The Urban Francophone Volunteer: Searching for Personal Meaning and Community Growth in a Linguistic Minority

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à Alain, Antoine, Nicole et La Société
d'accueil francophone

Table of Contents

Introduction and Acknowledgements 4

Chapter 1 The Key Volunteer 8

Chapter 2 Volunteering as Serious Leisure 30

Chapter 3 Francophone Volunteering in Minority Circumstances 52

Chapter 4 Careers in Francophone Volunteering 71

Chapter 5 What It Means to Volunteer 84

Chapter 6 Antinomies in Volunteering: Choice/Obligation, Leisure/Work 102

Chapter 7 The Key Volunteer and Community Development 117

Chapter 8 Career Volunteering and the Decline of Work 125

Chapter 9 Francophone Career Volunteering in Crisis 138

Appendix: Interview Guide 160

Chapter Notes 165

Bibliography 166

Index 180

Introduction and Acknowledgements

The study reported in this book examined the nature and scope of key volunteering in the francophone communities of Calgary and Edmonton, the lifestyle and motivational bases of the people who perform it, and the contributions to community development that flow from their efforts. Key volunteers are highly committed community servants, working in one or two enduring, official, responsible posts within one or more grassroots groups or organizations. The study explored a number of important questions related to their present-day situation, including the motives for volunteering, the personal costs and rewards of this activity, its level of integration with work and family, and the serious leisure careers available in francophone volunteering. In addition, it examined the need for francophone volunteers. Are they indispensable? If so, in what ways? How do they relate to the federal programs of support for French language and culture?

In broad terms, this study, by way of qualitative methodology, systematially explored the roles and lifestyles of French-speaking volunteers and the contributions they make to maintaining and advancing the French language and francophone culture in Calgary and Edmonton. Its aim was to generate inductive, or grounded, theory having the capacity to explain, at first tentatively, this kind of volunteering in Canada's large, dominantly anglophone cities. The data were collected in 1996 and 1997 by means of semistructured interviews in French (with two exceptions) with twenty-one adult francophone volunteers in Calgary and twenty-three volunteers of similar status in Edmonton. These interviews, which I conducted myself, greatly expanded the knowledge I gained as a participant observer serving in a variety of volunteer positions in the Calgary French community.

Social science research has paid scant attention to the big-city francophones living in

minority circumstances, whether they reside in Canada or the United States, whether they volunteer or do something else. Moreover, people who volunteer in grassroot associations, whatever their backgroun, have received little scholarly attention. Finally, the study reported here is only the second Canadian study of volunteering carried out from the serious leisure perspective, while it is the first qualitative-exploratory study anywhere of volunteering by francophones living as a minority group. Recourse to exploratory methodology is clearly justified under these circumstances.

The research reported here constitutes the second phase of my longitudinal study of the lifestyles of urban francophones living in minority circumstances in North America. My ethnography of the Calgary francophone community published in 1994 as The Franco-Calgarians served as both the initial phase of this study and a turning point in my scholarly career. For the first time I had combined my long-standing interest in leisure research with my more recently-acquired interest in the lifestyles of big-city francophones. The present investigation of key volunteers in Calgary and Edmonton is the second phase which, with the Calgary ethnography, sets the stage for three more phases. The third, scheduled to get underway in 1999, will consist of a study of the francophone community in New Orleans, to the extent possible and desirable a study modeled after the Calgary project. An affiliation with the University of New Orleans will give me the institutional basis from which to execute this phase. My research there will be further aided by work I did to complete my educational travel book on New Orleans, The Connoisseur's New Orleans, in which I present considerable information on the French background of that city. It is highly probable that key volunteers in New Orleans will be found to play a most prominent role in francophone community maintenance and development. The fourth phase, which I will launch in 2000 if funding can be found, will be narrower and more focussed than the previous phases: a

set of interviews with the leaders (themselves key volunteers) of the urban francophone communities in New England and Florida.

With these several exploratory studies behind me I will be in a good position near the end of 2000 or early in 2001 to start the fifth and final phase: painting a broad portrait of North America's urban minority francophone communities, a portrait sure to accord a principal role to the dedicated key volunteers serving there. It will be constituted of a synthesis of the first four phases and augmented by related archival material. In short, I plan to carry out a second series of concatenated research projects (Stebbins, 1992a) similar in scope to the first series on serious leisure begun in 1973 (reported in Amateurs, Professionals, and Serious Leisure and, from a practical angle, in After Work). And speaking of serious leisure, it, and especially career volunteering, is a main fil conducteur linking the two series of projects.

Many people have helped bring this study of Calgary and Edmonton francophone volunteers to its present state as a monograph. They are, first and foremost, the forty-four respondents who gave generously of their time to be interviewed, which these pages will show is often extremely precious. I am deeply grateful for their participation. In addition I wish to thank Réal Girard, the executive director at the time of the study of the Edmonton chapter of the Association Canadienne Française de l'Alberta. He helped me solve the thorny problem of tracking down the sample of key volunteers in his city. Madame Lan Tran, librarian at the Centre de Documentation, Archives du Séminaire du Québec graciously spent a full day helping me search for what turned to be the nonexistent history of francophone volunteering in minority circumstances. Finally, I wish to thank Christi and Sandy Nesbitt for the use of their spare bedroom during the Edmonton phase of the study.

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Chapter 1

The Key Volunteer

In places in my study of the Calgary French community (Stebbins, 1993; 1994; 1995a), it is suggested that there, as well as in the other large cities with significant francophone minorities in Canada and even in some in the United States, French-speaking volunteers play a crucial role on the local level maintaining and advancing the French language and one or more francophone cultures. That study, the exploratory undertaking that it was, generated at least as many questions as it answered. But none was as clear and urgent as the contribution of volunteers to the maintenance and growth of these linguistic communities, which function more or less invisibly within the dominantly anglophone climate of the aforementioned cities. Today, these communities help make up what Louder and Waddell (l983) describe as a linguistic archipelago. The Calgary study suggested to me that francophone volunteers in North America have done a great deal to keep this archipelago from sinking forever in the demographic and cultural sea of the English language in which most of this continent has been awash for approximately two centuries.

Still, volunteers, indispensable as they are for the maintenance and development of the urban minority francophone communities, are not all of a kind. Some are highly skilled and knowledgeable, (e.g., club president, association treasurer, theater society fund-raiser), whereas others provide a needed but simple service (e.g., taking tickets at the door, serving food at the annual cabane-à-sucre, addressing envelops for a mass mailing). Some work long hours week after week, whereas others spend no more than an evening or two each year performing a certain activity. Even in the second category, the volunteers may be highly skilled or knowledgeable, as exemplified in the handful of people who were engaged in Calgary to judge an annual science fair

for francophone students, which took seven hours of their time during two days. All these volunteers help maintain and develop the community, but the knowledgeable, highly skilled, long-working variety contributes most substantially to these two goals. I have coined the term key volunteer to identify this type, the subject of this book.

Key Volunteers

The key volunteers in the urban minority francophone communities of North America serve in one, or sometimes two or three, official posts within one or more established "grassroots" groups or organizations there. Here I am paraphrasing David Smith (1997), who defines "grassroots associations" as local, formal and semiformal organizations which are commonly composed purely of volunteers and which he contrasts with "volunteer programs," the latter being created and run by work organizations. President, vice-president, treasurer, and secretary are the most common posts in the grassroots groups and organizations, but chairing an important committee or directing a major program, for example, can also contribute greatly to the maintenance and development of the local community. None of these positions is remunerated, although, in increasingly rare circumstances, a president or director may receive a minor honorarium. The organizations, which in these communities are often small, are legally chartered, whereas the established groups are not, even though they have been in existence long enough to have become highly visible on the local scene. While most urban francophone collectivities are organizations in this legal sense, some of the clubs and friendship groups find it is unnecessary to establish themselves formally.

Key volunteers are distinguished from other types of volunteers by at least four criteria. First, presidents, treasurers, and the like have complex and extensive responsibilities the execution of which affects in important ways the functioning of their group or organization. Second, such

positions are enduring. Officers are usually elected for a year, and chairs and directors may serve even longer terms. Third, the success of the groups and organizations in which they serve contributes significantly to the maintenance and development of the local francophone community. Fourth, key volunteers have a high degree of commitment to their collectivities and through them, this study clearly shows, to these two community goals.

At first blush, activity of this kind might look more like work without pay than anything else. Indeed, as we shall see in chapter 6, a number of the respondents defined their own key volunteering precisely in these terms. Nevertheless, after examining their definitions and those of others, the conclusion reached near the end of that chapter is that, with few exceptions, key volunteering is still most accurately understood as a special kind of leisure, as a form of career volunteering.

Theoretically, career volunteering is one of the three types of serious leisure, the latter being defined as the systematic pursuit of an amateur, a hobbyist, or a volunteer activity sufficiently substantial and interesting in nature for the participant to find a career there in the acquisition and expression of a combination of its special skills, knowledge, and experience (Stebbins, 1992b). Serious leisure is often compared with casual leisure, or the immediately, intrinsically rewarding, relatively short-lived pleasurable activity requiring little or no special training to enjoy it (Stebbins, 1997a). Such casual leisure activities as sunbathing, strolling in the park, and sleeping late on Sunday morning find their parallel in casual volunteering, as exemplified in activities like cooking the hot dogs at a church picnic or taking tickets at the door for a performance by the local community theater. And both the serious and the casual forms differ from a third kind of voluntary action: the magnanimous donations of blood, money, clothing, and the like. In the next chapter I greatly elaborate this distinction, after which I set out several

principles that establish key volunteers as people seeking leisure through voluntary action. Let me be clear, however, that this book is about serious leisure and career volunteering and that the word leisure here refers to this variety unless otherwise indicated.

The concept of key volunteer came most fully into focus during my reflexions made after the release of the book on the Calgary French community. In retrospect, I was able to see that a small but important number of Franco-Calgarians were quietly serving that community through several pivotal, highly evolved roles, even though they were never referred to as key volunteers and never used the term to identify themselves. I further discovered that this concept is entirely without recognition in the contemporary social science literature on volunteers or that on francophones outside living in minority circumstances. Nonetheless, many Franco-Calgarians and Franco-Edmontonians can name many of the movers and shakers in their linguistic communities; they can identify certain key volunteers there and, with a few exceptions, appear to respect them greatly.[i]

Finally, it is noteworthy that the concept of the key volunteer emerged during reflexions about francophone life as a minority in its urban rather than its rural milieu. What difference does this distinction make?

Volunteering: Urban and Rural

It should be understood from the outset that this book is about urban rather than rural or small town volunteering. Several reasons exist for excluding the latter two, the most important being that volunteering in rural areas and small towns is substantially different from volunteering in the urban subcommunities. For example, there is generally more informal and less formal volunteering in the first when compared with the second, where the ratio of these two types is reversed. More will be said in the next chapter about the distinction between formal volunteering

which, roughly speaking, occurs in organizations, and the informal variety, which takes place outside them, as seen in the practice of helping among friends, neighbors, and relatives. It is also true that the rural francophone communities are gradually losing population to the cities, as part of the long-standing, continent-wide trend of rural to urban migration. Consequently, the resistance to assimilation of French and its allied francophone cultures in North American will increasingly be decided in the larger cities, not in the country and small towns. Third, a number of towns and small cities outside Quebec contain sizeable francophone minorities, while a few even consist of substantial majorities (e.g., Caraquet, New Brunswick; Alexandria, Ontario; Hearst, Ontario), a demographic ratio never seen today in the large North American cities where live as a minority. Fourth, the range of volunteer opportunities appears to be much greater here than in the towns and small cities. Finally, it is possible that, when compared with city francophones, a significantly higher proportion of the rural and small town francophones have never moved from the locality of their birth. This creates in the rural communities a kind of stability unknown in their urban counterparts, where arrivals and departures are commonplace.

In comparison with the villages and small cities outside Quebec, whether partially or entirely francophone, the proportion of French-speaking people in the cities is generally much lower, ranging from two to five percent in most cities to nineteen percent in the Ontario part of the Ottawa-Hull Census Metropolitan Area. At the same time, in the large cities, francophones are far more multidimensional. For example, they are more fragmented; considerable variation is evident according to age, occupation, religion, country of origin, leisure preferences, and possibly other dimensions along which groups and categories of people make their own claims and follow their own interests. Finally, urban francophones when compared with their rural and small town brothers and sisters carry out their activities in an atmosphere characterized by greater anonymity,

impersonality, and tolerance of social differences.

Still, apart from the anglophone majority, francophones constitute by far the largest linguistic group in Canada, 23.5 percent of the population in 1996. Moreover, according to the 1996 census (Statistics Canada, 1998a), 1,002,295 of Canada's 6,789,675 francophones live outside Quebec, and 352,811 or over 35 percent of the former live in the 10 Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) with at least 300,000 population containing 8,000 or more francophones. Of these areas Ottawa is home for the largest number of francophones (143,675), whereas the next largest concentrations are found in Toronto (62,850), Winnipeg (32,380), and Edmonton (21,221). Calgary with its 14,241 francophones has more in common with such cities as Hamilton (10,590) and Halifax (9,960).These figures describe the distribution of francophones for whom French is their only mother tongue as well as francophones who have multiple mother tongues; that is English, English and a third language, and French and a language other than English. All told, single and multiple language francophones constitute 1.7 percent of the population of the Calgary CMA and 2.5 percent of the population of the Edmonton CMA.

All this suggested that the next step in my longitudinal study of urban minority francophone communities (see Introduction) should be to examine the nature of key volunteering there as well as the lifestyle and motivational bases of the people who perform it. Unfortunately, as the next section clearly shows, social science research has paid scant attention to the big-city francophones living in minority circumstances, whether they reside in Canada or the United States, whether they volunteer or do something else.

Past Theory and Research

Ethnographic research on the francophone subcommunities of Canada's large cities is virtually nonexistent, while research on volunteers and volunteering there is literally nonexistent (see also

Malenfant, 1993: 52). Maxwell (1971), Villeneuve (1983), and Hébert and Stebbins (1993) carried out demographic analyses of Toronto, Maillardville (in exurban Vancouver), and Calgary in the 1960s, the early 1970s, and the early 1990s, respectively. From the standpoint of the present study, the chief problem with all three surveys is that they bore on questions well removed from volunteers and volunteering. Indeed, studies of the everyday lives of Canadian francophones living in minority circumstances are rare (Cardinal and Lapointe, 1990; Cardinal, Lapointe, and Thériault, 1994). Moreover, the few that exist have been conducted on selected towns and small cities (e.g., Jackson, 1988; Rayside, 1991; Magord, 1993) or on a problematic situation such as linguistically mixed marriages (e.g., Heller and Lévy, 1992), illiteracy in French (e.g., Pacom and Thibault, 1994), and francophone community associations (Farmer, 1997). It was this state of knowledge that moved the Comité d'Orientation du Projet de Société Dessein 2000 (1992: 72) to make its Recommendation 29: "We recommend that the associations that speak for the local francophone communities conduct extensive research on the situation of francophones living in minority circumstances, and take steps to develop their participation in the urban institutional milieu" (author's translation).

Also of the survey tradition, but nonetheless close to the present study in some other respects, is Guillaume's (1985) research on the francophone associations in Toronto. Her data revealed that the local community had grown and diversified considerably and, on this foundation, was now actively asserting itself in maintaining and developing the French language and its francophone cultures. In many instances, it was key volunteers who answered her questionnaire, but they supplied information about their organization rather than about themselves, whereas the latter is the focus of the study reported in this book.

Sociologically-speaking, mother-tongue francophones residing outside Quebec, northern

New Brunswick, and northern and eastern in Ontario live and work in Canada as a minority group, doing so, however, as bona fide Canadians in their communities.[ii] For these francophones are and recognize themselves as members of one of Canada's two charter groups; they argue that they are therefore much more than a mere ethnic group. Additionally, whereas some similarities undoubtedly exist between these francophones and some of Canada's ethnic groups, many differences exist as well, due in part in the case of the first, to their special charter group status and to the governmental support they receive for francophone artistic, communal, and educational needs in their minority situation. Still another established research area of potential relevance to the present study bears on volunteers and volunteering in Quebec and France. Yet, the conditions under which francophone volunteering takes place in these majority francophone societies differs dramatically from the conditions under which it takes place in majority anglophone societies. Finally, research centered on such questions as the nature of volunteer work and the ways volunteers of all sorts experience their lifestyles and social worlds is rare indeed (Gibbins, 1986; Janis and King, 1997). In fact, Smith (1997) observes that those who volunteer in the grassroot associations have received little scholarly attention, in contrast to the participants working in the various volunteer programs. The people interviewed for the present study were associational volunteers. For these various reasons, then, instead of reviewing whatever literature existed at the time on ethnic group volunteers and francophone volunteers serving in majority circumstances, I opted to explore this area of Canadian francophone life in minority circumstances unfettered and unfluenced by ideas that were unlikely to apply to it in any case.

So, in principal, exploratory research functions best when free of all theoretical and propositional constraints. In fact, however, some research problems are nearly impossible to pursue without a certain amount of preliminary conceptual shaping to focus inquiry. This was most

assuredly the case for the study of volunteers.

The earlier Calgary study strongly suggested that leisure, family, education, and to a lesser degree, religion are the most prominent arenas of activity in Canada's metropolitan francophone communities, possibly including those in the United States as well. Indeed, for the adults in Calgary, many of their family and religious activities and even some of their involvements in the schools attended by their children had a leisure sense about them. Large cities, in comparison with the towns and small cities, offer a huge range of leisure opportunities open to pursuit in any language. Some of the interviewees in the 1994 Calgary study made it clear that, for them, volunteering was one such opportunity, albeit a most special one. Theoretically speaking, it was a form of serious leisure, as this concept was defined earlier.

With the exceptions of the studies undertaken by Parker (1987; 1992) on volunteer peace workers in England, by Cuskelly and Harrington (1997) on volunteer sports administrators in Australia, and by Arai and Pedlar (1997) on volunteers in health programs in Canada, research on serious leisure has been confined to amateurs and hobbyists. Thus the study reported here is only the second Canadian study of volunteering carried out from the serious leisure perspective, while it stands as the first qualitative-exploratory study anywhere of volunteering by francophones living as a minority group.

The Calgary-Edmonton Study

It is possible, however, that the role of the francophone volunteer is influenced by the way his or her linguistic community is organized. For instance, Calgary's 14,241 francophones are dispersed throughout the city in what Cohen (1985) calls a symbolic community, a sociologically coherent and identifiable collectivity without geographic boundaries, whereas Edmonton's 21,221 francophones are more likely to be geographically concentrated, mainly in the district of Bonnie

Doon. The study presented here aimed to systematially explore the role and lifestyles of French-speaking volunteers and the contributions they make to maintaining and advancing the French language and francophone cultures in Calgary and Edmonton, while noting differences in this role associated with the two types of community organization. In other words, the present study cannot be generalized to the volunteers who serve the francophone minorities outside the large cities, volunteers whose situation is distinctive enough to warrant a full-scale study of its own. It can be generalized, however, in the usual hypothetical fashion of exploratory research, to the francophone subcommunities found in these large cities, to the symbolic francophone communities in Vancouver, Hamilton, Toronto, and Halifax and the geographic communities in Winnipeg and Ottawa. Their applicability to certain urban francophone communities in the United States - most notably those in Chicago, New York, North Miami Beach, New Orleans, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and certain small cities in New England, the upper Red River Valley (Minnesota and North Dakota), and elsewhere - is presently unknown.[iii]

The study reported here was an exploratory, primarily qualitative examination of the everyday life basis of francophone volunteering in Calgary and Edmonton. Its aim was to generate inductive, or grounded, theory having the capacity to explain, at first tentatively, this kind of volunteering in other Canadian cities of the same organizational type. In terms of theory and research the study spans three academic disciplines: sociology, leisure studies, and Canadian studies, Among the main areas explored were the motives for volunteering, the personal costs and rewards of this activity, the extent of its integration with work and family, and the serious leisure careers available in francophone volunteering. These lifestyle questions and others are more concretely expressed in the Interview Guide printed in the Appendix. In addition, I examined the need for francophone volunteers in the two cities under study. Are they indispensable? If so, in

what ways? How do they relate to the federal programs of support for French language and culture as implemented in the country's many francophone subcommunities? Finally, since this was an exploratory study, it was inevitable that, as it unfolded, a number of additional important research questions would emerge.

As instruments of exploration these questions are necessarily general. As such they, at most, only hint at certain important explanatory variables in francophone volunteering. Thus, since these variables are presently unknown, a discussion of them is only possible once they have been brought to light through systematic exploration of the world of the francophone volunteer. As Anselm Strauss (1987: 32) cautions, "the analyst should not assume the analytic relevance of any `face sheet' or traditional variables such as age, sex, social class, race until it emerges as relevant. Those, too, must earn their way into the grounded theory." Nevertheless, directed by sections A and B of the Interview Guide, I succeeded in gathering information on seven demographic variables suggested by the earlier Calgary study as being important in an explanation of volunteering in any urban francophone community. These data are reported in the next section.

