6	35.9	36.3	16.9
Give time instead of money	72.7	76.1	43.3	38.5	100.0	40.2	26.6	16.6
Give directly to people in need	77.3	84.2	59.9	47.4	40.8	100.0	31.6	16.1
Hard to find a worthy cause	83.9	82.8	74.5	60.6	34.1	40.0	100.0	28.3
Don't know where to contribute	76.3	79.5	55.9	48.8	36.8	35.2	49.1	100.0

Table 13: Motives for Not Giving

9. Why Charitable Non-Givers Don't Donate

Two factors stand out as the main reasons people do not give to formal charities; they state they are saving money for their own needs, or they prefer to spend in other ways (Table 13). The first suggests people who face significant financial constraints, whether subjectively or objectively the case. The second seems to be simply a rejection of charitable giving as a rational way to expend their resources. A third of non-givers feel the money would not be used efficiently and nearly as many dislike the way requests for donations are made. About a fifth of those who do not give to charities say they give time instead of money, or give directly to people in need rather than through organizations.

Some people felt it was hard to find a worthy cause and a few say they did not know where they could make a contribution.

Not giving is not characterized by the multiplicity of motives that was evident in the previous sections. Fully half of all non-givers selected just two reasons, and over 70% gave three or less (Table 14). In fact, 14% of non-givers selected <u>none</u> of the 8 potential reasons for not giving.

Number of Motives	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
0	580	14.4	14.4
1	602	14.9	29.3
2	944	23.4	52.7
3	714	17.7	70.4
4	512	12.7	83.2
5	339	8.4	91.6
6	230	5.7	97.3
7	77	1.9	99.2
8	33	0.8	100
Total	4032	100	

Table 14: Number of Motives, by Non-Givers

The connections among motives for not giving evident in Table 13 occur in two distinct clusters. The first involves a linkage between the two most common reasons: saving for one's own needs, and preferring to spend in other ways. For both, 84% of those who agree with one reason also agree with the other and this is much higher than the tendency of non-givers in general to select these motives (67% for both). These two also show a weak affinity for the belief that the money they donate will not be used efficiently, but they are not substantially more likely to select any of the other motives than are nongivers in general. On the other hand, the six motives, from the belief that the money will not be used efficiently to not knowing where to contribute, all show a strong affinity with each other. While they all show an elevated tendency to select the first two motives, since the reverse is not true, they cannot be said to cluster with the first two motives. These six clearly constitute a second cluster in the data on motives for not giving. The first cluster---saving for one's own needs and preferring to spend in other ways--appears to simply be about a concern with money. The second cluster, however, appears to involve a clear distrust of or uncertainty about charitable organizations and the way they collect and utilize charitable donations. These people are not necessarily unwilling to give to people in need; they show a distinct tendency to undertake informal giving of both time and money. The obvious implication is that these individuals might be convinced to support formal charities if those organizations could allay their distrust and uncertainty.

10. Correlates of Not Giving

Neither region nor community size have much bearing on motives for not giving. While there are some small regional differences, none clearly marks off any region as clearly different from the rest of Canada. There is, however, one weak pattern that speaks to the point raised earlier about Quebec's possibly having a distinctive style of contributory behaviour. Of all regions in Canada, people in Quebec show the strongest tendency to eschew formal charitable giving because they say they give time instead of money or because they give directly to people in need. (We have addressed this latter phenomenon in detail in Reed and Selbee, 2000(c)).

Community size, religion, and church attendance show no significant associations with the motives for not giving.

Age and education have some minor effects: saying they give time instead of money declines with age, and giving directly to others increases with age. Believing the money will not be used efficiently and not liking the way requests are made are more typical of those who are in middle aged than of the young or the old. Those with higher levels of education are more likely to believe the money will not be used efficiently or to dislike the way requests are made. Altogether, it appears that distrust of the third sector is highest among the middle aged and better educated, and lowest among the young and less educated.

Interestingly, youth experiences with volunteering has, basically, one effect on motives for not giving: those with youth experience stated they are more likely to be giving time instead of money.

Overall, background factors have few effects on the motives offered by non-givers, and the patterns of difference show little consistency.

- 11. Summary and Conclusions
- Given the particular set of seven reasons that respondents could choose from, one was cited universally (belief in cause of voluntary organization 96%) and based on discontinuities in the distribution of prevalence, the others lay in two clusters. The first consisted of using skills and experience (78%), personally affected (67%), and explore own strengths (54%); the second consisted of fulfilling religious obligation (29%), having friends who were volunteers (25%), and enhancing job opportunities (22%). There did not appear to be much substantive commonality among the reasons within each of the clusters.

- 2. Only one dimension stood out in the full set of reasons: an instrumental selforientation (using own skills, exploring own strengths, improving job opportunities).
- 3. Of all the correlates of reasons stated for volunteering, age was the most prevalent differentiating trait: instrumental and self-oriented reasons were most often cited by younger people, and other-oriented and religious belief reasons were most often cited by older volunteers. Religious affiliation had only a modest connection, with conservative Protestants most likely to say they volunteered for religious reasons and/or because they were personally affected.
- Reasons for not volunteering were much simpler: no time available and unwillingness to commit were clearly dominant. It is significant that there was no apparent substitutability or buyoff phenomenon among volunteers.
- 5. The several correlates of not volunteering included (i) distinctive response patterns among Quebeckers, who cited not being asked and not knowing how with lower than average frequency and citing financial cost, having no interest, and being unwilling to make a commitment with above-average frequency; and (ii) older individuals citing health problems and a variety of reasons having to do with withdrawal or completion of social responsibility.
- 6. The principal reasons for giving to charitable organizations were compassion for people in need and believing in the organization's cause. Only one person in 9 said they made their donations with the intention of benefiting from the tax credit. More than half of respondents cited 4 reasons or more for their charitable giving, indicating a more multifaceted motivational base.
- Among the correlates of charitable giving, these stood out: Protestant religious affiliation, engaging in planned or intentional giving; age, and involvement as a youth in volunteers activities. Once again, Quebec residents showed a distinctly different pattern of features.