As noted the present study was exploratory and primarily qualitative. Its aim was to generate inductive, or grounded, theory about the role and contribution of French-speaking volunteers living as a minority group in Canada's large, dominantly anglophone cities and about the lifestyles they lead under these conditions. The methodology for qualitative-exploratory research is described in detail by Glaser and Strauss (1967), Glaser (1978), and Glaser (1995), among many others. The present study was carried out according to the canons of this approach. Stebbins (1992a; 1997b) sets out the key differences separating exploration and confirmation in social science research.

Between September 1996 and April 1997 I conducted semistructured interviews in French

(with two exceptions) with twenty-one adult francophone key volunteers in Calgary and twenty-three such volunteers in Edmonton (N = 44). Both cities have regional branches of the Association Canadienne Française de l'Alberta (ACFA), an umbrella association and external community-relations organization, which is guided by the dual mandates of organizing the local francophone community as well as representing it to the outside world. To develop a list from which to draw a representative sample of key volunteers for interviewing, I contacted the executive director of each branch for help in identifying his city's highly and moderately active and committed francophone volunteers working in each of five institutional sectors: religion, education, art and communications, sport and leisure, and clubs and associations. These sectors are typically the liveliest and most highly evolved in the modern urban francophone community in Canada. A key volunteer from nearly every organization in the five sectors in Calgary and in Edmonton was interviewed for this study, thus ensuring a high degree of sample representativeness for the two cities.

The forty-four interviews greatly expanded the knowledge I gained from my participant observation as a volunteer in the Calgary French community. At the time of the study I had already served for several years as president of a small society, la Société d'Accueil Francophone, whose mission is to welcome French-speaking immigrants to the city and help them adapt to life as members of its francophone linguistic and cultural minority. I was also a member of an ad hoc committee formed to examine the content of the provincial francophone newspaper, Le Franco. Additionally, I served on the boards of directors and held responsible posts in two other local organizations, one a francophone professional club, the other the ACFA branch for the Calgary area. I further participated regularly as a ordinary member of two other organizations, chiefly by attending their general meetings.

For the purposes of this study culture is defined as the constellation of institutions of art, sport, leisure, religion, family, education, and communications found in a francophone community (expanded from Gervais, 1994: 166). The events and activities in these five sectors served as operationalizations of the concept of culture. Thus the data reported here from the interviews and the participant observation show how the key volunteers in the two cities contribute through the five types of events and activities to the maintenance and advancement of French language and culture there. This study treats as francophone those people who speak French routinely, whether at home, at work, or elsewhere, whether as their mother tongue or as a second language.[iv] The earlier Calgary study suggested that both mother-tongue and second-language francophones volunteer, but that their roles and contributions in this regard are significantly different.

Who, then, are these people?

A Demographic Profile

First of all, 40 of the 44 respondents (91 percent of the overall sample) were mother-tongue francophones. Two others were bilingual (learned both languages during childhood), one was a second-language francophone, and one a unilingual anglophone. Calgary and Edmonton showed virtually the same distribution in this regard. But the two cities differed with reference to the sex ratio of their volunteers: 9 men (43 percent) and 12 women (57 percent) in Calgary compared with 13 men (57 percent) and 10 women (43 percent) in Edmonton. Although these differences are difficult to explain, it appears that the figures for Edmonton are the more unusual of the two when both are compared with findings from a 1989 survey of all volunteers in the two cities (Duschesne, 1989: 19) and a 1997 survey of Canadian volunteers including those in Alberta (Statistics Canada, 1998b: 28). Duschesne's study revealed sex ratios for both cities similar to those found in the present study for Calgary. For the two cities together, the estimated ages of the respondents

ranged from 35 to 80.[v]

Moreover, although nearly all the volunteers in this study were of Canadian origin, two important differences distinguished the two subsamples in this regard. One, in Calgary, 47 percent (9 respondents) of those born in Canada were born in Quebec and 21 percent (4 respondents) were born in Alberta, whereas in Edmonton these proportions were reversed: 32 percent (7 respondents) were born in Quebec and 45 percent (10 respondents) were born in Alberta. The discrepancies between the two distributions can be explained in large part by the geographic locations of the two cities vis-à-vis the concentration of the rural francophone regions in Alberta as well as by the patterns of migration from those regions to the two urban centers. These regions are much closer to Edmonton than to Calgary, giving thereby the volunteer organizations in the former city an advantage in drawing on a vast reserve of volunteers that is unavailable to similar organizations located in the latter. Along these same lines, there was no correlation between place of birth, on the one hand, and the position occupied by the key volunteer or the sector in which he or she volunteered, on the other hand.

The study also revealed that the interviewees had lived in Calgary or Edmonton for many years. Thus the 19 respondents born outside Calgary had resided in that city for an average of 18 years, whereas the 16 respondents born outside Edmonton had resided in Edmonton for an average of 31 years. The number of years of residence for both cities ranged from 8 to 55.[vi] Evidently, francophones prefer that their key volunteers be well-experienced when it comes to the issues and affairs of their local community; that the length of time a would-be key volunteer has lived in a city is an important consideration when members of a volunteer group get around to choosing their officers. The difference between the two cities in average length of residence may be explained, in part, by the following hypothesis: that the inclination of francophones to move to another city is

less marked in Edmonton than in Calgary, perhaps because the community in Edmonton generally responds better to francophone needs than does the one in Calgary. This could be one advantage of a geographically-based community over a symbolically-based community. Or, stated in sociological terms, the Edmonton community may be somewhat more institutionally complete than the one in Calgary (the concept of institutional completeness is discussed in detail on pp. xx). Another explanation springs from the observation that, in 1996, Calgary had a somewhat larger percentage of mother-tongue francophone immigrants - 9.7 percent of all mother-tongue francophones in that city - than Edmonton, where they constituted only 4.9 percent of all mother-tongue francophones (Statistics Canada, 1998a). Many of these immigrants were recent arrivals.

The key volunteers of Calgary were reasonably well-educated. Seventy-three percent (16 respondents) had earned a university degree or a college certificate, usually from a Collège d'Enseignement Général et Professionnel (CÉGEP) in Quebec or a technical school located elsewhere in Canada. Similar results were obtained in national surveys, demonstrating that the rate of volunteering increases with the level of schooling (Ross, 1990: 13; Statistics Canada,1998b: 31).

Nevertheless, the educational profile was different for the Edmonton volunteers, whose level of schooling was lower in certain respects when compared with that of the Calgary sample. Forty-three percent, or 10, of the Edmonton respondents had terminated their schooling between Grade 3 and the final year of high school compared with 14 percent, or 3, of the Calgary respondents. This difference is probably explained by the higher average estimated age of the Edmonton sample, as inferred from the larger number of retirees there: 7 in Edmonton, 3 in Calgary. Many of the retirees in this study grew up at a time and in localities where it was

customary for youth to abandon their primary or secondary school studies to enter the labor force. Despite these differences the proportions of the two samples who had earned a university undergraduate or graduate degree were virtually the same. But a further comparison of the samples revealed that significantly more Calgary volunteers had college certificates (7 in Calgary, 1 in Edmonton).

These two educational profiles harmonize well with the occupations of the respondents. Forty-five percent of the Calgary volunteers had found employment as sales, service, clerical, or blue-collar workers.[vii] The remaining 55 percent, armed with more advanced degrees, followed careers in science, teaching, management, and administration.

Comparing the occupations of the Calgary volunteers with those of the Edmonton volunteers, brought two important differences to light. First, in keeping with the discrepancy between the two age profiles, 32 percent of the Edmonton sample (7 respondents) had retired from the work force compared with only 15 percent (3 respondents) of the Calgary sample. Second, although the proportion of occupations calling for university-level education are the same for the two samples, the types of occupations pursued with this training varied somewhat. Thus 45 percent of the Calgary volunteers (9 respondents) vis-à-vis 14 percent of the Edmonton volunteers (3 respondents) worked as teachers or as scientific or technical workers, principally engineers and geologists, whereas 27 percent of the Edmonton volunteers (6 respondents) worked in an artistic or social science field such as law, writing, or translation. No Calgary volunteers worked in these areas. To some extent, these differences reflect the pervasive employment opportunities in the oil and gas industry in Calgary that, over the years, have attracted a substantial numbers of French-speaking workers from Quebec.

Turning to the family status of the two samples, the large majority of both were married -

82 percent (36 respondents) - a figure that included one person who was cohabiting. This proportion of married volunteers is far above the national average in 1989 of 50 percent (Duschesne, 1989: 21) and that in 1997 of 33 percent (Statistics Canada, 1998b: 28). But from this point on, the two samples diverge once again. In Calgary 10 marriages were endogamous and 6 exogamous, of which 5 were composed of an anglophone husband or wife. Nonetheless, such a proportion of exogamous marriages - 37.5 percent - stands out against the figure of 83.3 percent for all francophone marriages in Calgary (Statistics Canada, 1998a). Yet, the intermarriage rate is even lower among the Edmonton volunteers, where only 18 percent of the sample (4 respondents) married exogamously and 77 percent (17 respondents) married endogamously.The overall percentage of francophone exogamy in Edmonton is 76.1.

Thirteen couples in Calgary had raised or were currently raising children, but only in small numbers. They produced between 1 and 4 children with the average being 2.5, a ratio typical of North American urban families in general. Further, these couples remained true to the francophone cause, for all but 3 of the 34 children were able to speak and write French fluently (according to the parent interviewed). In general, even the children in the exogamous families were said by their parents to be capable of speaking and writing well in that language. Moreover, the presence of two or three children at home did little to discourage the interviewee from volunteering. In fact, some of the interviewees with children at home numbered among those with the greatest volunteer loads and responsibilities in the local French community.

It was much the same for the Edmonton sample, except that the average number of children per family was noticeably higher: 3.95. And, because this sample was older, there were even fewer children at home at the time of the interviews than in Calgary. In fact, in the style reminiscent of traditional rural French Canada, some of the key volunteers in Edmonton had produced truly large

families: 2 couples had produced 12 children, 1 produced 7 children, 2 produced 6 children, and 5 produced 4 children. By contrast, only 2 families in Calgary had 4 children, and they constituted the two largest families in that sample.

Both the penchant for endogamous marriages and for French-language competence for the children born of those unions can be understood as major indicators of the commitment of the respondents to the francophone cause in the urban minority situation in which they find themselves. Moreover, these two indicators are joined by a third: the choice of French education for these same children. True, in Calgary, only 15 of the 33 children, or 45.5 percent, were educated exclusively in French during their primary and secondary years.[viii] But viewed from another angle, only 9 of the 18 children who had not received a French education attended immersion schools or English schools because their parents preferred this form of education for them. The other 9 children grew up at a time when Calgary had no French schools or they had special needs or interests that the French schools, which have always been small, could not meet. In Edmonton, 36 of the 57 children, or 63.3 percent, attended French schools, a figure that attests the presence there of its somewhat older system of French education than the one in Calgary.

It is possible to summarize all this by drawing a profile of the typical key volunteer serving in Calgary and Edmonton. First, this person is a middle-aged man or woman whose mother tongue is French, who was born in Canada, and who has lived in one of the two cities for approximately 25 years. Our typical key volunteer has earned a college or university degree, with which he or she has found employment in a reasonably high-level occupation. Concerning the family, this person is married to another francophone with whom he or she has produced between 2 and 4 children who speak and write French fluently and who are now, or once were, enrolled in the local French schools.

One of the strongest conclusions to emerge from this study is the high level of commitment of these key volunteers to the local francophone community. This is evident above all in their heavy load of volunteer activities and responsibilities. But it is also evident in their endogamous marriages, in the frenchness of their children, in their preference for French schools, and in their canadianness. The latter is the desire to preserve and develop the local francophone community within the framework of Canadian society, a desire rooted in the propensity of these volunteers to identify themselves as canadians, in a process that, for some of them, got its start in early childhood. In short, we can say that the tendency to assume one or more influential and responsible volunteer roles constitutes a major part of an enormous and profound commitment to the minority-based francophone community, a commitment that is also expressed in the diverse ways mentioned in this paragraph.

The present study, then, centers on the key volunteers in two of Canada largest cities. Although slow to catch on, the next chapter shows that the idea of volunteering as a leisure activity has nonetheless been gaining support. The conceptualization of it as a form of serious leisure presented there helps solve some of the difficult questions raised by those who define it broadly as leisure, but who nonetheless fail to specify which type they are writing about.

Notes

Chapter 2

Volunteering as Serious Leisure

In recent decades a handful of theorists and researchers both in the field of leisure studies and in the study of voluntarism and citizen participation have been arguing that, depending on the writer, volunteering is invariably or frequently a form of leisure. When collected together, however, these observations and studies still leave certain critical issues unresolved, including the one of how to reassure volunteer managers that leisure-seeking volunteers will have the commitment and perseverance needed to fill their roles. There is also the issue of the reaction of the financial backers of nonprofit organizations and even the general public to filling important volunteer roles

with people they define as primarily motivated by a search for enjoyment? A third issue centers on whether "leisurely" volunteers are dependable?

This chapter presents an application of the perspective of <u>serious leisure</u> to volunteering, showing how issues such as the ones just raised can be resolved to the advantage of both individual volunteers and nonprofit organizations. In particular, I take the position here that many volunteer roles, including especially those filled by key volunteers,when they offer their incumbents special careers and distinctive sets of rewards, can be understood as serious leisure. This perspective applied to volunteering works to negate the proposition that conceiving of volunteering as leisure trivializes volunteering, while implying in the extreme case that volunteers are, at bottom, selfish, unreliable, and prone to giving their least effort. I argue further that volunteers can simultaneously pursue their activities as serious leisure and make substantial contributions both individually and collectively to the functioning of the wider community. Their utility in this regard is recognized in serious leisure theory. The theory states, however, that self-interestedness is also a primary reason for volunteering and that this motive blinds some volunteers to the broader social ramifications of their actions.

In short, the aim here is to define and explain volunteers and volunteering from the perspective of serious leisure and self-interestedness. The result is a broad theoretical statement about leisure volunteering, which is nevertheless limited, for the serious leisure perspective cannot explain all types of volunteering.

Leisure and Volunteering: Compatible Concepts

Notwithstanding the relative lack of scholarly attention given to volunteering by leisure studies specialists, making a case for it as leisure poses little logical difficulty. If the word "volunteering" is to remain consistent with its French and Latin roots, it can only be seen, as all leisure is, as freely

chosen activity. Moreover, as with all leisure, leisure volunteering can only be looked on as a basically satisfying, or rewarding, experience, for otherwise we are forced to posit that so-called volunteers of this kind are somehow pushed into performing their roles by circumstances they would prefer to avoid, a contradiction of terms. The adjectives "satisfying" and "rewarding" are preferred here to such conventional leisure studies terms as "pleasurable" and "enjoyable" as descriptors for the overall experience of volunteering where, notwithstanding the occasional disagreeable particularity that can temporarily blemish any volunteer role, volunteers find their activities profoundly attractive on balance.[1] Moreover, while it is true that, in rare instances, volunteers are paid even beyond the expenses they incur (e.g., three percent of the sample was paid in the study conducted by Blacksell and Phillips, 1994: 13), these emoluments are much too small to constitute a livelihood or obligate the person in some way. Finally, it is also true that volunteering normally includes the clear requirement of being in a particular place, at a specified time, to carry out an assigned function. But as Max Kaplan (1960: 22-25) noted years ago, an activity can still be considered leisure even if it is obligated to some extent, providing the degree of obligation is not as strong and enduring as that of work.

This description of the leisure face of volunteering squares well with Jon Van Til's (1988: 6) general definition:

> Volunteering may be identified as a helping action of an individual that is valued by him or her, and yet is not aimed directly at material gain or mandated or coerced by others. Thus, in the broadest sense, volunteering is an uncoerced helping activity that is engaged in not primarily for financial gain and not by coercion or mandate. It is thereby different in definition from work, slavery, or conscription. [italics in the original]

This definition alludes to the two principal motives of volunteering. One is helping others -

volunteering as altruism; the other is helping oneself - volunteering as self-interestedness. Examples of the latter include working for a personal, strongly-felt cause, such as the development of the local francophone community, or, as we shall see later, working to experience, as serious leisure enthusiasts do everywhere, the variety of social and personal rewards available in volunteering and the leisure career in which they are framed.

Despite the theoretical compatibility of leisure and volunteering, it is relatively rare both in leisure studies and in the study of voluntarism and citizen participation to find the two discussed together. In the first field, possibly because volunteering is seen "as somewhat more lofty than . . . the fun and frivolity often associated with leisure" (Henderson, 1984: 58), volunteers have for the most part been ignored as subjects of research. The exceptions to this indictment are considered shortly. Researchers in the second field typically look on volunteers as helpers, as people filling a distinct, contributory role in modern society and, more particularly, in certain kinds of organizations. Whether this role is work or leisure or something else has seldom inspired much interest.

Volunteering as Leisure Activity

Whether it is leisure studies specialists looking at volunteering or voluntary action specialists looking at leisure, the result has been much the same: Neither field has been inclined to view its own subject matter through the eyes of the other. Still, significant exceptions exist, some of which will be reviewed here to show how the theoretical link between leisure and volunteering has evolved in recent decades.

Some of the earliest theoretical stirrings in this area came from Bosserman and Gagan (1972: 115) and David Horton Smith (1975: 148) who argued that, at the level of the individual, all leisure activity is voluntary action. More precise statements were published at that time and

somewhat later by Kaplan (1975: 394) and Neulinger (1981: 19), two leisure studies specialists, who observed in passing that leisure can serve either oneself or other people or both. One presumes they had volunteerism in mind. From the side of voluntary action research, Kenneth Boulding (1973: 31) theorized that voluntary service borders on leisure, frequently even overlapping it. Dickson (1974: xiii) observed that leisure is seen in commonsense as part of voluntary action, and does in fact "carry this spare-time connotation."

Karla Henderson (1981; 1984) examined the leisure component of volunteering both empirically and theoretically. She noted that social scientists ordinarily regard volunteering in the same way they regard paid work, as having an external, or extrinsic, orientation - the volunteer has a job to complete for the benefit of the community. This contrasts with the view they hold of leisure as oriented by internal, or instrinsic, interests - the participant enjoys the activity for itself and for the self-expression and self-actualization it may engender. Henderson's sample of 4-H workers in the United States defined their volunteering as leisure; for them volunteering was part of their leisure world.

Six years later Stanley Parker (1987) reported findings from his research on a group of peace workers. He discovered that, even though they worked as volunteers for the cause of peace, they regarded their efforts as part of their leisure. Parker also completed a second study around this time centered on the serious leisure activities of two samples of volunteers, one drawn in Britain, the other drawn in Australia (Parker, 1992). Here he found that one person in five engaged in some form of activity classifiable as volunteering. Almost invariably, the people sampled described their volunteering as leisure; it was primarily rewarding activity and only secondarily helping activity. Their leisure was nonetheless most substantial; in reality it was serious leisure.

While Parker was studying peace workers, Susan Chambré (1987) was examining elderly

volunteers. She reached similar conclusions: her respondents also defined their volunteering as leisure activity. Like Henderson, she wrestled with the extrinsic-intrinsic and the altruistic-self-interestedness dimensions, both of which pervade leisure volunteering. Volunteering is a worklike activity wherein a person accomplishes a task without remuneration. At the same time, the volunteer activity, which is freely chosen, provides many a satisfying experience. Chambré (1987: 118) found, however, that the motives the elderly gave for taking up a volunteer role differed from those they gave for continuing in it. Although their sense of altruism often led them to volunteer in the first place, they were highly motivated by the intrinsic satisfaction they found there to persist in this role. Tihanyi (1991: 3) observed a similar pattern of motivation among volunteers working in Jewish day-care centers, the great majority of whom were over seventy.

Working from Chambré's conclusion that volunteering is leisure, Fischer and Schaffer (1993: 51, 106-08), set out to explore the patterns of costs and rewards the elderly experience when they participate in this kind of activity. Following a comprehensive review of the current research and case study literature, the authors concluded that considerable evidence exists supporting the proposition that certain costs of volunteering (e.g., time, hazards, inconvenience) are typically offset by its numerous special rewards. The rewards include the following: feeling competent to do the volunteer work, sensing ideological congruence with the organization, and being satisfied with the job done (i.e., work is interesting, professional growth is possible, personal skills are used). Self-actualization, self-enrichment, and opportunities for social interaction were also found to be highly appealing (Fischer and Schaffer, 1993: chap. 10). Moreover, it appears that the elderly are not alone in their feelings that volunteering is a highly rewarding form of leisure. Thompson and Bono (1993) found similar sentiments in their sample of volunteer firefighters, whose activities

engender the rewards of self-actualization, group accomplishment, and a special self-image.

The Serious Leisure Perspective[2]

Serious leisure was defined in chapter 1 as the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer activity sufficiently substantial and interesting in nature for the participant to find a career there in the acquisition and expression of a combination of its special skills, knowledge, and experience.[3] It was also noted there that serious leisure is typically contrasted with casual, or unserious, leisure, exemplified in taking a nap or strolling in the park or in watching television or reading a newspaper as diversions. Amateurs, who are found in art, science, sport, and entertainment, are defined in part by their complicated relationship with a professional counterpart. Hobbyists, by contrast, lack this professional alter ego, although they sometimes have commercial equivalents and often have small publics who take an interest in what they do. To date hobbyists have been grouped in five categories: collectors, makers and tinkerers, activity participants (in noncompetitive, rule-based, pursuits), players of sports and games (in competitive, rule-based activities with no professional counterparts), and hobbyists in the liberal arts (Stebbins, 1994a).

Serious leisure is further defined and distinguished from casual leisure by six special qualities (Stebbins 1992b: 6-8), qualities found among amateurs, hobbyists, and volunteers alike. One is their occasional need to persevere, as when confronting danger or managing stage fright or embarrassment. Serious leisure research shows, however that positive feelings about the leisure activity come, to some extent, from sticking with it through thick and thin, from conquering such adversity. A second quality is, as already indicated, that of finding a career in the endeavor, shaped as it is by its own special contingencies, turning points and stages of achievement or involvement.

Careers in serious leisure commonly rest on a third quality: significant personal effort

based on specially acquired knowledge, training, or skill, and, indeed at times, all three. Examples include such valued acquisitions as showmanship, athletic prowess, scientific knowledge, and long experience in a role. Fourth, eight durable benefits, or outcomes, of serious leisure have so far been identified, mostly from research on amateurs: self-actualization, self-enrichment, self-expression, regeneration or renewal of self, feelings of accomplishment, enhancement of self-image, social interaction and belongingness, and lasting physical products of the activity (e.g., a painting, scientific paper, piece of furniture). A further benefit - self-gratification or pure fun, which is considerably more evanescent than the preceding eight - is the one most often shared with casual leisure.

A fifth quality of serious leisure is the unique ethos that grows up around each instance of it, a central component of which is the special social world within which participants there realize their interests. Most amateur, hobbyist, and career volunteer fields are embedded in their own social worlds. According to Unruh (1979; 1980) a social world is

> a unit of social organization which is diffuse and amorphous. . . . Generally larger than groups or organizations, social worlds are not necessarily defined by formal boundaries, membership lists, or spatial territory. . . . A social world must be seen as an internally recognizable constellation of actors, organizations. events, and practices which have coalesced into a perceived sphere of interest and involvement for participants. Characteristically, a social world lacks a powerful centralized authority structure and is delimited by . . . effective communication and not territory nor formal group membership.

A social world is held together to an important degree by semiformal, or mediated, communication. It is typically neither heavily bureaucratized nor substantially organized through intense face-to-face interaction. Rather, communication is commonly mediated by newsletters,

posted notices, telephone messages, mass mailings, radio and television announcements, and similar means. Another key component of the ethos of any particular pursuit is its subculture. Unruh neglected this element of the social world, which is vitally important, however, for it interrelates the `diffuse and amorphous constellations' by means of such elements as special norms, styles, values, beliefs, moral principles, performance standards, and similar shared representations.

The sixth quality revolves around the preceding five: participants in serious leisure tend to identify strongly with their chosen pursuits. In contrast, casual leisure, although hardly humiliating or despicable, is nonetheless too fleeting, mundane, and commonplace for most people to find a distinctive identity within it.

Treating volunteering as one principal type of serious leisure, opens a window on three aspects of the former that students of voluntary action and citizen participation usually acknowledge, but seldom examine. First, as observed previously, volunteers are inspired by two main motives, altruism and self-interestedness. Self-interestedness is a cardinal feature of all serious leisure which, when expressed in volunteering, enters into an intricate, but as yet poorly understood, relationship with altruism (Stebbins, 1992b: 16). Most specialists in voluntary action research would acknowledge that "the volunteer gets something personal out of it too" (e.g., D.H. Smith, 1981; Hodgkinson & Weitzman, 1992), even if they tend to skirt the implications of this observation to concentrate on such questions as his or her place in particular service organizations or the contributions he or she makes to the wider community.

Second, to be precise, serious leisure volunteering is <u>career</u> volunteering, a process that is possibly best exemplified in the participation history of the key volunteer. And it is likely that the motive of self-interestedness often drives the pursuit of such a career more than the motive of

altruism, even though a person's altruism may well have prompted him or her to enter the field in the first place (c.f., Chambré, 1987). Of the two, self-interestedness seems to be the stronger motivator, encouraging a volunteer to continue in a serious leisure career in voluntary action. This is true in good part because volunteering requires certain skills, knowledge, or training and, in some cases, two or three of these. As we shall see, their acquisition is highly rewarding, although it takes time - measured in the unfolding of the career - to develop them to the point where their rewards are evident.

In this connection, Ross (1990: 20-27) found in his Canadian survey that the overwhelming majority of volunteers regard these acquisitions as important, looking on volunteer work as a satisfying and convenient way of expressing them (similar findings are reported in Statistics Canada, 1998b:38). He grouped the acquired skills and knowledge according to whether they were interpersonal, communications, fund-raising, technical and office, or organizational and managerial. They are substantial enough to engender a career built on their acquisition and on the often difficult process of applying them. By contrast, giving blood, helping distribute flyers, or taking tickets at the performances of the local community theater (discussed later as casual volunteering) can never qualify as this kind of volunteering. They usually require no significant skill, knowledge, or training in the typical case.

Third, careers and self-interestedness in volunteering are substantially inspired by a person's experiences with the special rewards found in all types of serious leisure. To date, these have been most thoroughly examined in volunteer studies by Fischer and Schaffer (1993), albeit only for the elderly. In comparison with their findings, however, my own research on various amateur activities (summarized in Stebbins, 1992b: chap. 6) and on the hobbyist activity of barbershop singing (Stebbins, 1995c) turned up a considerably longer list of rewards, rewards

found in serious leisure in general by those who participate in it. We shall see in chapter 5 that francophone volunteers experience these same benefits, although in ways unique to their type of leisure. Nine rewards are presented here in terms related to voluntarism and citizen participation:

Personal rewards

1. Personal enrichment (cherished experiences, including exceptional rapport with clients, sense of helping others, being altruistic)

2. Self-actualization (developing skills, abilities, knowledge)

3. Self-expression (expressing skills, abilities, knowledge already developed)

4. Self-image (known to others as a particular kind of volunteer)

5. Self-gratification (senses of play, hedonistic pleasure)

6. Re-creation (regeneration) of oneself through volunteer activity after a day's work

7. Financial return (from volunteering)

Social rewards

8. Social attraction (associating with clients, other volunteers, participating in the social world of the activity)

9. Group accomplishment (group effort in accomplishing a volunteer project)

The rewards of a serious leisure pursuit are the more or less routine values that attract and hold its enthusiasts. They constitute the objects of self-interestedness; they are what someone motivated by self-interestedness hopes to achieve through volunteer work. A given serious leisure career both frames and is framed by this enduring search for rewards, for it takes months, even years, to consistently find deep satisfaction in an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer role. Note, too, that, in this scheme, being altruistic is conceived of as a reward, as a particular expression of self-enrichment. This suggests that career volunteers can be distinguished from other types of serious leisure

participants by the exceptional number of enriching experiences they have while engaged in altruistic activities.

These rewards are phrased in general terms. Research on amateurs and hobbyists indicates that they feel the rewards in special ways unique to their pursuits (Stebbins, 1992c). Chapter 5 shows that the same can be said for the different activities undertaken by key volunteers. Thus, the personal enrichment gained from working with autistic children will be different from that gained from coaching adolescent hockey players. Likewise, self-actualization in these two areas would proceed along the lines of the different skills, abilities, and forms of knowledge required by each field. Finally, past research on amateur and hobbyist pursuits leads us to expect variation from one kind of volunteering to the another in the ways people rank these rewards with reference to the importance they assign to them.

Returning now to the question of the sense of satisfaction in serious leisure and career volunteering, note that it is defined, in particularistic terms, through the everyday experience of these rewards. Furthermore, these rewards are not only satisfying in themselves, but also satisfying as counterweights to the costs encountered in the activity. Thus a volunteer board member might not always feel up to attending board meetings, occasionally have his or her ideas rejected when there, be asked from time to time to perform a disagreeable task, and still regard the activity as satisfying on the whole - as leisure - because of the powerful rewards to be found there. To sum up, when we speak of self-interestedness in serious leisure and career volunteering, we speak more specifically of gaining satisfaction and experiencing rewards as these substantially offset costs.

Since there has been considerable research on the reasons for volunteering and joining voluntary associations (for a review see Bonjean, Markham, and Macken, 1994), it would be good to identify the unique contributions that the scheme of rewards just presented makes to this area.

One contribution has already been noted: altruism and self-interestedness have been integrated in a common framework. Another contribution is terminological consistency: the concepts of reward, value, career, altruism, satisfaction, and self-interestedness cohere within the overarching perspective of serious leisure. Third, this perspective and its list of rewards help explain the career aspects of volunteering.

When Volunteering is Serious Leisure

Volunteering, whether formal or informal (Fischer and Schaffer, 1993: 30), often carries with it a clear obligation to be at a particular place, at a specified time, to perform a certain function. Yet the load of commitments in career volunteering appears to be no greater than that found in many other serious leisure pursuits. Serious leisure participants can be obligated, for example, to attend rehearsals and perform in the next concert of the community orchestra, play for their team in an upcoming game in the local industrial baseball league, or go to the neighborhood primary school at four o'clock two days a week to help children with reading problems. What makes this kind of leisure fundamentally nonobligatory is the condition that these musicians, athletes, and volunteers can terminate such involvements with relative ease. Having met all proximal obligations, these participants are free to announce their unavailability for any number of future projects. True leisure, including career volunteering, contains a high degree of choice.

Moreover, as with other types of serious leisure, career volunteering brings on the occasional need to persevere. Participants who want to continue experiencing the same level of satisfaction in the activity have to meet certain challenges from time to time (sometimes defined as costs). Thus, the aforementioned musicians must practice assiduously to master difficult musical passages, the baseball players must throw repeatedly to perfect their favorite pitches, and the volunteers must search their imaginations for new approaches with which to help children with

reading problems. Perseverance can also lead to the realization of such rewards as self-actualization and self-expression. At times, in all three types of serious leisure, the deepest satisfaction comes at the end of the activity rather than during it. To repeat, all participants experience their serious leisure as a clear and favorable balance of rewards over costs, where the first significantly outweigh the second (on this balance among elderly volunteers, see Fischer and Schaffer, 1993: 200-01).

Because formal volunteers commonly perform tasks delegated to them by their superiors, much of their work is other-directed rather than self-directed (Stebbins and Parker, 1994). Again, this condition might seem to contradict the propositions that volunteering is leisure activity and that such activity is controlled by the participant. Nevertheless, the volunteer is hardly the only type of leisure participant to be directed by someone else. Some amateur and hobbyist activities are other-directed (e.g., orchestra musicians, football players); they contrast with the self-directed variety (e.g., stamp collectors, mountain climbers). In part, the satisfaction of other-directed leisure results from the rewards of collective accomplishment and the attractiveness of working with other people, both of which are framed in the realization that someone has to coordinate the actions of the parts if all are to experience a gratifying whole.

What marks leisure volunteering as a special type of serious leisure is its altruism, which invariably propels it. A significant part of what is rewarding and hence leisurelike about volunteering is the unselfish regard for another or a set of others as expressed in particular acts or activities. The role of altruism is well understood in voluntary action research. Still, it is less well understood there that its expression is also highly rewarding, a sign of leisure in itself. According to the classification of rewards just presented, altruistic action in career volunteering is a main form, if not the main form, of the self-enrichment found in this kind of activity.

When Volunteering is not Leisure

Just as we can pursue leisure in both its serious and casual forms, so we can pursue volunteering in the same terms. Some voluntary action is momentary; it requires little skill or knowledge, but is nonetheless satisfying, perhaps even enjoyable. Volunteering in an atmosphere of fun to take tickets or distribute flyers are among the examples mentioned earlier. Such activities fit the description of casual volunteering. By contrast, voluntarily giving blood or, in some instances, money (as a donation) are not really fun. But they can be satisfying, in which case they are truly leisure. When unsatisfying, when done as obligations, they not only fail to count as leisure, they even fail to meet our introductory conceptualization of volunteering. And let us not forget that, in anticipating a satisfying experience, some people volunteer to do something only to find it boring, difficult, distasteful, or in some other way disagreeable (e.g., Chambré, 1987: 114-15). For the moment this voluntary action is anything but leisure. Moreover, the "volunteer" is now in the mood to abandon the activity at the first convenient opportunity.

This is a good point at which to insert a brief excursis on nonwork obligations, a concept poorly understood by many of the volunteers interviewed for this study and, it appears, in Western civilization as a whole where the ideas of work and leisure have dominated. Obligation for them was something found only in the paying job. Yet, everyday life also consists of various worklike tasks (Parker and Stebbins, 1994), so named because they resemble occupational work in many respects, even though they fail to constitute a livelihood.[4] They are the nonremunerated domestic, familial, and personal chores and obligations we feel we must execute or fulfill from time to time. They include washing dishes, cleaning windows, mowing the lawn, and a miscellany of do-it-yourself activities. A variety of personal maintenance activities fit here as well, to the extent that they are obligatory and seen as other than leisure. Going to the dentist, undergoing a physical

examination, and cutting one's toe nails exemplify the latter. Taking a shower and sleeping are seen as worklike under certain conditions and as leisurelike under others. Worklike tasks are generally self-directed and purposely carried out to achieve a particular end. They are rarely, if ever, remunerated. Although their continuity is typically shorter than that of occupational work, they still require a measure of perseverance. Volunteering is certainly not the execution of nonwork obligations.

To this point, we have mostly considered formal volunteering. It appears to be somewhat more prevalent than informal volunteering, or "helping." Nevertheless, many people willingly lend a hand to a friend, relative, or neighbor to aid in a way he or she genuinely appreciates. This informal volunteering may well be leisure, either serious or casual, although this interpretation depends on the nature of the activity. Some of it falls under the heading of self-help, or mutual aid, which may be formal or informal. Still, some people help their friends, relatives, or neighbors even though they (the helpers) prefer to be doing something else; in reality they are fulfilling an unsatisfying nonwork obligation. Obligated in this manner, these helpers are hardly taking their leisure, for the activity is neither truly satisfying nor freely chosen. They are not willingly and enthusiastically undertaking it to reach one or more of the rewards considered earlier.

Volunteer activity undertaken for occupational reasons raises some difficult definitional questions when viewed from the leisure perspective. A person who agrees to organize the annual company picnic, sit on a particular committee, or campaign throughout the office for a charity exemplifies one type of occupational volunteering. Whether activity of this sort is true volunteering and true leisure depends on how he or she defines it. It is logically impossible to label the activity either leisure or volunteering if, in the main, the person only agrees to do it under pressure from a superior. The activity, at bottom, is a work obligation, albeit one that may not be

found in the official job description. But where people cheerfully accept such responsibilities, finding significant satisfaction in executing them, then they have also found a happy mix of leisure and volunteering in a sphere of life where work usually dominates. Here personal interests and collective interests are joined in a common orientation.

Exploring a line of work by volunteering in it, a practice especially common among young adults and the unemployed of various ages, constitutes another type of occupational volunteering. In this instance, by gratuitously offering their services, these volunteers hope to gain experience that will eventually result in paid employment (e.g., Mueller, 1975; Jenner, 1982; Ellis, 1993). Over forty-three percent of the repondents in the previously mentioned Canadian survey said they hoped to find paid work by volunteering (Ross, 1990: 27). Students required to perform a certain number of hours of community service as part of a training program are serving in a similar atmosphere, basically one of coercion or pressure. To the extent that any of these activities is accompanied by a sense of obligation and disagreeableness, it squares poorly with the usual definitions of leisure and raises questions about its fit with the definitions of volunteering. It is perhaps here more than anywhere else that leisure and volunteering tend diverge. Students and unemployed workers who volunteer for these reasons are not ordinarily directly coerced by someone else to do so. Nonetheless, volunteer work appears to them to be a good way to put them on the inside track leading to acceptable employment in the future or successful completion of a program of studies in the present.

Because it is viewed as a replacement for work, the practice of volunteering chiefly for the sake of keeping busy can be classified as a third kind of occupational volunteering. Some of the elderly and the unemployed explain their volunteer work in these terms (Carp, 1968; Roadburg, 1985: 107-08; Shamir, 1985: 341). Of note is Britain's Voluntary Projects Programme; its mandate

is to develop voluntary work opportunities for the employed and the unemployed (Glyptis, 1989: 68). Participants in the program see volunteering as a way to keep active and thereby maintain their sense of personal well-being. That it might be unsatisfying is no matter, for they expect to work as they always have, even if they are not paid for it.

With respect to the volunteer activities discussed in this section, it is evident that, as their leisure component decreases and their coercive component increases, their consistency with Van Til's definition of volunteering weakens in the same measure. Volunteering as a form of busy work for the elderly and the unemployed and as a job-finding strategy for the young and the unemployed can have a sense of being coerced, however indirect. Where a sense of coercion exists, it is more accurate to describe this activity as marginal volunteering, since it resembles work and worklike obligations at least as much as it resembles mainstream volunteering as defined and explained in this chapter.

Given the possibilities of coercion and marginal volunteering, we should be especially cautious about lay usage of terms like "volunteer" and "volunteering" and about what we accept as true exemplars of leisure and volunteering. For example, one reviewer of this part of the manuscript mentioned the recent trend in the United States for courts to order certain categories of criminals to undertake "volunteer community service." Perhaps this section has helped the reader develop a critical eye for seeing the inherent coercion in such practices, notwithstanding the common sense language used to talk about.

Conclusion

Jone Pearce (1993: 181-82) calls attention to a major problem that can arise from treating volunteering as a form of leisure activity, a problem that persists even after qualifying volunteering as special, altruistically motivated leisure:

> If volunteers expect their participation to be another hobby, they might reasonably be expected to treat it like any other leisure activity. Certainly, few people undertake hobbies that require the sustained discipline that usually chararcterizes organizational roles. Organizations which assume that volunteers are hobbyists must provide very short hours and be prepared for unreliable workers, or they must recruit only among the subculture of driven hobbyists. The practical difficulty created by this assmumption is that what begin as a frank acknowledgement that the time volunteers will give is limited may be come a reluctance to give volunteers any responsibility at all.

Pearce goes on to note that, when activities such as volunteering fail to fall neatly into the seemingly appropriate commonsense categories - in this case "work" and "leisure" - everyone concerned becomes confused (see, for example, the earlier discussion about nonwork obligations). Under these conditions, it is possible that an employer - the person or group engaging the volunteer - will mistreat volunteers as well as underestimate their capabilities and contributions. In the same vein, some of the respondents in the study of the Franco-Calgarians (Stebbins, 1994b: 71) worried that linking leisure and volunteering could trivialize the latter.

The foregoing discussion of volunteering and serious leisure contains some ideas that can help counteract these concerns. As argued earlier, duty and obligation are often part of all three forms of serious leisure, not just career volunteering. Moreover, I have said that a significant proportion of leisure volunteering is serious, not casual; it is career volunteering. Finally, the powerful rewards flowing from the pursuit of activities of this sort are likewise powerful motivators to return for more. Perhaps there is no better way to secure the faithful, punctual fulfillment of associated obligations than to organize volunteer activity in such a way that it pays off in this profound manner.

In general, where people reap a range of powerful personal rewards from career volunteering, they also make a significant contribution to community and society. The larger collectivity benefits substantially from their careful application of assiduously acquired skills, knowledge, and experience, while they benefit personally from the expressions of appreciation received from the recipients of the volunteered service. This broad, social utility of volunteers is also part of the serious leisure perspective as applied to them and their activities. But, in promoting the principle of leisure volunteering as an important personal and social resource, we must ensure that the connotation of frivolity so commonly associated with the word leisure in no way subverts the thinking of either the people who volunteer or the people who employ them. The adjective "serious" in serious leisure may be advantageous here.