8. The reasons non-givers offered for not making charitable donations fell into two clusters: (i) preferring to use their money in other ways or saving for their own needs, or (ii) uncertainty or distrust of charitable organizations to use their money prudently. The latter was found disproportionately more among middle-aged and better educated respondents.

These findings prompt several conclusions concerning the substance and methodology of probing reasons for contributory behaviours. The set of reasons offered in the 1997 National Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating appears to be problematic in several respects. One reason, 'belief in the cause', is universal and non-discriminating; it as well as 'exploring one's own strengths', may also not have a clearly and commonly understood meaning. The set of seven reasons is also incomplete in that it does not cover volunteer activity that is, for example hobby-based, or responding to social need(s), or intended to improve social conditions, or beneficial for children, and so on.

It is clear that the selection of reasons that is offered for survey respondents to choose from will have an enormous bearing on the patterns of response; without an explicit conceptual foundation for that selection, responses will contain a large artifactual component. Such a conceptual foundation has yet to be developed for contributing behaviour and building it required both theoretical elaboration and empirical probing to answer such questions as, what dimensions (such as self-oriented vs. other-oriented; utilitarian vs. expressive; idealism vs. pragmatism; moral obligation vs. personal preference) must be captured in a set of reasons? How do respondents' perceptions and interpretations of various reasons influence their choice? How reliable are reasons that are stated ex post facto (i.e., how stable are reasons)? To what extent are decisions about volunteering or charitable giving the product of reasons as compared with social circumstances and dynamics. Rather than assuming that contributory behaviour is the simplistic result of discrete "reasons" for motives, what is needed is a more thoroughgoing understanding of the full decision-making process, including ascertaining the extent and nature of explicit deliberation.

Motives and reasons are the conventional response to the question, why?. Ultimately, however, the notion of what it means to "explain" voluntary and donative behaviour in the form of motives or reasons must be challenged and clarified if we are to construct adequate answers to this question of why?. Perhaps the greatest value of the 1997 NSGVP "reasons" data is its revealing the need for a different and more systematic approach to how we explain contributory behaviour.

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Appendix A

Questions Concerning Motives in the National Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating, 1997. For every question, the possible responses were:

Section 1: Volunteering

People have a number of reasons for volunteering for a group or organization. I would like to read you a list of reasons, and ask you to agree or disagree as to whether each is a reason for your volunteering.

- The reason that you volunteer is to help a cause in which you personally believe.
- The reason that you volunteer is because you have been personally affected or know someone who's been personally affected by the cause the organization supports.
- The reason that you volunteer is because your friends volunteer.
- The reason that you volunteer is to improve your job opportunities.
- The reason that you volunteer is to fulfil religious obligations or beliefs.
- The reason that you volunteer is to explore your own strengths.
- The reason that you volunteer is to use your skills and experience.

Section 2: Non-Volunteers

People may not spend time volunteering for organizations for a number of reasons. I am going to list some of these reasons for not volunteering and I would ask you to agree or disagree whether each is a reason that you do not volunteer.

- The reason that you do not volunteer is because you feel that you have already made your contribution with respect to volunteering.
- The reason that you do not volunteer is because you do not have any extra time.
- The reason that you do not volunteer is because you have health problems or are physically unable.
- The reason that you do not volunteer is because no one you know has personally asked you.

- The reason that you do not volunteer is because you do not know how to become involved.
- The reason that you do not volunteer is because of the financial cost of volunteering.
- The reason that you do not volunteer is because of concerns that you could be sued or taken to court because of volunteer activities.
- The reason that you do not volunteer is because you have no interest.
- The reason that you do not volunteer is because you give money instead of time.
- The reason that you do not volunteer is because you are unwilling to make a year-round commitment.

Section 3: Givers

People have a number of reasons for making charitable donations. I am going to read you a list of reasons for not giving. I would ask you to agree or disagree whether each is a reason that you make charitable donations.

- The reason that you make charitable donations is because the government will give you a credit on your income taxes.
- The reason that you make charitable donations is because you feel compassion towards people in need.
- The reason that you make charitable donations is to fill religious obligations or beliefs.
- The reason that you make charitable donations is to help a cause in which you personally believe.
- The reason that you make charitable donations is because you feel you owe something to your community.
- The reason that you make charitable donations is because you have been personally affected or know someone who's been personally affected by the cause the organization supports.

Section 4: Non-Givers

People may not contribute to charitable causes for a number of reasons. I'm going to list some of these reasons; I would like you to agree or disagree whether each is a reason that you do not donate.

- The reason that you do not donate is because it is hard to find a cause worth supporting.
- The reason that you do not donate is that you want to save your money for your own future needs.
- The reason that you do not donate is that you do not know where to make a contribution.
- The reason that you do not donate is that you think the money will not be used efficiently.
- The reason that you do not donate is that you would prefer to spend your money in other ways.
- The reason that you do not donate is that you give voluntary time instead of giving money.
- The reason they do not donate is because you feel that you already give enough money directly to people on your own, not through an organization.
- The reason that you do not donate is that you do not like the way in which requests are made for contributions.