Hopefully the foregoing statement will serve as a useful guide for further research in this field. But what kind of research should be conducted? Research in other areas of serious leisure has been ethnographic for the most part, executed as detailed studies of particular activities (e.g., peace workers, stand-up comics, gun collectors, allotment gardeners, amateur archaeologists). Examined at close range in this manner, we can easily discover and thoroughly explore the complex of costs and rewards unique to each volunteer activity, the careers available there, and the social worlds within which the participants strive to reach their altruistic and self-interested goals. To avoid accumulating a set of disconnected case studies, such research should be "concatenated." It should be organized by individual researchers or research organizations or both to systematically explore a given kind of volunteer activity through a sequence of separate projects where each is designed with reference to the ones preceding it (Stebbins, 1992a). This study of the key volunteers in Calgary and Edmonton is of this genre and, as explained in the Introduction to this book, serves as a link in a chain of studies on francophone communities where volunteering is also likely to be of

central importance.

According to Jeremy Rifkin (1995), we have now entered the early years of the Information Age, gripped by dramatic declines in employment and public sector service and a concomitant rise in the "third sector" and personal and collective dependency on volunteers. This sector constitutes the home of the nonprofit, voluntary action part of the economy; it stands apart from the sectors of government and for-profit, private industry. The third sector encompasses not only the multitude of charitable organizations and philanthropic foundations, but also the world of informal helping. For this reason alone, we must explore more deeply than ever the motives encouraging vastly different demographic categories of people to take up this role. In this connection, it is now clear that each category is rather differently motivated. Moreover, it is clear that self-interestedness is common to all categories and that substantial measures of coercion or obligation sometimes obliterate for some people the leisure and voluntaristic components other people find in volunteer work. Given the importance of self-interestedness in this critical area of life in contemporary industrial societies, we must devote more time to exploring empirically the complicated link between voluntary action, on the one hand, and serious leisure and career volunteering on the other.

But, so far as minority francophone communities are concerned, volunteers have not always played the prominent role that Rifkin describes. Early in the twentieth century, for example, there were volunteers to be sure, but most served informally.

Notes

Chapter 3

Francophone Volunteering in Minority Circumstances

Francophone volunteering is dramatically different today from what it was during the latter part of the nineteenth century. For this reason alone it is important to understand how volunteering among Franco-Canadians has evolved over the past 120 years or so for, although it is obvious that none of the interviewees in this study was old enough to have performed volunteer work very far back in time, most had at least one parent who had done so in the early decades of the twentieth century. The interviews show further that most of the respondents internalized the example set by the parent who volunteered; of the twenty-nine respondents questioned about the matter, only eight, or twenty-eight percent, said their parents did little or no formal volunteering, a finding that squares with data gathered in the 1997 national survey conducted by Statistics Canada (1998b: 34). Moreover, according to the majority of these respondents, the failure of their parents to volunteer

could be traced in large measure to a paucity of grassroots groups in which to serve, a situation that, as noted earlier, is more typical even today of small towns and farm communities than it is of large cities.

The remaining seventy-eight percent followed the footsteps of their parents, volunteering in their spare time at a significant rate of participation, but doing so nonetheless in a manner substantially different from the past. For instance, Richard Laflamme, at one time president of the Association pour l'Aide Internationale and Nationale (both are pseudonyms) traces his interest in volunteering to his parents commitment to it:

> I do think that the example of my parents led me to volunteering. Dad was involved in the Association de Charité, and I started quite young in the same association. Mom also did alot of volunteering: maternal assistance, direct aid to some poor families. I was raised to be concerned about the indigent who needed aid. . . . It was nearly by osmosis that I came to be involved in volunteering for others (Malenfant, 1993: 73). (author's translation)

Moreover, the volunteers in the present study tended to marry spouses likewise imbued with the volunteer spirit (66 percent of the 20 married respondents who responded to this question).[1] But, even where the volunteer spirit is willing, the evolution of volunteering during the twentieth century in French Canada has left each generation with a different set of opportunities in this sphere for expressing its altrustic and self-interested motives.

Histories of Francophone Volunteering

Before presenting a brief history of volunteering in French Canada, a few words are in order about the resources available for such an exposition. They are, in a word, meagre.[2] Lautenschlager (1992: iii) notes that her historical account of volunteering in Canada as a whole is the first work of its kind: "Over the years hours and hours of volunteering have been devoted to humanitarian

causes, but it still remains to record these efforts on the pages of history." (author's translation) Although she lists and occasionally describes a number of francophone volunteer organizations, her history contains no discussion of French Canadian volunteering in particular. In this regard, Godbout's (1994) history of volunteering by Quebec francophones complements Lautenschlager's work, but only for that province. Moreover, both accounts are limited to formal volunteering, while neither deals with the history of volunteering among francophones living as a minority group.

The problem is that formal francophone volunteering in minority circumstances, especially in its urban aspect, is differently motivated vis-à-vis other types of volunteering. As for these two histories, they have centered largely on two main types of volunteering which, though occasionally found in the urban francophone subcommmunities, are uncommon there when compared with a third type. Thus both Lautenschlager and Godbout deal primarily with either needs volunteering - helping people solve their personal problems in the areas of health, welfare, leisure, disaster, disability, emergencies, immigrant adaptation, Third World development, and so on - or ideological volunteering - helping promote particular ideals related to women, children, religion, politics, environmental concerns, community development, and the like.

But most formal volunteering done by francophones living in minority circumstances is predominantly of a third kind - ethnic community volunteering - which, in this book, refers to helping francophones maintain and develop their local linguistic community as effected through the five sectors of education, religion, arts and communication, sport and leisure, and clubs and associations (for the details about how this is accomplished, see later in this chapter). To be sure, certain needs or ideological motives inspire some community volunteers some of the time, but the interviews done for this study indicate that these motives are usually of secondary importance

when considered with reference to the desire to maintain and develop the local francophone community.[3] In other words, uppermost on the minds of many key volunteers working in linguistic minorities in North America is the tenuous existence of their community within the surrounding anglophone world.

Volunteering from c.1300 to 1960

Fragnière (1987: 30-31) provides a brief summary of the handful of works on the history of volunteering in general. He writes that, in Europe, from the Middle Ages on, volunteering gradually came into its own first as a form of philanthropy expressed through charitable giving to the Roman Catholic Church by those who had sufficient money. The Church, who obliged this largesse through its teachings, used their contributions to construct and operate its churches, hospitals, and almshouses. Lay volunteers were also engaged with increasing frequency over the years to help serve the clientele of these institutions.

However, toward the end of the nineteenth century social thought changed, shifting to a concern with the rights of humankind, which included the right of the indigent to receive aid. The indigent were commonly defined as the unfortunate victims of the evolution of society, who more fortunate people had an obligation to help in repayment of their own debt for being spared the same existence. But this sense of obligation waned significantly in the twentieth century, in part because the emerging welfare state made it seem unnecessary. Then in recent years, when the welfare structure of society began to erode, the volunteer began to reappear, recycled in accordance with contemporary requirements and thus different from the two types of charitable volunteer of past centuries. The present-day volunteer is best described as a responsible citizen who chooses to work in one or two of the many institutional sectors of modern community life where such help is needed. Poverty and health care - the main targets of nineteenth century

volunteering - are only two of several such sectors.

What little information exists about the history of volunteering in French Canada centers on formal volunteering in Quebec. Nonetheless, it is likely that volunteering of this kind between 1900 and 1960 was much the same inside as outside Quebec for, with the exception of the Acadians, the vast majority of francophones living as a minority group in Canada appear to have been born in Quebec or born into families whose ancestors came from that province. In Calgary and Edmonton, for example, only two of the forty-four key volunteers were born outside Canada in families with no Canadian roots.

Godbout (1994: 982-983) found that volunteering in Quebec during these years occurred primarily in the form of two movements. The first consisted of the various mutual aide and mutual insurance schemes that developed as part of the workers movement of the early twentieth century. The cooperative movement was part of this broader movement; it was and still is popular among French Canadian owners of small businesses operating both inside and outside Quebec. Voluntary action was evident there when, for example, its members would voluntarily serve the cooperative enterprise by working together on its collective projects. The second movement was Roman Catholic in origin; in it members of the laity, worked under the supervision of trained specialists employed in the Church hierarchy, served chiefly in hospitals, schools, and the social services. Volunteering here, as elsewhere, presumes that people participated in a spirit that harmonized with the definitions presented in the preceding chapter, notably that they did not generally feel coerced or obligated to serve as they did. Compared with today, formal volunteering appears to have had a comparatively narrow basis during this period, one primarily centered on labor and the Church.

The situation in Calgary which, at the time, may or may not have been typical of Canada's urban minority francophone communities, seems, in general, to square with Godbout's description

of the Quebec volunteer scene.[4] Historically, the Calgary situation offered little opportunity for formal volunteering, primarily because so few grassroots francophone organizations were established there in the first sixty years or so of the twentieth century (Stebbins, 1994). During that period organizational life centered mostly on the city's sole French Catholic parish - Église Sainte-Famille - its parish circle, the local chapter of the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste (the Calgary chapter was founded in 1888), and the Club Français (founded in 1919). The latter two continued to function until 1970 when they were amalgamated under the name of the société Franco-Canadienne de Calgary (Bertrand, 1993: 6). Given the small number of formal organizations and the fact that the Calgary community persisted nevertheless, suggests that the informal world was also a force of some considerable importance. The activities of small groups and networks of family and friends must have helped sustain the francophone world of the city at times and in places falling beyond the scope of the Church and the two societies, with the activities being a mix of obligations, informal volunteering, and other leisure pursuits.

Parel (1987) mentions the activities of the local Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society, possibly Calgary's most dynamic francophone voluntary organization in its day. But it appears that its influence began to wane significantly in the mid-1920s, when the ACFA took over as the province-wide champion of francophone interests (D.B. Smith, 1985: 100) and the home office of the Society in Quebec began to redirect its attention away from francophone problems outside Quebec to those within (Jones, 1988: 1913). It may be that at this time the curé and his parishioners at Église Sainte-Famille and the members of the Club Français and the Saint-Jean-Baptiste Society entered into a more equal sharing of the various formally organized local social functions and that they continued in this relationship until the number of lay organizations began to proliferate starting in the 1970s and gaining momentum through the 1980s. Nonetheless, the opportunities for

formal volunteering must have been comparatively thin when contrasted with those available for informal volunteering, for helping fellow francophones with such everyday projects and services as babysitting, home improvements, care of the sick and the elderly, and meeting domestic needs, among them the provision of food, clothing, and shelter.

When compared with the organizational richness of the 1990s, the Calgary French community passed through a long period of organizational poverty, beginning around the turn of this century with the decline of its geographical francophone community, Rouleauville, and ending in the 1960s with the influx of French-speaking immigrants whose numbers helped justify a new church and French-language schooling. During the intervening years organizational life, according to the historical sources used here, appears to have been too underdeveloped to sustain the local community on its own. Yet the local francophones soldiered on it seems, developing an informal world sufficiently solidary to support itself and its skeletal formal world and carry forward the rudiments of a francophone lifestyle such that a foundation was available in the early 1960s on which both locals and immigrants could build and expand their volunteer activities, formally and informally.

Volunteering from 1960 to 1994

Godbout (1994) observes that needs and ideological volunteering in Quebec started to drop off in the 1960s in the wake of the declining influence of the Church in education, health care, and the social services and the concomitant rise to power of lay professionals in those areas. Athough this transformation was part of the broader Quiet Revolution there, neither the Revolution nor the transformation were felt with significant intensity in the urban francophone communities elsewhere in Canada. Rather, for them, passage in 1969 of the first Official Languages Act became the catalyst for a growth spurt in formal organizational life. And with the increase in grassroots

organizations came the need for more ethnic community volunteers.

That year the federal government launched its policy of official bilingualism, which revolved around two main goals: to help anglophones and francophones living as minority groups to transmit and to maintain their languages and associated cultures. The goals were to be reached in part by institutionalizing both French and English as working languages in Parliament, the federal civil service, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation/La Société Radio-Canada, and the various government departments and administrative agencies. Procedurally, the bulk of the responsibility for implementation of the policy lies with the Department of the Secretary of State (known today as Canadian Heritage), whereas the responsibility for monitoring the progress of bilingualism across the country belongs to the occupant of the new post of Commissioner of Official Languages, a post attached to the two chambers of Parliament.

In 1988, a new federal law on offical languages gave the Department of the Secretary of State two additional goals to pursue: "enchancing the vitality of the English and French linguistic minority communities in Canada and supporting and assisting their development and fostering the full recognition and use of both English and French in Canadian society " (Commissioner of Official Languages, 1989: 63). In other words, the Secretary of State gained several additional functions, including the promotion, extension, and improvement of teaching English and French in minority circumstances and the encouragement of "the business community, labour organizations, voluntary organizations and other organizations or institutions to provide services in both English and French and to foster the recognition and use of those languages" (Commissioner of Official Languages, 1989: 66). In practice this meant promoting the development of various French and English cultural institutions operating in the minority language groups, including community clubs, radio, newspapers, networks, events, and festivals.

The passage and implementation of the second official languages act left no doubt that the federal government was in effect pursuing the same four goals being served by the lifestyles of urban francophones in Canada. These were presented in Stebbins (1994) as the maintenance and transmission of the French language and its associated cultures and the growth and development of individual francophones and the subcommunities in which they live. In this manner implementation of the policy of official bilingualism and its revisions has substantially affected the francophones of Calgary and Edmonton and their counterparts in other Canadian cities outside Quebec (c.f., Savas, 1991: 68).[5] In particular it has left its mark on educational and organizational life, coming as it did at a time when the Catholic Church could no longer support these institutions at the level it had in the past. And, in Calgary and Edmonton, as the opportunity grew from the 1969 onward for schooling in French, so did the formal organization of community social life, because the schools themselves became new rallying points, including more recently the preschools and day-care centers.

And with this organizational expansion came a multitude of new opportunities for formal volunteering, not only in education but also in the other sectors of francophone community life. Although the ACFA had been active in the two Alberta cities and throughout the province since 1926, francophone organizational life in the urban milieu really blossomed with the proclamation of the 1969 Official Languages Act and even more so with the one of 1988. It is true that, in Calgary, some clubs and associations predate the latter, including the Société Franco-Canadienne de Calgary, a volunteer-service organization dedicated to helping the local community in a number of key areas; the Gigueurs de Calgary, a traditional dance troupe; and the Voix des Rocheuses, an a cappella chorus. The first was founded in 1970, the second two in 1978.

Yet many of Calgary's francophone organizations have come into existence only in recent

years, in response to an expanding range of francophone social and cultural interests. Indeed their number has grown to the point where it has become necessary to coordinate their activities, a community need that has been met in part with the founding early in 1993 of the Société du Centre Scolaire Communautaire de Calgary. In April that same year the Table de Concertation Régionale was established to identify the priorities held in common by several of the organizations and to encourage their collaboration toward the realization of these priorities. It has since been held annually, for priorities change and new organizations occasionally start up.

In certain ways a similar pattern of growth of grassroots groups and organizations can be observed in Edmonton. The singing group Les Chantamis was founded in 1967, the dance troupe l'Association Girandole in 1980, and the Société Généalogique du Nord-Ouest in 1990. However, the Roman Catholic Church, which is organized in five parishes in Greater Edmonton, continues to have a strong associational and volunteer presence in the city, not only through its parish councils and allied committees but also through its affiliated Knights of Columbus chapters and seniors organizations. The Catholic organizations predate, often by several decades, the first Official Languages Act and are ineligible for funding from them, in any case. Indeed, it would appear that it is mainly due to the greater presence of the Church and its affiliated organizations that the Edmonton francophone community has been able to maintain a richer and more enduring organizational and volunteer sector at the grassroots level than its Calgary counterpart.

The effect of organizational expansion on volunteering during this period is complicated, however. There were undoubtedly many more organizations than previously, but there was also sufficient government funding to pay people to run at least some aspects of a number of them and to pay the costs of implementing some of the services and programs they provided. In this regard, the occasional respondent in the Calgary-Edmonton volunteer study opined that, during the 1970s

and 1980s, this government largesse discouraged voluntary action at the organizational level. Still, it can also be argued that many new volunteer roles were created during these years of relative wealth, because organizations had the means to take on a certain number of new projects and services. Occasionally, officers were paid or given substantial honoraria, but most served without remuneration, even though their responsibilities were at least as complex and important as those of their remunerated colleagues.

Volunteering after 1994

While it remains to be established through research whether the amount of volunteering really increased, decreased, or continued at the same level during the second phase of its history, there is no doubt whatsoever that it has increased considerably in the third phase, starting approximately in 1994. For, although the Federal Government had decided early in the 1980s to selectively reduce budgets for some of the volunteer programs it supported (Lautenschlager, 1992: 31-32), it was not until around 1994 that its cuts to the official languages programs began to be widely felt.[6] Literally every respondent in the present study who worked in a group or organization previously supported to any extent by government money spoke, often emotionally, of the pernicious effects of these reductions.

At their most general level, the budgets cuts have expanded dramatically the need for volunteers, especially key volunteers. Why? Because the second type are the ones who must now fill the official posts such as president and director, some of which were once funded and therefore once provided a livelihood or substantial honorarium for their incumbents. Additionally, more volunteer help is now needed to raise money to compensate for the shortfall, often accomplished these days by holding bingos or casinos or by conducting fund-raising campaigns. Moreover, the volunteer of the 1990s spends more time in meetings searching for new ways to raise money, avoid

frivolous expenditures in the organization's bare-bones budget, reduce programs and services to the minimum, and justify to government the meagre funds they now receive from it. Many of the interviewees groaned that the amount of paperwork devoted to such efforts has now reached extraordinary heights. Together, the meetings and the paperwork increase the amount of time all volunteers must give to these groups and organizations, while leaving just that much less time for pursuing other volunteer roles in their community. Consequently, the key volunteers must also work to recruit new volunteers to fill these other roles, though many respondents said such people are becoming increasingly difficult to find.

This, then, is the concrete expression in the urban francophone minority communities of Rifkin's trend described earlier in this book: the emerging personal and collective dependency on third sector, one indelible stamp of the Information Age. The pressure on these urban subcommunities is now enormous, owing in good part to their structural pecularities, most of which have evolved since 1969 and the first Official Languages Act.

Minority community Structure

There are basically two ways of examining the structure of the big-city francophone communities in Canada: the network approach and the organizational approach. I have obviously privileged the second in this book, chiefly because it is here where the key volunteers contribute most directly. But the first, even if I largely ignore it, should not be cast aside as a minor feature of francophone life in urban minority groups. Indeed, my sense of the Calgary and Edmonton communities - the two I currently know best - is that both are also held together by a dense, but informal tissue of interpersonal relationships, family units, friendship groups, and social networks, overlapping and interweaving in a manner so complex as to defy description and, possibly, even effective scientific analysis. We saw earlier that, before the advent of federally-funded organizations, this informal

tissue served as the main structural foundation of these communities. And it remains important in this regard. Moreover, its relationship to the organization level has grown even more complex, owing to its partial integration with it, as seen, for example, in using old-boy and old-girl ties to fill volunteer posts and to exploit francophone interpersonal relationships when conducting commercial affairs.

The organizational approach to francophone community structure took a major turn with the publication of Raymond Breton's (1964) commmunity completeness thesis. He argued that, to be viable and to survive, an ethnic community must be institutionally complete, a proposition that resonated well with a number of sociologists who could see its validity when applied to the francophone communities in minority circumstances. The thesis seemed to hold in the 1960s, perhaps because it was reasonably valid for the francophone rural communities and small towns which, at the time, were more prevalent and prominent than the urban subcommunities. But as the latter grew and began to attract the attention of these same sociologists and others, theoretical opinion began to change in the face of new evidence. As a result, at least for the big city formations, it is more accurate today to speak of partial rather than full institutional completeness (e.g., Cardinal et al., 1994).

So far as these cities are concerned, the facts simply fail to support the claim of pure, or full, completeness. For everywhere in the urbain milieu francophone life is segmented, at its most basic level along the lines of French and English. There francophones are normally bilingual, speaking English at work as well as in the majority of their political, commercial, and health care activities.[7] They are most likely to use French at home and in their leisure (though less so if they are married to an anglophone). If their children go to a French school, French will be used exclusively in this sphere, while the same can be said for the members of the French Catholic

parishes who attend services and participate in other church-related activities.

On another matter of community structure, I have argued elsewhere (Stebbins, 1997b) that francophone life in the large cities can be conceptualized as a set of social worlds. One can observe in every large city a wide variety of these formations organized around, among others, many of the arts, sports, hobbies, occupations, volunteer activities and, in Canada to be sure, certain languages. Francophones residing there develop their own social worlds centered on various arts, sports, and hobbies as well as on certain clubs and associations. Thus urban life for the modern francophone is fragmented not only along institutional lines according to language, but also along interest lines according to social world.

Now membership and participation in an urban francophone community by its members, when considered together, form a vast mosaic consisting of four types of components: events, activities, groups, and organizations. Yet only some of these components become incorporated in a particular social world. Moreover, few francophones have the time to participate in more than a few of the components. In other words, in the urban communities, the linguistic lifestyle of each member is organized around but a small number of all the groups, events, and activities composing the local mosaic. Additionally, nowadays, one or two community-wide organizations attempt to ensure a certain level of coordination of most, if not all, of the components of that mosaic.

But urban francophone community structure is still more complicated, for, since it is only partially complete, it also has its anglophone side. For most francophones here, they find still another social world or two in their work and, depending on personal interests and circumstances, in their leisure, politics, religion, commerce, or health care. Finally, for some urban francophones, there is even a bilingual aspect, such as when a team of francophones competes in an otherwise anglophone sports league or francophone theater buffs with a passion for both French-language

and English-language drama attend plays.

In all this it is clear that the urban francophone communities are institutionally incomplete. But it is equally clear that they do have their own institutions, especially family and leisure and, for many members of these communities, education and religion as well. With these four institutions they have retained and, in some instances, developed a certain measure of autonomy. And with them they have opened a range of serious leisure pursuits for their key volunteers.

The Organizational World of the Key Volunteer

To repeat, the sectors in which the key volunteers of Calgary and Edmonton serve are religion, education, art and communications, sport and leisure, and clubs and associations, demonstrating through their work here that a significant degree and scope of autonomy can be achieved in everyday life by francophones living in cities as a minority group. In practice, this has meant performing volunteer work for particular grassroots groups and organizations, but not for particular families or individuals. As noted already, the helping and mutual aid that occurs within and between families (and among friends and neighbors) falls outside the scope of formal volunteering, the domain of the key volunteer.

The key volunteers of this study served in the religious sector as officers of the parish councils, the main church committees, and the various social clubs affiliated with each parish, most notably the Chevaliers de Colomb (Knights of Columbus) and the seniors clubs. Key volunteers in the educational sector typically served at the schools of their children, primarily as officers in its Conseil d'École (school committee) or in one of its main committees, the Société des Parents (parents committee). These two groups were established in 1995 by the Government of Alberta as part of its reorganization of all primary and secondary education in the province. The Conseil consists of sixteen members: a mix of parents, teachers, students, and community people.

A primary function of its Société des Parents is to raise money for the school, an undertaking the Conseil itself is now legally prohibited from carrying out.

The arts and communications sector in Calgary and Edmonton is composed, on the arts side, of choral societies, dance troupes, theater companies, and arts and crafts clubs. The volunteer boards and committees in the radio, newspaper, and television media make up the communications side of this sector. Everywhere there key volunteers work as officers or chairs of these collectivities. The key volunteers in the sport and leisure sector serve as officers in youth organizations and sports teams for youth. Finally, those in serving in the sector of clubs and associations are officers in groups organized to promote friendship, establish business and professional relations, or realize a particular goal such as building a community center, advancing the French language and its culture, or providing a service (e.g., legal counselling, genealogical research, a children's play group, or a nursery school).

Conclusions

The growth in the extent and importance of formal groups and organizations in Canada's urban francophone communities is not just an Albertan trend; it is first and foremost a contemporary national and international trend. Alain (1996) describes the important role clubs, societies, and associations play in keeping the Acadian communities intact. Farmer (1997) discovered that the francophone cultural centers in Ontario have a similar function. Ager (1995: 188) says that, in good part, the international francophonie owes its present coherence to a solid network of French-language organizations stretching across the globe. The growth and vitality of the organizational side of the Calgary and Edmonton communities is, thus, part of a universal tendency sweeping the francophone world. The organizational side will not supplant the network side, however. Rather the first will join with the second to help francophones reach their collective

goals of community maintenance and development as well as their personal goals of linguistic and cultural maintenance and growth as francophone individuals.

The key volunteers benefit doubly from all this. They not only gain from the services their organizations provide, they also find an attractive, substantial leisure outlet in helping run them and in developing the skills and knowledge and acquiring the experience needed to do this. Here we have the stuff of which serious leisure careers are made.

Notes

Chapter 4

Careers in Francophone Volunteering

To my knowledge, the careers of career volunteers have never been examined, a most unfortunate deficiency given the fact that, in the serious leisure perspective, a sense of career is very often a quintessential part of the leisure experience.[1] The aim of the present chapter is to make a start toward eliminating this lack by presenting the career data from the interviews with the two samples of key volunteers serving in the francophone communities of Calgary and Edmonton. In particular, I hope to shed light on the conditions leading to consistent involvement in voluntary action, a goal to be accomplished by examining the ways these volunteers entered the development stage of their

careers.

The Career Framework in Volunteering

What is the nature of the volunteer career? Exploratory research on careers in serious leisure in general has so far proceeded from a broad, rather loose definition: the typical course, or passage, of a type of amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer that carries the person into and through a leisure role and possibly into and through a work role. The essence of any career, whether in work, leisure, or elsewhere, lies in the temporal continuity of the activities associated with it. Moreover, we are accustomed to thinking of this continuity as one of accumulating rewards and prestige, as progress along these lines from some starting point, even though continuity may also include career retrogression. More will be said shortly about this feature.

First, it should be noted that, with respect to career continuity in the overall field of volunteering, many volunteers, although they serve in groups and organizations, actually have careers that unfold between them. In this book we have been referring to such people as formal volunteers, whose interorganizational careers, however, normally steer them clear of the challenge of the "bureaucratic crawl," to use the imagery of C. Wright Mills. In other words, although some francophone organizations are hierarchical in the sense of being linked to regional, provincial, national or even international bodies, very few volunteers seek, let alone attain, positions beyond what is locally available to them. Rather, at least in North America, the dominant work tradition encourages only paid employees to take up this challenge. Nevertheless, in formal volunteering, the participant still gains a profound sense of continuity, and hence career, from his or her more or less steady development, which comes from serving as a skilled, experienced, knowledgeable helper engaged in different roles in different organizations and from the deepening satisfaction that accompanies this kind of personal growth. However, the actual skill, experience, and knowledge

that is acquired varies according to the institutional sector in which the volunteer works. This contrasts with the extraorganizational career of the informal volunteer, the forever willing and sometimes highly skilled and knowledgeable helper of friends, relatives, and neighbors. The interviewees in this study were all formal volunteers, although some of the organizations they served were small and minimally hierarchical such as arts troupes, craft groups and social clubs.

Those who stick with their activities eventually pass through four, possibly five career stages: beginning, development, establishment, maintenance, and decline. But the boundaries separating these stages are imprecise, for as the condition of continuity suggests, the volunteer passes largely imperceptibly from one to the next. The beginning lasts as long as is necessary for interest in the activity to take root. Development - on which the present study concentrated most - begins when the interest has taken root and its pursuit becomes more or less routine and systematic. Serious leisure participants advance to the establishment stage once they have moved beyond the requirement of having to learn the basics of their activity. During the maintenance stage, the leisure career is in full bloom; here participants are now able to enjoy to the utmost the pursuit of it, the uncertainties of getting established having been put behind them, for the most part. By no means all serious leisure participants face decline, but those who do, experience it because of deteriorating mental or physical skills. A more detailed description of the career framework and its five stages is set out elsewhere (Stebbins, 1992b: chap. 5; on hobbies see Stebbins, 1996b).

For the key francophone volunteers in this study, being actually or potentially involved in one or more organizations affected the pace and pattern of their early development in this type of serious leisure. In several ways their early development was similar to the five patterns of early career development that emerged in the author's exploratory study of amateur and professional

stand-up comics (Stebbins, 1990: 76), whose relationship to an organization (nearly always a booking agency) is like that of the organization-based career volunteer. For neither has a place in the organizational hierarchy and, when compared with the paid employees there, both can more easily leave their present organization for more interesting and rewarding opportunities in another.

The patterns discovered in the research on comics were labeled sporadic, gradual, steady, broken-steady, and delayed-steady. In the first, the person volunteers as the occasion arises, but does so often enough to find a career in this type of leisure. In the gradual pattern, he or she becomes increasingly involved and committed to one or more volunteer roles, eventually reaching a point where no further obligations can be assumed without losing a significant degree of the satisfaction that has come to be routinely expected. Volunteers starting out in the steady pattern entered their serious leisure more or less at full steam and continued their careers there at that pace. The broken-steady pattern revolves around a substantial break from the activity occurring well into a career that is otherwise regularly pursued. This might be caused by a surge in responsibilities at work, a need to complete a program of higher education, or a desire to fully devote oneself to raising a family. The delayed-steady pattern is similar, except that the break occurs just after getting started. It may be rooted in a nagging uncertainty about volunteering as a desirable activity or in the same kinds of interests that break up the steady pattern.

Getting Started and Developing

The respondents were asked to describe their main volunteer involvements in francophone organizations during adult life. In seeking this information, I assumed that, by the time they had begun to volunteer more or less regularly, their interest in this type of serious leisure had taken root and they had passed from the beginning stage into the early months of the development stage of their leisure careers. Still, the middle-aged and elderly volunteers with long histories of

participation of this kind - they made up most of the overall sample - found it difficult to remember all they had done in the past. It seemed to them like they had been volunteering most of their adult years; that it was and still is as much a part of life as their paying job or any other enduring regular activity. For this reason many were unable to remember with any accuracy whether their early involvement in volunteering was sporadic or gradual or whether it followed the delayed-steady pattern. Nevertheless, their description of their volunteer careers suggests that they experienced a steady pattern of early development soon after their initial entry into volunteering.[2]

> It seems like I have been volunteering since the beginning of my adult years. I believe my first experience was with a professional club in Ontario, but I am not really sure of that, it was so long ago. Near the beginning of my volunteering I also did some work for my parish, and since I was active in theater, I served as treasurer of the drama group to which I belonged. But, you know, I have been doing it for so long that it is now just part of my life, which of course, I am very happy about. (middle-aged male volunteer)

Thirty-five of the forty-four respondents could be described in these terms, which is no surprise given their status as key volunteers with the accumulated experience and the levels of ability and commitment needed to earn the respect of their colleagues in the group or organization. Respect is indispensable for getting elected to a responsible position there. As for the remaining nine respondents, their interviews suggested they had experienced a gradual development pattern. Although they also held responsible positions, they either had significantly less volunteer experience or had children young enough to force them to sharply limit their extradomestic involvements.

The respondents who had spent less time in volunteer work than the steady participants

could remember more clearly, however, their gradual entry into the world of volunteering. It is possible, of course, that many of the steady volunteers actually did enter volunteering on a gradual basis, but have long since forgotten the details related to it. For, on the one hand, a number of posts require a good deal of familiarity with the organization, a special background that can only be acquired by being on the board of directors, chairing one or more important committees, or at the very least, faithfully attending the general meetings of the group. Gaining experience in these ways gradually eases the participant into volunteering in a particular sector of the community and then on to the possibility that he or she might participate steadily at a high level by serving in a responsible post. This same reasoning may also apply to the other patterns; some of the respondents might well have had sporadic, broken-steady, or delayed-steady entries into career development, had they been able to remember this part of their distant past. By the way, the stand-up comics, who as a group were much younger, presented a far more even distribution across all five patterns, although the steady pattern was likewise the most prevalent for them (Stebbins, 1990: 76).

On the other hand, the voracious need for volunteers in these two communities also appears to accelerate the passage of many newcomers to this kind of leisure toward steady participation in it. In this situation, they are willing accomplices for, after all, they came in part for altruistic reasons, which makes them most uninclined to refuse to help when asked to do so. In fact, the respondents frequently spoke of being overwhelmed with invitations to serve in still other responsible positions or to continue serving for an additional mandate in the one they were currently filling. Terms like "saturation" and "burn out" (translated from French) were commonly used to describe how they felt or how they predicted they would feel were they to accept yet another volunteer responsibility.

Being with their children and working to improve either their educational or their leisure lives or both were two of the most frequently cited reasons that the respondents gave for entering volunteering. Motivated thus, some fathers plunged headlong into steady participation in this sphere not long after their children entered primary school, joined their first sports team or club, or much more rarely, joined their first arts group. By contrast, mothers, to the extent they were confined to the home with domestic and child-rearing duties, reported simpler and more limited volunteer involvements during this period of their lives. They were therefore more likely to remember a gradual entry into volunteering. Indeed, at this point in the family life cycle, the father's exceptional rate of volunteering in these two sectors was viewed in the family as offsetting the mother's lower rate of participation in volunteer work of any kind.

> It was simply impossible for me to do much volunteering when my children were young. With three of them, one has to be at home so much of the time, especially when they are young. I would have liked to have done much more volunteer work for their school or my son's soccer team, but I only had time to help sporadically and, then, only for a few hours at night. However, once the children became older, I began to take on more responsible and complicated jobs, such as the presidency of the ________ (a youth group). (middle-aged female volunteer)

With so many respondents entering the development stage of their volunteer careers as steady participants, there was little room in early career development for differentiation according to institutional sector of the community. Steady participation dominated in all five minority community sectors. Nonetheless, variation did occur with reference to the number of sectors participated in. Approximately half the overall sample were active in two or three sectors, whereas

the remainder were active in one only, although many respondents in this latter category volunteered in two or three groups and organizations within that sector. Education, arts and communication, and the clubs and associations attracted more or less equally the largest numbers of key volunteers, whereas religion attracted the fewest, a distribution that reflects both the number of opportunities available for this sort of leisure and the ways urban francophones prefer to spend their free time as local volunteers in their linguistic community.

Establishment and Maintenance

The stages of establishment and maintenance in career volunteering, at least among the interviewees of this study, are not clearly demarcated, a minor bit of theoretical fuzziness that is also characteristic of many other serious leisure careers. In operational terms, the line separating these two stages is crossed when the leisure participant no longer feels the need to prove on a routine basis his or her value, commitment, and competence. Participants realize at this point that, in employing such criteria, those who sit in judgment of them find them acceptable, perhaps even highly desirable. Nevertheless, this transition or transformation is gradual, subtle, and typically made with little or no formal recognition.

In volunteering, the line separating establishment and maintenance is further blurred by the tendency for volunteers to fill simultaneously two or three roles and to move to still another role when they have completed their mandate in one of the current ones. Thus the present study suggests that it is common for many formal career volunteers in Canada's urban francophone communities to continuously cycle through the stages running from beginning to maintenance. With each change of position comes the need to learn different procedures and expectations, whether the new position is in the same group or organization in which the participant has been working or in another group or organization in the same institutional sector or even a different one.

The vagueness of the boundary separating establishment and maintenance in no way denies the importance of theoretically distinguishing the two stages in the serious leisure career. Even though it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate the two in the everyday experience of volunteers, the ones in this study did recognize that, over the years, they "had come a long way." With time and experience, learning different volunteer roles had become easier, partly because they had discovered and learned to deal with certain common expectations and problems in some of the roles they had assumed down to the present. Mastering these roles was also made easier by the fact that, when the volunteers had served there previously, they had no need to inform themselves about the sector in which the newly-assumed role was anchored.

A sense of career emerges from all this, chiefly in the form of feeling more and more competent to handle any problem or challenge that comes along, whatever the volunteer post. But this sense of competence can be seriously undermined should the person decide to volunteer in a sector with which he or she is largely unfamiliar, say in sport and leisure, after a lengthy career in the religious sector. Although a few respondents said that, as volunteers, they had made abrupt changes of this sort, most preferred to work exclusively but comfortably in the sectors they knew well and for which they had an affinity.[3]

Decline

Put in its broadest terms, decline refers to a substantial reduction in the rate of volunteering. That rate in general tends to taper off after age seventy-five or so (Independent Sector, 1966: 1-54; Fischer and Schaffer, 1993: 17-18), and key volunteering in the urban francophone communities appears to be no exception.[4] As indicated earlier, the typical key volunteer was middle-aged, while those in their late sixties and early seventies were now assuming fewer responsible roles than formerly, and one elderly man said he would be volunteering no more, having just finished a long

mandate as president of a club. Thus, unless they die while serving, most volunteers experience career decline in this sense of reduced activity.

The reasons for decline are varied, with deteriorating mental acuity, physical stamina, and personal health numbering among the more important of them. But even where these conditions are absent, some volunteers do lose interest in volunteering, which seems to happen most in mid-life or later. For example, other serious leisure interests may beckon with an insistence too strong to ignore, or for older volunteers in particular, family interests (e.g., grandchildren, informal volunteering) may rise in priority. Some middle-aged volunteers in this study had to scale back their participation because their paying jobs began to consume more of their spare time. And an occupational transfer to another city or a personal desire to relocate to a more agreeable winter climate than can be found in Alberta can eventuate in a failure to take up francophone volunteering in the new community. For a handful of the respondents, being with their children and aiding their activities were the principle reasons for becoming a key volunteer, a form of leisure they were inclined to abandon once the children left the school or the sports or arts group for which they were volunteering.

All the aforementioned are reasons over which francophone community leaders and volunteer coordinators have little control. But there is one reason for decline that they can control to some extent, a reason that, these days, is affecting not only the careers of many francophone volunteers but also those of many anglophone volunteers working in an even wider range of sectors. This reason is burnout: a mental and physical state, the principal signs of which are bodily and psychological exhaustion resulting from responsibilities in volunteer roles too numerous or too difficult to fill to the participant's satisfaction (synthesized from Howell, 1986). This state, in the short run, results in reduced motivation and commitment to the group or organization and to its

goals and, in the long run, in the consequent decision to drastically reduce the rate of volunteering, if not renounce it altogether. This study revealed that some burned out key volunteers return to this kind of leisure after a period of recuperation or after certain changes have taken place at work or at home (e.g., a major project is completed for one's employer or the children grow older and more self-reliant), but that others drop out never to return.

In fact, none of the sample was burned out, for had a respondent suffered thus, he or she would have quit volunteer work and therefore been unavailable for interviewing as an active key volunteer. Instead, about half of each subsample forecasted for the next few years the same personal amount of key volunteering as they were doing in the present. Others (twice as many in Edmonton as in Calgary) said they intended to perform less such work in the coming years, and in this group there was the occasional hint of mounting burnout.[5] For instance, a few of the latter talked about being trapped in a key position, chiefly because their group or organization was having trouble finding a replacement. Even when they were comfortable with their own volunteer situation, many respondents were aware of the problem, knew of other volunteers who had become burned out, and spoke, often passionately, about this condition as a critical weakness in the volunteer system in general and in the bulwark of minority community maintenance and development in particular.

In significant part, community leaders and club and organizational volunteer coordinators are to blame for burnout, for it is they who create the volunteer roles and seek the personnel to fill them. In doing this, they tend to invite the same people to volunteer, people known locally for their efficiency, dedication, and reliability. What is more, every francophone community functioning in minority circumstances seems to have a nucleus of these devoted and gifted individuals. To the extent that they find it difficult to refuse an invitation to volunteer (see chapter 9) and, as a result,

eventually become overwhelmed with their multiplying responsibilities, they begin to see volunteering more as obligation than as leisure. This is rich soil for the sentiment of burn out to take root in. Some possible solutions to this problem will be presented later.

Conclusions

The foregoing observations demonstrate that volunteering has become a way of life for many of the respondents in this study, especially for those who have steadily participated in it for many years and throughout the development stage of their careers. Moreover, data reported in the next chapter indicate that they find uncommon appeal in their serious leisure volunteering, an orientation that helps explain their desire to engage in it on a routine and enduring basis. Those data also demonstrate that this desire rests in substantial part on altruism and self-interestedness and that volunteer work is a main avenue of expression for these two motives. In fact, with respect to the early development stage of the volunteer career, no other factor accounts so well for the quick adoption of a steady rate of participation as the combination of altruism and self-interestedness. The driving force of these two motives seems to have galvanized many a Calgary and Edmonton volunteer into searching for outlets through which to routinely express them. Since all volunteers are so motivated (Stebbins, 1996a), gradual entry into career development reflects little more than a lack of opportunity or personal availability for steady participation, most often because the responsibilities of housework and rearing children take precedence. Heavy commitments at work can also constrain steady volunteering in the wider community.

Careers in volunteering, like careers in any other substantial role, derive much of their personal significance from the meaning of the central activities around which the volunteer career unfolds. Highly attractive activities stimulate volunteers to organize their lives so they may

participate in them as often as possible. True, this may require them to occasionally seek a new position within the same group or organization or in another group or organization (e.g., seek the presidency after having previously served as secretary). But either way, the volunteer gradually gains a sense of continuity through role passage and personal development as he or she pursues the most meaningful opportunities available in the sector in question.

Notes

Chapter 5

What It Means to Volunteer

This chapter elaborates the argument presented initially in Chapter 2 that the two main motives in career volunteering are altruism and self-interestedness. I continue here with the proposition that to understand the meaning of volunteering for volunteers is, in significant part, to understand their motivation for pursuing such an interest. Moreover, a highly fruitful approach to understanding the motives that lead to volunteering as a form of serious leisure is to study it through the eyes of the participants who, this study reveals, see it as a constellation of costs and rewards gained from key volunteer activities. As we shall see later, however, the rewards of such activities tend to outweigh their costs, with the result that the volunteers usually find a great deal of personal satisfaction in them.

The history of the social psychology of leisure shows that psychologists have largely

ignored the subjective side of leisure motivation, the meaning of particular leisure activities for those who engage in them. The closest these specialists have come to embracing this perspective is to differentiate its intrinsic forms from its extrinsic forms. According to Neulinger (1981b: 31),

> if the satisfaction gained stems from the activity and not from a payoff or consequence thereform, the behavior is judged to be intrinsically motivated. If the satisfaction comes from a payoff - if the activity itself is not the reward but only leads to a reward - then the activity is seen as extrinsically motivated. One engages in extrinsically motivated behavior in order to [italics in the original].

Neulinger adds that certain activities are driven by both forms of motivation. Thus, although most work is extrinsically motivated and nearly all leisure is intrinsically motivated, exceptions exist on both sides. Some work is so absorbing that its devotees voluntarily seek additional amounts of it; in this kind of work, including much of professional work, the line separating it from leisure is virtually erased. And an element of extrinsic motivation is found in leisure where, for example, participants hope to make money from a pastime or hope to be deeply appreciated for helping people in need.

Satisfaction and the Rewards of Leisure

But how do people view their own motives for participating in particular leisure activities? The psychology of leisure needs and motivation has only recently begun to consider their point of view. In 1989, Mannell (1989: 286) observed that psychological research, while confirming the general existence of leisure satisfaction, had so far failed to identify "the most meaningful and appropriate factors that might affect the quality of . . . [that] satisfaction." In other words, psychologists were assuming rather than empirically studying the link between leisure satisfaction, on the one hand, and particular leisure activities and their settings, on the other. At the

same time, they had learned that people do see their leisure in general as intrinsically rewarding, as relatively unconstrained activity they initiate for their own satisfaction.

Today, we know considerably more about the link between leisure satisfaction and particular leisure activities. Mannell and Kleiber (1997, pp. 208-209) provide a review of some of the research in this area, most of which centers on casual leisure. Nevertheless, serious leisure research also makes a significant contribution here, founded as much of it has been on the use of qualitative methods for the direct exploration of particular amateur, hobbyist, and volunteer activities. Using this approach has led to the discovery of a distinctive set of rewards for each activity examined (Stebbins, 1992; 1996a; 1998b; Arai and Pedlar, 1997). In these studies the participant's leisure satisfaction was found to stem from a constellation of particular rewards gained from the activity, whether playing music, collecting stamps, or teaching crafts to the elderly. Furthermore, the rewards were not only satisfying in themselves, but also satisfying as counterweights to the costs encountered in the activity. That is, every serious leisure activity contains its own combination of dislikes and tensions, which each participant must confront in some way. For instance, a volunteer board member may not always feel like attending board meetings, occasionally have his or her ideas rejected when there, be asked to perform a disagreeable task from time to time, and still regard this activity as highly satisfying - as (serious) leisure - because it also offers certain powerful rewards. Put more precisely, then, the drive to gain satisfaction in serious leisure is the drive to experience the rewards of a given leisure activity, such that its costs are seen by the participant as more or less insignificant by comparison. This is at once the meaning of the activity for the participant and his or her motivation for engaging in it.

The rewards of a serious leisure pursuit are the more or less routine values that attract and hold its enthusiasts. Every serious leisure career both frames and is framed by the continuous

search for these rewards, a search that takes months, and in some fields years, before the participant consistently finds deep satisfaction in his or her amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer role. The nine rewards presented in chapter 2 are repeated here along with a new reward, number 10, which emerged in the course of the present study. Furthermore, the annotations for rewards 1 and 9 are expanded in this chapter to take account of the quintessential volunteer experiences of being helpful, feeling needed, and being altruistic. All ten rewards were routinely experienced by at least some of the respondents in the Calgary-Edmonton study, but always in ways unique to their type of leisure. As the following list shows, the rewards of serious leisure in general and career volunteering in particular are predominantly personal.

Personal rewards

1. Personal enrichment (cherished experiences, including exceptional rapport with clients; senses of helping others, being needed, being altruistic)

2. Self-actualization (developing skills, abilities, knowledge)

3. Self-expression (expressing skills, abilities, knowledge already developed)

4. Self-image (known to others as a particular kind of volunteer)

5. Self-gratification (senses of play, hedonistic pleasure)

6. Re-creation (regeneration) of oneself through volunteer activity after a day's work

7. Financial return (from volunteering)

Social rewards

8. Social attraction (associating with clients, other volunteers, participating in the social world of the activity)

9. Group accomplishment (group effort in accomplishing a volunteer project; senses of helping, being needed, being altruistic in this effort)

10. Contribution to the maintenance and development of the group (including senses of helping, being needed, being altruistic in making the contribution)

In this study, as in the preceding ones on amateurs and hobbyists, these rewards, depending on the activity, were often given different weightings to reflect their importance relative to each other. Moreover, the earlier studies revealed some notable variations among small numbers of individual participants in the same activity. For instance, financial return has been by far the weakest reward in serious leisure for, among the few amateurs and volunteers who have been paid, the remuneration has been too small to contribute significantly to their livelihood.

I followed the same procedure in the present study that I used in the preceding ones on amateurs and hobbyists, which was to ask each interviewee first to examine a list of the aforementioned rewards (printed on a file card) and then to rank them from highest to lowest in terms of personal importance, giving no rank whatsoever to those that did not apply. After discussing in detail the rewards and their ranking with each respondent, I encouraged him or her, in line with the exploratory mission of the study, to add other rewards to the list if they could think of any. This is how the tenth reward came to my atttention.[1] To determine the ranks for an entire subsample, weights were first assigned to the ranked rewards of each respondent and, to construct a collective profile, the weighted ranks were then summed up for each reward for the subsample in question. Since the two subsamples had virtually the same reward profiles, they are treated as one throughout the remainder of this chapter.

The Rewards of Key Volunteering

Of the ten rewards, four stood out as especially salient for the volunteers of this study. Among these four, self-enrichment through the volunteer experience was by far the most powerful for the overall sample. It was at once a main personal reward and the reward most directly related to

volunteering, for it is here that the personal benefits of altruism are particularly strongly felt or, for a couple of key volunteers in the religion sector, it was the benefits of spirituality that were felt (see Chapter 2). Respondents in both cities ranked second the reward of group accomplishment and third the two rewards of self-enhancement and contribution to the maintenance and development of the francophone community.[2] Although their respondents were not asked to rank the rewards they experienced through their volunteer work in community building, Arai and Pedlar (1997: 180-181) found that they did experience these same four rewards, as Janis and King (1997) did in their study of volunteers in the British Guide and Scout Associations.

The remaining rewards turned out to be of minor importance by comparison, as judged by the weightings assigned to them by the respondents. Self-expression and social attraction were ranked a distant fifth and the others were ranked still lower on the scale of personal importance. The differences here between the Calgary and Edmonton subsamples were also minuscule. These findings are in line with those produced in an interview study of forty-five volunteers working in a variety of organizations in the Ottawa-Carleton area (Centre d'Action Bénévole Ottawa-Carleton, 1992). But social attraction (<u>la sociabilité</u>) was the principal reward for a sample of male hobbyists and amateurs in Quebec who, in doing administrative work for their group, found additional serious leisure as volunteers (Rompré, 1992: 449).

This configuration of rewards squares well with the observation made earlier that the motivational basis of modern volunteering consists of more or less equal parts of altruism and self-interestedness. For in this study, both motives found expression not only in the reward of self-enrichment but also in the rewards of group accomplishment and contributing to the maintenance and development of the francophone community. Thus the Calgary and Edmonton volunteers have shown that altruism can also be expressed through two additional channels, the

import of which is to expand considerably the scope of expression of this motive in serious leisure volunteering. Yet, this was not true for self-enhancement, which for the most part, served as a vehicle for only the self-
interested motive.

Key Volunteering and Its Costs: Tensions

What, then, of the costs of key volunteering, the other side of the motivational ledger in career volunteering and serious leisure? The respondents of this study experienced two main kinds: tensions and dislikes.

Many of the tensions associated with key volunteering relate in one way or another to the volunteer's family life, where the presence of school-age children can become especially problematic. One tension - referred to here as the temporal tension - centers on the need for constant planning and scheduling, the two main ways of making the most efficient use of scarce time. The temporal tension was felt mostly during the workweek, since the respondents with children tended to avoid volunteer work during the weekends, the daytime hours of which they reserved for family-related activities and for tending to such obligations as yard work, grocery shopping, and house cleaning. Meanwhile, during the week in key volunteer families, particularly those composed of children or adolescents, little scope exists for deciding on the spur of the moment to go to the beach, take in a film, or head out for a picnic. Such activities must be scheduled well in advance around known volunteer commitments (and, of course, those of work), while those very commitments prevent volunteers from acceding to spontaneous family demands. Nevertheless, this approach appears to work well, so long as they plan effectively and save the weekends for the family, even if doing so eventuates in extremely tight schedules and the occasional outbreak of tension while trying to ensure they are met. Still, everything cannot be

planned - last minute exigencies do occasionally spring up. In managing such instances, many of these respondents spoke proudly about their flexibiity.

There is, furthermore, a relational tension, the friction that sometimes emerges between spouse and volunteer or children and volunteer when the latter privileges a volunteer engagement over the demands of one or both of the former. For example, a wife might ask her husband to attend a concert with her, but he declines the invitation since he is already committed to presiding that evening at a meeting of his Knights of Columbus chapter. Or a boy asks his mother to help him with his schoolwork, but she cannot because she is scheduled to take minutes at the meeting of the school council. The latter situation is exacerbated in linguistically mixed marriages, when the parent at home - the father in this example - is unable to help with the schoolwork because he is a unilingual anglophone and his son attends a French school. The respondents in this study who experienced this tension uniformly qualified it as a main cost of volunteering, and through constant planning, tried their utmost to avoid it, proclaiming in the face of their occasional failure in this regard that, nonetheless, "family comes first over volunteering." Needless to say, relational tensions are quite capable of sparking an animated family argument.

Additionally, in exogamous families, relational tensions may take on a linguistic hue, such as when one parent - usually the mother - wants to contribute to the maintenance and development of the francophone community through volunteering, but in doing so embarks on a pursuit with which his or her nonfrancophone spouse has trouble identifying. Furthermore, the parent's desire to volunteer in this way can aggravate a festering tension over the language of education of the children and the proportions of French and English spoken during family activities. Nevertheless, when his or her volunteering directly serves the needs of the children in the family, such as chairing their school's Société des Parents, the other parent is much less likely to complain that the

family is being ignored.

I have attached the label of <u>obligative tension</u> to the stress arising from the inability to meet various domestic requirements when faced with volunteer commitments holding a higher priority. Several respondents mentioned feeling guilty for failing to perform certain repair, maintenance, and housekeeping duties at home. One female observed:

> I must paint this house this spring, if I can only find the time to do so. I adore the volunteering and, believe it or not, I don't really object to the painting, although the first is certainly the more attractive of the two. But I must say that it is the same with more routine tasks such as vacuuming and dusting; they get done, to be sure, but much less often than I would like.

This tension can also become a relational tension when failure to do a chore or do it satisfactorily irritates another member of the family.

A particularly thorny variant of the obligative tension revolves around the question of who makes the evening meals when both parents volunteer. The solution to this tension tends to beget another temporal tension, since the responsibility for a particular weekday dinner must be assigned well in advance to the parent who is not volunteering that afternoon or evening. One might think that evening volunteering would scarcely interfere with preparing and eating a meal served at five o'clock or five-thirty. Still, key volunteers must also get themselves ready to perform their functions as, say, president or treasurer, and no time may be available for doing this other than the dinner hour preceding the meeting. Such preparation can involve setting an agenda, typing up minutes, mobilizing opinion, studying reports, and the like.

When both parents have to be away from home the same evening - one of whom is out doing volunteer work - their children, if they are young, become the focus of a special obligative

tension.

In particular, a babysitter must be engaged (another matter calling for advanced planning), a necesssity made more complicated in linguistically endogamous households where he or she must not only meet the usual moral standards for this responsibility but must also meet the language requirement of speaking passable French. Such people can be difficult to find in Canada's urban francophone communities, and when found, may live at some distance from the volunteer's home (Stebbins, 1994: 37). So it happens on occasion that the volunteer solves the problem another way: he or she arrives at the meeting with one or two small children in tow, an armload of coloring books and other amusements, and the hope, not always realistic, that youthful patience will outlast adult enthusiasm for deliberation.

Finally, some respondents experienced a leisure tension, which unlike the preceding tensions, was mainly positive in tone. This means they were attracted to certain volunteer roles (defined in this book as leisure), only to discover they now had little or no time for some, or even all, of the other leisure activities they were also fond of. The Calgary and Edmonton volunteers nearly always resolved this tension in favor of their volunteer work, but often not without the disquieting recognition that they were missing something interesting and satisfying in those other activities. On this note, a handful of respondents said they had no leisure, or at least no other leisure; volunteering consumed all their spare time.

Schedule conflicts among volunteer commitments constituted for several interviewees a particularly annoying variant of the leisure tension. The act of missing, for example, a meeting of the board of directors of the theater society, of which one is secretary, to attend a meeting of the parish council, of which one is chair, would be downright bothersome for these interviewees, in part, because they believe effective coordination of the community's volunteer activities is

possible to achieve. Still, neither of the two francophone communities presently provides such a service, even though both chapters of the ACFA have been trying to establish one for several years. Both cities do have new community centers, however, which may lead in time to a resolution, or at least a reduction, of this facet of the leisure tension.

Many key volunteers avoid some or all of these tensions by being single, by being married but without children (or at least none at home), or by volunteering at no more than a modest rate. And the volunteers who do experience them - especially parents with school-age children and two or three volunteer positions to fill - recognize that many of the tensions related to volunteering will abate as their children grow older. "On entrevoit la lumière au bout du tunnel." Finally, it is noteworthy that the employed respondents rarely mentioned feeling any tension between work and volunteering. Indeed their employers, most of whom were anglophone, generally encouraged it, while the volunteers themselves said they were careful to avoid exploiting work time or work facilities to accomplish volunteer tasks.

Volunteering and Its Costs: Dislikes

When I asked the volunteers to identify and discuss their dislikes apropos their pursuits, I indicated that I was interested in more serious matters than simply pet peeves. Dislikes, I said, are problems that require the volunteer to adjust significantly, possily even to leave his or her role. It turned out that annoyances were prevalent in career volunteering in the two francophone communities, as most everywhere else in life, but deeper dislikes there were much less common. On the one hand, all but three respondents could describe at least one aspect of key volunteering that they found substantially disagreeable. On the other hand, very few could describe more than two.

The two most prominent dislikes among the key volunteers of this study were the behavior of difficult persons and the shortage of reliable volunteers. The first are infamous for their

propensity to complain excessively about all sorts of issues and to be exceptionally critical of other people. Fortunately, difficult persons are relatively rare in the two subcommunities studied, which of course, makes their presence even more remarkable. The problem of the shortage of reliable volunteers has baffled the leaders of both communities. One male volunteer working in the arts and communications sector advised that

> francophones must become more willing to help out in the local community, if they want it to survive in cities like ______. They seem to take survival for granted, assuming that the arts, clubs, associations, and so on will continue as if by magic. To this end, we must develop a volunteer bank and ways of recruiting people to it or, if not, we are soon going to disappear as a distinctive linguistic group and, as a consequence, as an official language in this country.

We shall return to this question in chapter 9.

The remaining dislikes, each of which was mentioned less often than these two, are for the most part related to one of the tensions described in the preceding section. Thus some of the respondents disliked the temporal tension, particularly the occasional lack of control over events, volunteer and otherwise, that sometimes engenders it. Although this lack of control is only sporadic, it is still aggravating when it occurs, as when the president calls an emergency meeting of the board of directors of a club or an association. The sudden new obligation may uproot carefully made plans involving the family responsibilities of the volunteer and certain activities of its members. It also happens from time to time that community events (e.g., a talk, concert, reception, open house), many of which key volunteers feel they ought to attend even when the events are not directly related to their group or organization, are mounted on short notice or are broadly publicized only at the last minute. Again, family plans can be thrown into turmoil as the

parent-volunteer scrambles to fill several roles at once. Citing excessive temporal tension as its main cause, a handful of interviewees also classified fatigue as a dislike, as a dispiriting weariness that can develop on occasion and that may stand for some as an early warning of impending burnout.

In the same vein, weekend volunteer commitments - usually held on a Saturday - though rare and scheduled at that time chiefly because the organizer has little choice, are nevertheless disliked by some key volunteers (see also Malenfant, 1993: 102). They observe that such commitments can extend the temporal tension yet another day, while belying the claim and promise that weekends are for the family. Of note in this regard was my nearly total lack of success (one exception) in obtaining Saturday interviews, even though I gave every respondent the oppportunity to have one.

Finally, we must consider a peculiarly contemporary dislike, one presently less salient than the aforementioned dislikes but one destined to grow in saliency with increasing public stinginess and governmental fiscal restraint. That dislike is the shortage of money, whose dreary consequences were listed in chapter 3. Although some key volunteers take well to the challenge of fund raising occasioned by these trends, others abhor such activity. And virtually no one seems to relish the paperwork that has mounted in parallel with the demand for accountability in both the public and the private sectors. Additionally, a small number of respondents mentioned they were wrestling with the moral implications of using bingo and casino revenues - money often gained at the expense of others' bad habits - to support their personal interests and those of the francophone community, however noble these interests. The shortage of volunteers only intensifies this dislike for those who do give generously of their time, since they have fewer colleagues to help them raise money and fill in forms.

Also to be addressed in this section are the respondents' views of the monetary costs of key volunteering, outlays that none of them defined as a dislike, however. Nevertheless, several of them pointed out elsewhere in the interviews that they are occasionally or frequently forced to spend money to fill their roles, as in paying babysitters, paying for expensive centre city parking, paying someone to take their shift at work, paying for take-out meals for the family, and similar expenses. Most seemed to feel these outlays were just another part of being a volunteer; one must often pay something to enjoy a leisure activity. Why should it be different for enjoying a volunteer activity?

Lifestyle and Identity

In a separate publication (Stebbins, 1997c), I have set out a generic definition of lifestyle sufficient in precision and open-endedness to guide exploratory ethnographic research on the wide variety of lifestyles found in everyday life, including the linguistic variety considered in this book:[3] Dictionary definitions, which tend to portray as simply a way of living, are for the most part circular and hence of little use in this paper. Social science definitions have advanced well beyond this truism:

> A lifestyle is a distinctive set of shared patterns of tangible behavior that is organized around a set of coherent interests or social conditions or both, that is explained and justified by a set of related values, attitudes, and orientations and that, under certain conditions, becomes the basis for a separate, common social identity for its participants.[4]

Note, first of all, that this definition bears exclusively on collective, or group, lifestyles. This restriction is not to deny the existence of idiosyncratic, highly personal, lifestyles led by recluses, workaholics, people suffering from acute mental disorder, and others. Nonetheless, the study of lifestyles has to this point concentrated almost entirely on shared patterns of tangible behavior (see

also Veal, 1993: 242). Thus, it is best to retain this focus for the present, leaving to future research and theorizing the task of developing a generic definition of the individual lifestyle.

Second, according to the foregoing definition, some lifestyles offer their participants a social identity. In other words, participants are members of a broad category of people recognized in at least part by the larger community for the distinctive way of life they share. Prostitutes, beach habitués, travelling sales people, and the institutionalized elderly are socially identifiable in many ways, including their distinctive lifestyles. Still, as Veal (1993: 245) suggests, some lifestyles may be unrecognizable not only in the larger community but even among the participants themselves (e.g., lifestyles centered on certain demographic variables). As such they can hardly offer a true social identity.

Serious leisure also offers a major lifestyle and identity for its participants, both of which can serve as solid substitutes for the ones they once knew in their work. Thus a profound lifestyle awaits anyone who routinely pursues a serious leisure career in, say, amateur theater, volunteer work with the mentally handicapped, the hobby of model railroading, or that of mountain climbing. And it is possible that this person also finds exciting, albeit clearly less profound, lifestyles in such casual leisure pastimes as socializing in hot tubs and "whooping it up" at weekend beer parties. But many other forms of casual leisure, for example routine sun tanning or strolling in the park, are often not shared with others and therefore fail to qualify as group lifestyles as we defined them earlier. Moreover, in themselves, these activities are too superficial and unremarkable to serve as the basis for a recognizable mode of living where lifestyle is part of identity.

Throughout much of this century, anglophones living in Canada's large cities outside Quebec seemed oblivious to the francophones their midst, even though being a francophone there

has always constituted a distinctive identity for both the rank-and-file individual and the key volunteer. Now, however, the idea that Canadian urban francophones constitute an invisible minority has begun to lose credibility. Today, due in good part to the federal policy of official bilingualism, the vast majority of Canadians, whatever their language, are aware of that identity. The anglophone population of Canada can no longer escape the facts that francophones exist everywhere in the country, that they have certain rights wherever they live, and that a significant number of them are bent on retaining their language and its related cultures. As a result francophone identity in contemporary Canada is anchored both inside and outside the urban linguistic communities.

The active francophones inside these communities, or those who participate routinely in one or more aspects of local community life, possess a more substantial foundation for their linguistic identity than their passive compatriotes, a certain number of whom are in the process of assimilating to English and the anglophone culture enveloping them. That foundation is the special linguistic lifestyle that comes from using more or less routinely the French language (Stebbins, 1994). Apart from the few people who work in French in these urban language communities, the key volunteers serving there enjoy the richest linguistic lifestyle possible.

Their extensive participation in the various events, meetings, discussions, and social activities of the social world of local francophones constitutes the essence of that lifestyle. These number among the distinctive patterns of behavior referred to in the earlier definition of lifestyle. The values they use to justify these patterns include the importance of French and its myriad of cultural attachments, of English-French bilingualism, and of Canada as a bilingual country in the modern world (Stebbins, 1994). The rewards they experience - particularly those of self-enrichment, group accomplishment, self-enhancement, and contribution to the maintenance

and development of the local community - can be said to constitute an important set of orientations that further justify pursuing the linguistic lifestyle of francophone as a special minority in the modern Canadian city. Moreover, the active francophones here are, at bottom, pursuing a leisure lifestyle, and as will be argued in the next chapter, this is especially true for the key volunteers among them.

But, before turning to the question of whether career volunteering is work or leisure, we must settle one issue that bears on its worklike nature: the effect of the costs of such activity. Four tensions, two major dislikes, and three minor ones were examined under this rubric. In every interview, however, the respondent pointed out that such costs were hardly disagreeable enough in their cumulative effect to drive him or her from volunteering. They exist, of that there is no doubt, but none is permanent or even regular. For the respondents of this study, then, the rewards of career volunteering easily outweigh its costs; this encourages volunteers to return for more, to continue in their highly satisfying linguistic lifestyle.

Still, it was noted in the preceding chapter that burnout can occur among key volunteers in the urban francophone subcommunities. Here leisure undergoes a metamorphosis, turning into overbearing obligation and taking on a worklike quality too unpleasant to bear in an activity once pursued for its deep satisfaction. Although a couple of respondents had recently returned to volunteering after having recuperated from burnout there, no one was burned out at the time of his or her interview. At that time each respondent's rewards easily outweigh the costs he or she was experiencing. Nevertheless, the respondents varied considerably on their views of whether volunteering is a choice or an obligation and of whether it is work or leisure.

Notes

Chapter 6

Antinomies in Volunteering: Choice/Obligation, Leisure/Work

Throughout this book volunteering, in general, and career volunteering, in particular, have been treated as forms of leisure. But it should be understood that this is a scientific classification and that it is by no means always shared by either the practicing volunteer or the general public. In fact,

even some theorists and researchers in the area find fault with the proposition that volunteering is leisure activity (see chapter 2). In short, there is everywhere considerable confusion, if not disagreement, about the essence of volunteering.

The main goal of this chapter is to try to bring some clarity to this conceptual morass. To this end, I asked the respondents to answer two special questions: do you see your key volunteering as a choice or an obligation and do you see it as work or leisure? The results of these interrogations are presented first, after which I will show how the contradictory elements they present can be resolved to give us a conception stating that, at bottom, volunteering, including especially the career type, is chosen leisure activity. The entire discussion is then framed in the context of the marginality of serious leisure in modern industrial society.

Volunteering: Choice or Obligation?

In fact, a substantial majority of both samples said they had taken up key volunteering by choice, while a substantial minority said they had done so out of a combination of choice and sense of obligation. Only four of the forty-four respondents said volunteering was purely an obligation for them. Regardless of who expressed it, the obligative facet was invariably explained in social terms, as the duty either to return something to the francophone community or to help maintain and develop that community.

Additionally, a few of the respondents who saw their volunteering as activity they choose to do did note, however, that it could turn into an obligation should they become trapped in a post, most likely because their group or organization was unable to find a replacement for them.

> It was my choice to seek the presidency of the _______ Society, but now I find I can't leave this position because no one will agree to take my place. What can I do? It is clear that I can't leave them without a president; I am too committed to this group to do that. Still, I

> have too many other volunteer commitments and family responsibilities [respondent is married with three children at home] to continue my participation in the _______ Society at a level as high as this. (female volunteer in the sport and leisure sector)

One important lesson to be learned from these observations is that the perception of volunteering as choice or obligation hinges in part on the level of freedom the person believes he or she has to abandon a given volunteer post.

Volunteering: Work or Leisure?

Responses to the work/leisure question were more complicated than those given to the choice/obligation question. Only 10 percent (2 respondents) of the Calgary sample defined their volunteering as work compared with 39 percent (9 respondents) of the Edmonton sample. By contrast, 33 percent (7 respondents) of the Calgary sample saw volunteering as leisure, whereas only 17 percent (4 respondents) of the Edmonton sample viewed it in these terms. Finally, a somewhat larger proportion of respondents in Calgary than in Edmonton were reluctant to classify volunteering as either work or leisure; instead they regarded it as a distinct category of activity of a third kind. This category, however, was a hybrid formed of both work and leisure properties; it was not a pure category formed of properties found in neither.

It is unclear, in particular terms, why the responses to this question provided by the two subsamples should vary between them. The explanation for this undoubtedly lies in the responses themselves, which however, were complex and will therefore have to be more deeply explored in the next research project since I did not probe far enough in the present one. For example, several respondents said that whether volunteering is work depends on the level of responsibility involved: the greater the responsibility in an activity the more like work it becomes.

> For my part, being the president is very different from being an ordinary member. The

> president has many more responsibilities than the ordinary member, and that is what makes it [the presidency] seem like work. Being an ordinary member is more like leisure. One just has to attend the meetings and vote from time to time and talk and drink coffee with friends. However, I do like being president. I wouldn't want you to misunderstand that (male in the club and association sector)

A variation on this theme, mentioned by a couple of respondents, is that volunteering is essentially unremunerated work.

A number of others maintained that volunteering becomes work when it becomes disagreeable in some way. In this interpretation, a person can hold responsibilities that he or she finds generally interesting, challenging, and therefore agreeable. This same person, however, might also have to live with certain unpleasant aspects of the post, aspects disagreeable enough to lead him or her to view the entire role as work. A female respondent spoke about some of the dislikes mentioned in the preceding chapter, showing in the course of her answer how volunteering can become work according to this logic:

> As chair of this committee, I sometimes get criticized for my actions. Moreover, I have to try to control the meetings where there are contentious issues, but I find this is difficult to do. And what is worse, I have one member who sits on this committee who seems never to be satisfied with the decisions we make and wants to debate them at length. I like volunteering, but for me these aspects of it make it seem like work.

And, formerly agreeable aspects of volunteering can become disagreeable when the volunteer begins to burn out, often the product of being overinvolved.

Additionally, several respondents classified volunteering as work primarily because they regarded leisure as casual, lighthearted activity. How could something as complicated, important,

and rewarding as key volunteering be lumped in the same category with lying on the beach, watching a television sitcom, and chatting with friends over beer? "No, I would say it is work, because it is not frivolous like leisure is. I engage in leisure when I don't want to think or do something challenging" (female volunteer in the religion sector). Of note is the corroborating findings of Cnaan, Handy, and Wadsworth (1996), who in surveying volunteers and nonvolunteers in the eastern United States, found that the higher the amount of work in terms of effort, difficulty, and sacrifice, the more likely the person in question was seen as a volunteer.

The Case for Volunteering as Chosen Leisure Activity

In the following attempt to cut a path through this tangle leading to a clear understanding of the relationship between work, volunteering, and general leisure, I will start with an analysis of the choice/obligation antinomy, proceed to the one bearing on work and leisure, and then frame it all with a statement about the marginality of serious leisure.

First, note that the sense of obligation to perform volunteer work in general or to help the local francophone community in particular is strongly felt among its key volunteers in Calgary and Edmonton. Although this study did not directly explore this link, it is certainly possible that the obligative sentiment felt by these respondents can be traced to the upbringing many of them received in families in which at least one parent volunteered regularly (see chapter 1). It is equally possible that these respondents learned from their parents that volunteering is good, expected, morally acceptable activity as well as an ideal outlet for the altrustic motive, itself a product of family socialization. Turning to another matter of family socialization, a couple of the interviewees said that, for them, the obligation to volunteer grew out of spiritual considerations. Both served in the religion sector.

Yet, whereas many of the respondents feel a profound obligation to volunteer - expressed

by helping the francophone community - discussion in the interviews revealed that they also know that, in general, they can quit a given volunteer position at any of several convenient points in their leisure careers. They recognize that they have chosen their particular volunteer posts even while feeling obligated on a more general plane to volunteer. A female volunteer with long experience in the sectors of religion, education, and various clubs and associations put the matter this way:

> Of course, it [volunteering] is a personal choice, but it is also a moral obligation. One should volunteer; it's a question of noblesse oblige, I really believe. But I would say that this is a general principle. I can certainly chose each volunteer position I would like to fill, although it is unfortunate that the choice is sometimes rather restricted around here [in comparison with the range of choice in the larger anglophone community].

Indeed, what upsets the respondents about the possibility of becoming burned out is that, in this condition, they would face a maddening lack of choice brought on by the transformation of a chosen activity into a forced one.

Still, the central kernel of leisure is preserved within this husk of obligation. Why? Because obligation can be expressed through choosing one or a few of several different activities, at different times during the volunteer's life, for periods of involvement sufficient to generate deep satisfaction. In other words, the sense of obligation for these volunteers is diffuse; it can be satisfied by filling any of a variety of volunteer positions and accomplishing something useful while there. In this respect, the present study shows that most of the key francophone volunteers in urban Alberta feel obliged to complete francophone group projects and help maintain and develop the local

francophone community.[1] Moreover, this obligation can be so powerful that it even prevents some of them from eventually exercising the leisure feature of choice, pushing them instead to stay on

the job well beyond the point of leisure satisfaction. Burnout soon follows, the arrival of which is heralded by a draining away of one's sense of leisure and a transformation of the meaning of the activity from being satisfying to being a nonwork obligation, the third category of human activity beyond work and leisure described in chapter 2 as poorly understood in Western civilization.

Work/Leisure

Although career volunteers can have both choice and obligation in their serious leisure, they are less fortunate when it comes to the work/leisure antinomy. This is because, first of all, work by definition constitutes a livelihood, a remunerated or unremunerated job (Applebaum, 1992: x), something volunteering can never be. We can never be dependent on volunteering for our basic economic needs, since this would essentially be coercion, the very antithesis of voluntary action. This elementary fact, however, was not what troubled the interviewees of this study.

Rather, some of the respondents equate disagreeableness with work and, when they encounter similar qualities in their volunteering, tend therefore to see the latter in the same light. But this is a misperception of work for, in fact, some of its forms are largely pleasant; work in art, sport, science, entertainment, and many of the professions has this attribute. Interestingly, the respondents with work experience in these areas stood this equation on its head, arguing that, since volunteering is satisfying and agreeable and their work can also be described in these terms, both forms must be work. They recognize their work in their serious leisure. From either perspective, however, unpleasantness cannot be used as a defining quality of work.

Meanwhile, other respondents looked on their key volunteering as work because the first carries with it numerous obligations and responsibilities. But this, too, is a misperception of at least some work, most of it manual, in which obligations and responsibilities are virtually nonexistent, apart from the requirements that the employee arrive at work on time and in a state of physical

condition appropriate for performing the assigned tasks, which are normally heavily supervised. We must further conclude, then, that neither obligation nor responsibility are essential qualities of work.

Finally, given their commonsense view of leisure as constituted exclusively of the casual type, many of the respondents bristled at the thought that their key volunteering might be conceived of as being cut from the same cloth. So in several of the interviews, once the respondent had stated his or her position, I pursued the question further, by introducing the concept of serious leisure and then contrasting it with the idea of casual leisure. After this "lesson," which was presented in terms similar to those used earlier in this book, I again posed the question, "do you see your key volunteering work or leisure?" No one had trouble this time seeing his or her kind of voluntary action as a subtype of serious leisure and seeing the popular conception that all leisure is casual as little more than an unfortunate stereotype.

The Marginality of Career Volunteering

Of the two types of volunteering, the career, or serious, variety is more susceptible than the casual variety to confusion over whether it is chosen or obligated, whether it is work or leisure. Indeed, if all volunteering were casual - e.g., handing out leaflets, stuffing envelops, taking tickets, giving directions - I could have omitted the work/leisure sections of this chapter. For neither the respondents of this study nor the voluntary action scholars interested in this area would likely see casual volunteering as other than leisure.

But volunteering is often of the career variety. And it is with reference to this kind that the foregoing discussion has, I believe, resolved a thorny theoretical problem of considerable interest to a number of thinkers. Nevertheless, I am also aware that all but a very few of the Calgary-Edmonton sample have ever thought about either their volunteering or the volunteering of

others in terms of choice and obligation or work and leisure. But notwithstanding the unfamiliarity of these questions and the request to provide answers to them, they have served as volunteers for many years and done so with considerable success. That success, however, raises still another question: will knowledge of the present discussion make a difference to them?

Yes, it will. To be sure, knowledge of the contents of this chapter will not sharpen, at least directly, their efficacy as volunteers, but it will increase, I believe profoundly, their broader understanding of the nature of career volunteering and their ability to explain it both to themselves and to other people. When the going gets tough for the officers of francophone organizations, for example, it is enlightening, and possibly comforting, for them to see how choice and obligation articulate at that time in their volunteer careers with reference to the positions they are occupying. It may also be enlightening (and comforting) at this point for them to know how to differentiate work from serious leisure. Using the foregoing ideas, key volunteers can effectively explain their situation to themselves and to others.

With this same knowledge volunteers can also explain their situation to their intimates, when the latter ask why volunteers work so hard for no pay and why others around them must endure the four tensions mentioned in the preceding chapter. They can also explain to those who engage them as volunteers, be they other francophones, government agencies, or private sector nonprofit organizations, the true nature of career volunteering, emphasizing strongly that it is in no way casual leisure. By the way, that it is occasionally necessary to provide such explanations, attests the marginality in North America, perhaps even in all of Western civilization, of serious leisure in general and career volunteering in particular.

Each study I have conducted on amateurs, hobbyists, and career volunteers, the present one included, has added weight to the proposition that they, and in some instances their activities as

leisure activities, are socially marginal. This is most evident for the amateurs, who are neither dabblers nor professionals. But, as noted elsewhere (Stebbins, 1992b) all serious leisure is characterized by a significant level of commitment to the pursuit as expressed in processes like regimentation and systematization. This commitment is measured, among other ways, by the sizeable investments of time, energy, and emotion its enthusiasts make in their leisure as a central life interest (see chapter 8). These qualities marginalize most serious leisure participants in a world dominated by casual leisure, producing a picture that runs counter to commonsense. For example, participants in serious leisure pursue their activities with such passion and earnestness that Erving Goffman (1963) was led to describe them as "quietly disaffiliated deviants."[2] The remarks of journalist Charles Gordon (1992) further illustrate the popular attitude:

> In the first place, the reaction of many people to the Age of Leisure is to work longer and harder - in other words to refuse to participate in it. In the second place, others have taken to the Age of Leisure by turning leisure into work.
>
> You have only to set foot - or wheel - upon one of our bicycle pathes to appreciate the point. For many people, the bicycle is not a leisure vehicle, used to tootle in a leisurely way through the greenry of the capital [Ottawa]. No, it is an instrument of performance - used to create fitness, and to measure it in kilometres per hour, in distance travelled.
>
> The bicycle is not to be taken lightly. Bicycling is serious business. Do not go slowly in front of a serious cyclist.
>
> Something similar is happening to bird-watching, a pursuit that used to be confined to slightly dotty denizens of the slow lane. There could be no activity less intense than strolling through the woods carrying a book and a set of binoculars.
>
> Now something has happened. In the Age of Leisure, bird-watching is called

birding and birding has become competitive. Last month something called the World Series of Birding was in New Jersey. There were 46 teams and heaven knows how many birds.

Which brings us to gardening. . . .

Furthermore, serious leisure tends to be uncontrollable in certain respects; it kindles in its practitioners an almost insatiable desire to engage in the activity beyond the time and money available for it. Whereas some casual leisure can also be uncontrollable, the marginality proposition implies the presence of a significantly stronger tendency in this direction among serious leisure enthusiasts. Of course, the possibility of burnout indicates that volunteers can reach a point where the time required in this leisure becomes too burdensome even for them, however insatiable their desire before this. Finally, the amateurs, who it was just said occupy the status of peripheral member of the profession on which they model their activities, are nevertheless judged in their execution of those activities by the standards of that same profession.

The kind of marginality under consideration here differs from the kind afflicting the "marginal man," a concept used for many years by sociologists to explain the lifestyles of immigrants. The latter are marginal because, in the typical case, they are caught between two cultures where marginality becomes a way of life, a condition touching nearly every corner of their existence. Although this ethnic marginality and the leisure marginality on which the present chapter focuses both center on peripheral, ambiguous social statuses, the second kind of marginality is hardly as pervasive as the first. Rather, leisure marginality is a segmented and hence limited marginality associated with certain uncommon central life interests.

In leisure marginality, as in ethnic marginality, we find among the marginal people

themselves as well as in the wider community an ambiguity, a lack of clarity, as to who they really are and what they really do. The studies I have conducted on amateurs and hobbyists reveal the multifaceted nature of this ambiguity. On the cultural side, ambiguity is manifested narrowly as a conflict of expectations and broadly as a conflict of values. On the social side, incongruent status arrangements develop, such as when amateurs in pursuit of their leisure goals help professionals reach their work goals. On the psychological side, practitioners may become ambivalent toward their serious leisure as they confront their own marginality during the many and diverse expressions of this ambiguity in everyday life. In francophone key volunteering, for example, psychological ambiguity arises from the situation faced by some of the volunteers in linguistically mixed marriages. Many would like to serve the local French community more than they do, but to the extent that they have different priorities, their nonfrancophone spouses try to limit the amount of time they spend in this regard. These spouses hold that the family or they themselves are more important than their partner's volunteering, unless, as we saw earlier, it is done with the direct interest of the children in mind.

In summing up these ideas about ambiguity, it is evident that both the practitioners of a serious leisure activity and the members of the larger community are inclined to see it as marginal to the main problems around which the social institutions of work, family, and leisure have developed and to the principal ways in which members of the society are trying to solve those problems.

My research on all three types of serious leisure demonstrates further that family and work and even other leisure activities pull many serious leisure practitioners in two, if not three, directions at once, making time demands that together often exceed the total available hours. Moreover, unlike family and work activities where institutional supports sustain serious

involvement, such supports for activities of equivalent substance are absent in leisure. For example, such widely accepted values as providing for one's family, working hard on the job, and being family centered - all of which help justify our efforts in these spheres - are simply lacking in most serious leisure. In addition, their very existence in the institutions of family and work threatens serious leisure involvement elsewhere by reducing the importance of the latter while raising that of the former. Nevertheless, the present study does suggest that, where career volunteering is rooted in such motives as altruism and obligation, participants are blessed with a higher degree of community-wide support than is normally given to the typical amateur and hobbyist activities.

Most critical, however, is the observation that serious leisure practitioners are marginal even to the institution of leisure itself. In other words, implicitly or explicitly, they reject a number of the values, attitudes, and patterns of behavior making up the very core of modern leisure, which is constituted mostly of casual activities. For instance, many an interviewee told me about his or her feeble interest in television or in such passive leisure as frivolous conversation and people watching. Like marginal people everywhere, then, those who go in for serious leisure lack key institutional supports for their goals as well as for their individual and collective ways of reaching them.

Marginal statuses are common in industrial societies where rapid social change frequently gives birth to new forms of work and leisure. Still, as time passes in these societies, certain forms do become less, sometimes even much less, ambiguous and marginal.[3] A few of them even become central. Nevertheless, according to the research conducted to this point, such a transformation has so far failed to occur for any of the serious leisure activities. Yet, as the Information Age unfolds and work continues to decline in significance and availability, this kind

of leisure could well come to occupy a more prominent place in community life than heretofore. Such a rise in stature is especially likely for career volunteering, said in the next chapter to be poised to take over a variety of the functions once filled by paid work.

In the meantime, the serious leisure participants with whom I have spoken, the Calgary-Edmonton francophone volunteers included, generally seem quite undisturbed by the marginality of their activities. They see them as harmless social differences of which they are rather proud indeed: they are committed to a deeply fulfilling serious leisure activity in an era when most people are committed only to the comparatively superficial search for pure fun. A badge of distinction you might say, which they wear with pride, even while most of the other people in their lives have some difficulty understanding the values and motives that explain and justify their love for amateurism, hobbyism, or career volunteering.

Conclusion

The three main goals of this chapter have been to present the respondents' views of the antinomies of choice/obligation and work/leisure, then, by means of the serious leisure perspective, to iron out the contradictions and inconsistencies found in them, and finally to frame the argument as it had evolved to that point in the context of the marginality of serious leisure in modern industrial society. The personal utility of this emergent conception of the nature and place of career volunteering was also considered. What remains to be done now is to show how and where the serious volunteer of the future fits in the Information Age. Widespread understanding of this new conception is absolutely indispensable there, if career volunteers are to gain the level of acceptance needed for them to be allowed to fill the many volunteer roles that will be springing up everywhere in society in the coming years, in government, the private sector, and the third sector.

So far, many of these leaders have shown an abysmal ignorance about the serious leisure

nature of career volunteering and, as a consequence, about the social and motivational backdrop against which such volunteering is carried out, a deficiency that drew a sardonic comment or two from many an interviewee in this study. Yet, for many people, the Information Age and its attendant decline of work will combine to give rise to a great deal of career volunteering, which will be conducted in the full range of sectors by people with vastly different relationships to the world of work.

Notes

Chapter 7

The Key Volunteer and Community Development

Recognition of the link between community development and leisure studies seems to be of relatively origin. Only a few years ago Pedlar (1996) could write that we should rethink the concept of community development and incorporate the ideas of recreation and leisure as central aspects of the public good. She argued further that, in leisure and recreation, we should be developing "reflective practitioners," who identify with the interests of the communities in which they work. In fact, the public good and well-being of the community are closely tied to the welfare of its individual members, where individuality and personal diversity are respected, but nonetheless balanced with the needs and preferences of the collectivity

This chapter explores the leisure-community development link, noting where it is valid and where it is not and noting how different kinds of leisure, in general, and volunteering, in particular, are tied to different kinds of development. For no one has yet examined the diversity of this area. Instead, specialists here seem content to be guided by a single, simplistic presupposition: leisure and recreation are unitary, undifferentiated phenomena that contribute to community development. Before turning to this question, however, we must first look at the concept of community development itself.

Community Development

After reviewing the pertinent literature, Pedlar (1996) concluded that the idea of development of a community assumes participation by its members in an activity resulting in improvement of one or

more of its identifiable aspects. Following Ploch (1976: 8) she says that "normally such action leads to the strengthening of the community's pattern of human and institutional interrelationships." The emphasis in this literature is typically on process, especially self-determination, enhancement of human existence, and collective interdependence.

Learning resulting from formal courses in adult education, informal bits of advice while volunteering, work as a volunteer, and the like helps individuals develop and, by extension, helps communities develop as well. Through these different kinds of learning, the learners become empowered, acquiring the skills, knowledge, and confidence they need to pursue and achieve their own goals. Yet the result is social transformation not just personal transformation; there is significant positive individual and communal change.

Serious Leisure and Community Development

There is recognition, then, in the field of community development that it can occur when people pursue certain leisure activities. But what does this mean in real life; how in the course of everyday leisure living does development actually take place? We have already started to answer this question by separating leisure into the two broad categories of serious and casual.

Using the scenario of the Information Age as backdrop, Reid (1995) argues that leisure can no longer be viewed solely as idle, casual, frivolous, and self-indulgent. Rather it must now also be viewed as purposeful, in particular, as activity leading to individual as well as community development. These two together, he says, compose the foundation for participative citizenship, wherein citizens contribute in positive ways to the functioning of their community. Reid identifies serious leisure as the kind of activity that will form the central part of this foundation:

> Much of work today is only useful in that it provides a means to a livelihood. New forms of individual and community contribution will become possible once the market is no longer

> the only mechanism for judging contribution. Many activities which are now done a voluntary basis could be enhanced so that the community and those in need benefit. To do so requires new forms of social organization which place greater worth on those services. This is the essence of Stebbins' notion of serious leisure (Reid, 1995: 112-113).

Reid goes on to note that this need for new social organization is an especially important legacy of the Post-Materialist society in which we now live.

Since our interest here centers on the ways that volunteering contributes to community development, in general, and minority francophone community development, in particular, the contributions of amateur and hobbyists activities in this area will not be considered (for a review of them, see Stebbins, in press). As for the links between career volunteering and the community development, they are extensive. The taxonomy developed by Stebbins (1998a: 74-80) consists of sixteen types of organizational volunteering; it shows the great range and complexity of these links. Career volunteers provide a great variety of services in education, science, civic affairs (advocacy projects, professional and labor organizations), spiritual development, health, economic development, religion, politics, government (programs and services), human relationships, recreation, and the arts. Some of these volunteers work in the fields of safety or the physical environment, while others prefer to provide support services or the human necessities (e.g., food, clothing, shelter). Although much of career volunteering appears to be connected in some way with an organization of some sort, the scope of this leisure is possibly even broader, perhaps including the kinds of helping devoted individuals do for social movements or for neighbors and family.[1] Still, the definition of serious leisure restricts attention everywhere to volunteering in which the participant can find a career, in which there is more or less continuous and substantial helping, rather than one-time donations of money, organs, services, and the like (Stebbins, 1996).

In short, for career volunteers, even while they are reaping a variety of powerful personal rewards from their activities, they are also making significant contributions to community and society, as exemplified in their work in important public services and major public events (e.g., fairs, festivals, sports events). The larger collectivity benefits substantially from their application of assiduously acquired skills, knowledge, and experience, while they benefit personally from the acquisition and expression of these skills and from the expressions of appreciation received from the recipients of the volunteered service. This broad, social utility of volunteers is part of the serious leisure perspective as applied to them and their activities. But a note of caution: in promoting the principle of leisure volunteering as an important personal and social resource, we must ensure that the connotation of frivolity so commonly associated with the word leisure does not subvert the thinking of either the people who volunteer or the people who employ them. The serious leisure designation may be advantageous here.

In other words, these skills, knowledge, and exerience are to be considered human capital, which when implemented by way of "social capital" (Coleman, 1990), lead to community building. Social capital consists of social relations among individuals and the aspects of social structure and organization that these relations engender that together facilitate the development of communities. Coleman observed that social capital is anchored in relationships of trust, networks of mutual obligation, and systems of norms. Particularly important for the study of volunteering among francophones living in minority circumstances is Messer's (1998: 8) observation that "much of social capital is created as a by-product of activities engaged in for other purposes." Working on the Conseil d'école to help shape the school's programs or conducting the annual audit for the dance troupe so that it may continue to perform exemplify the leisure-development process as effected through volunteering.

The Volunteer's Contributions to Community Development

A few examples must suffice here. Thus, serious leisure participants contribute significantly to self and community by participating in the social worlds associated with their chosen forms of serious leisure. There each type of member of a given social world (to be described in the next chapter) finds a distinctive sense of belonging and involvement, while making his or her special contribution to that kind of leisure and, through it, to the community. This sense stands out in relief in, for instance, the duties of the officers of the Francophonie jeunesse de l'Alberta, which helps organize activities for youth, and those of the officers of the Calgary choral, La voix des rocheuses, whose several annual concerts contribute to the culture of the local French community.

Additionally, to the extent it is pursued with other people, serious leisure can contribute signficantly to communal and even to social status and social class integration, clearly a form of community development. For example, my observations of volunteers working in the Calgary casinos on the nights when the proceeds go to francophone groups suggest that they are usually a mixture of working- middle- and upper-middle class individuals. In a similar vein, as part of the observational component of the present study, I sat on the board of directors of a French-language community organization composed of a realtor, teacher, banker, homemaker, data analyst, business executive, high school student, and myself, a sociologist and university professor. There was also a nearly equal representation of the two sexes who, together, ranged in age from sixteen to around sixty-five. Elsewhere(1994) describes how certain kinds of volunteers, when they exercise their citizenship rights by taking an active part in running the society in which they live, contribute to communal integration in the same effort.

Moreover, development of the francophone community is by no means entirely in the hands of its key volunteers. The following quotation illustrates the role that rank-and-file career

volunteers can play in this area:

> Immersion school William Reid sollicits the contributions of people of the Third Age who are prepared to give a few hours of their time to students at the elementary level.
>
> The program grands-amies bénévoles [volunteer good friends] links people of the third age, who are fluent in French, with elementary-level students in a special friendship. Each volunteer becomes thus a good friend of certain students.
>
> Each volunteer has a group of five or six youngsters to meet one afternoon a week. Each of the youngsters spends twenty minutes alone with his or her good friend, a period during which he or she can read, write something, work on an art or craft, do school work, or simply hold a conversation in French. "The goal of the programe is to enhance the youngsters' learning of French, but also to create ties between the generations," explains ms. Karen Davis, teacher at William Reid School (author's translation from Hélie, 1998: 5).

Finally, note that contributing to the success of a collective project and to the maintenance and development of the group, be it an organization, informal group, or the wider community, constitute two substantial rewards available to those who go in for serious leisure. Further, this happy juxtaposition of personal reward and community contribution in the same action turns out to be the central mechanism linking serious leisure and participative citizenship in the process of community development. In fact, this link has already been observed, albeit in far more general terms, by Reid (1997), as noted earlier in this paper, Parker (1994), and Mason-Mullet (1996). The latter discusses several career volunteer projects, which over the years, have resulted in community development, projects that she says can be understood as leisure activities.[2]

Conclusions

What is required now is systematic exploration of all the contributions that the various forms of serious leisure can make to collective francophone life in minority circumstances. This is no easy task, to be sure. Yet in this regard, the study of citizen participation in planning for healthy communities (career volunteering) conducted by Arai and Pedlar (1997) could serve as a useful model. Guided by a qualitative-exploratory research design, they interviewed a representative sample of participants in a healthy communities project. Particpation observation is also likely to be an indispensable part of these explorations, for the community contributions of particular serious leisure projects may not always be recognized and expressed by amateur, hobbyst, and volunteer respondants in interviews held with them.

Notes

Chapter 8

Career Volunteering and the Decline of Work

In the industrialized world of today, there is more time after work than ever. Still, it was true for awhile in the United States, as Schor (1991) concluded in The Overworked American, that many people there were so eager to make money to buy coveted items that they took second jobs or worked overtime whenever possible, striving in the meantime to save money through do-it-yourself projects. After meeting the multitude of obligations they had set for themselves,

these drudges found they had scarely any free time. Only four years later, however, Howe (1995) could observe that this attitude was changing; she saw more and more American workers emphasizing "reasoned wellness" while backing off from their earlier greed and narcissism. She also noted that they were beginning to endow family time with the same level of importance as work and other forms of obligated time. In a similar vein, Samuel (1994: 48) described the tendency observed by Schor as a "temporary development" in the United States that stands out against the world-wide trend toward increased free time.

Overall, North American research does support the proposition that the after-work time of many people has started to grow in both amount and significance. But, oddly, it also suggests that some of them feel more rushed than ever. Zuzanek (1996: 65) has provided the clearest statement yet of this paradox:

> In general, US time-budget findings parallel those of Canada, and provide additional evidence of the complexity of life in modern industrial societies marked, as it seems, by concurrent trends toward greater time freedom as well as "harriedness" and "time pressure."

And this general trend persists despite the present tendency in a number of industries for managers to wring many extra hours of service from their full-time salaried and hourly-rated employees.[1] Yet, the size of this group of reluctantly overworked employees is shrinking as more and more of their positions are lost in the nearly universal shuffle to organize as much work as possible along electronic lines.

The Decline of Work

Lefkowitz (1979) prefigured this trend - the willful and substantial reduction of life's work and nonwork obligations. His interviews, conducted during the late 1970s, suggested that a

small but growing number of Americans were expanding their leisure involvements by voluntarily accepting unemployment, partial employment, or early retirement. Two years later Yankelovich (1981) confirmed these impressions in a nationwide survey. Today, the evidence clearly supports the proposition that the work ethic of old is waning in intensity, even in North America, the home of the largest number of its adherents by far.

Now, paralleling the tendency to voluntarily reduce obligations is a much stronger force: the technologically-driven, involuntary reduction of paid work. In The End of Work Jeremy Rifkin (1995) describes the current decline in the size of the global labor pool and the traditional market economy and how both forces are now pushing ever larger numbers of people toward greater free time at an alarming rate, whatever the individual's interest in reducing his or her level of work. As the twenty-first century dawns, a wide variety of employable men and women are finding that their job opportunities have shrunk, sometimes to nothing at all. Behind these unsettling trends lie the powerful forces of what Rifkin calls the "Third Industrial Revolution": the far-reaching effects of electronic technology as manifested in the microcircuitry of computers, robotics, telecommunications, and similar devices.

The Information Age has dawned. In it, Rifkin observes, these technologies will continue well into the twenty-first century inexorably replacing workers, either directly or indirectly, in virtually every sector of the economy, including manufacturing, transportation, agriculture, government, and the retail and financial services. New jobs will be created in significant number only in the knowledge sector, in science, computing, consulting, education, and the technical and professional services directly related to the new technology. Rifkin says this sector will compose no more than twenty percent of the workforce. Jobs lost in the other sectors will be gone forever, offset very little by the comparatively small number of jobs generated in the knowledge sector.

And occupational retraining is no solution, for the people in line for such retraining generally lack the necessary educational background on which to build the skills and information they would need to work in the knowledge sector. In short, regardless of the orientation of the modern man and woman toward life after work, he and she now seems destined to have much more of it than ever. Two other books published by Aronowitz and DiFazio (1994) and Howard (1995) indicate that Rifkin is not alone in observing these trends.[2] Additionally, Statistics Canada (1997) reports that the most popular age for retirement in the 1990s is between ages 60 and 64 compared with the late 1970s when that age was between 65 and 69. The median age of retirement has fallen from age 65 in 1976 to age 62 in 1990.[3]

But what will people do with their new found free time? These writers have failed to address themselves to this question, apart from putting forward two broad observations, one tantalizing, the other frightening. They predict that the Information Age will offer greatly expanded opportunities for leisure and the personal development that can result from it and that this Age will offer free time far in excess of the typical person's capacity to use it contructively.[4] Seen from the standpoint of the person trying to adapt to a world buffeted by momentous change, these observers paint a picture of life after work in the Information Age that is both too hazy and too unsettling for comfort.

Fortunately, it <u>is</u> possible to adapt to the abundance of free time forced on us by the Information Age. In the present chapter, we look at how this adaptation is accomplished in the pursuit of serious leisure, whether it is volunteering or taking up a hobby or an amateur activity. This is possible because serious leisure is similar in many ways to work, which is why, on the nonremunerative level, it can be considered a substitute for it. Moreover, like work, serious leisure offers a special identity anchored in a central life interest. For people who once worked in

organizations and miss this kind of involvement in their retirement or unemployment, there are numerous forms of serious leisure capable of giving a profound sense of organizational belonging. In addition, participants can find in every form of serious leisure an appealing lifestyle, which, in fact, is available only in some forms of work. Finally, both work and serious leisure make important contributions to the larger community.

Serious Leisure as a Substitute for Work

The social worlds that form around the various serious leisure activities constitute one way in which these activities can serve as a substitute for work, albeit a nonremunerative substitute. It was noted earlier that a special social world begins to take shape when enthusiasts in a particular field pursue profound, shared interests over many years. It was further noted that every social world has its characteristic groups, events, routines, practices, and organizations. It is held together, to an important degree, by semiformal, or mediated, communication. In other words, in the typical case, social worlds are neither heavily bureaucratized nor substantially organized through intense face-to-face interaction. Rather, communication is commonly mediated by newsletters, posted notices, telephone messages, mass mailings, radio and television announcements, and similar means.

The social world is a diffuse, amorphous entity to be sure, but nevertheless one of great importance in the impersonal, segmented life of the modern urban community where formal work organizations have become more marginal than previously in the everyday affairs of many of its inhabitants. Part of this importance comes from the freedom its participants have to enter it (given the right qualifications) and leave it. Part comes from their voluntary identification with the social world and its central activities, for example, gun collecting, amateur chamber music, and volunteer fire fighting. Moreover, because they are so diffuse, it is common for their members to be only

partially involved in the full range of activities these formations have to offer. After all, a social world may be local, regional, multiregional, national, even international. Elsewhere (Stebbins, 1996a), I describe the organization of male and female barbershop singing, a hobby that spans all five levels. Finally, note that people in complex societies are commonly members of several social worlds, only some of which have to do with leisure.

Unruh (1979; 1980) also noted that every social world is peopled with different types of members, whom he referred to as strangers, tourists, regulars, and insiders. The strangers are intermediaries who normally participate little in the leisure activity itself, but who nonetheless do something important to make it possible, for example, by managing municipal parks (in amateur baseball), minting coins (in hobbyist coin collecting), and organizing the work of teachers' aids (in career volunteering). Tourists are temporary participants in a social world; they have come on the scene momentarily for profit, advantage, or entertainment. Most amateur and hobbyist activities have publics of some kind which, in the language of the present discussion, can be said to be constituted of tourists. The clients of many volunteers can be similarly classified. The regulars routinely participate in their social world; in serious leisure, they are the amateurs, hobbyists, and volunteers themselves. The insiders are those among them who are exceptionally devoted to maintaining and advancing the social world they share.[5]

The social world is not only a concept well in tune with the work and leisure routines of the present and future it is also a desideratum of many a modern man and woman both for today and for the years to come. Where people can no longer find a work organization to belong to or can only belong marginally to one as an outside consultant or part-time employee how, then, can they become part of the community, whether conceived of locally, regionally, nationally, or internationally? Increasingly, it appears that the only available communal connections for most

people will come through activities taking place in their after-work time. Yet, because they tend to be private, activities of a purely nature rarely generate such connnections. But those who once found meaningful organizational ties at work can still turn to serious leisure, where one of the principal attractions of most of the amateur, hobbyist, and volunteer activities is the sense of being part of a bustling, fascinating, all-encompassing social world. For many enthusiasts this involvement is as exciting as the central activity itself and, in volunteer work, often indistinguishable from it.

The routine of some serious leisure can constitute yet another appealing feature for those with severely shortened workweeks or no work at all. A wide variety of amateur activities require regular practice and rehearsal sessions, and volunteers are often asked to serve at their posts during certain hours on certain days of the week. People who miss the routine of the full-time job can find an equivalent at least as satisfying in a wide range of serious leisure pursuits.

Central Life Interest

To the extent that lifestyles form around complicated, absorbing, satisfying activities, they can also be viewed as behavioral expressions of the participants' central life interests in those activities. Dubin (1992) says of such interests that they constitute "that portion of a person's total life in which energies are invested in both physical/intellectual activities and in positive emotional states." Sociologically, a central life interest is often associated with a major role in life. And since they can only emerge from positive emotional states, obsessive and compulsive activities can never evolve into true central life interests.

Dubin's (1992: 41-42) examples make it clear that either work or serious leisure can become a central life interest:

A workaholic is an individual who literally lives and breathes an occupation or profession.

Work hours know no limits, and off-work hours are usually filled with work-related concerns. Nothing pleases a workaholic more than to be working. Such an individual has a CLI [central life interest] in work.[6]

A dedicated amateur or professional athlete will devote much more time and concentration to training than will be invested in actual competition. Over and over again athletes will practice their skills, hoping to bring themselves to a peak of performance. Even though practicing may be painful, the ultimate competitive edge produced by practice far outweighs in satisfaction and pride any aches and pains of preparation. Such people make their athletic life their CLI. A committed gardener, stamp collector, opera buff, jet setter, cook, housewife, mountain climber, bird watcher, computer "hacker," novel reader, fisherman, or gambler (and you can add many more to the list from your own experiences) are all usually devoted to their activity as a central life interest. Give such individuals a chance to talk freely about themselves and they will quickly reveal their CLI through fixation on the subject and obvious emotional fervor with which they talk about it.

These are hobbyist and amateur activities. But career volunteers certainly find a lively central life interest in their pursuits, too:

In American politics, and probably the politics of most Western countries, groups increasingly enter political life with a single issue as their rallying point. That single issue may be taxes, abortion, women's rights, the environment, consumerism, conservatism, or civil rights, and much activity and emotion is invested in "the movement." Adherents come to view themselves as personifying "good guys" who rally around a movement's single issue, making their movement their CLI.

In the Information Age with its dwindling employment opportunities, most men and women will find more and more that the only kinds of central life interests open to them are the various amateur, hobbyist, and career volunteer activities composing serious leisure. Additionally, more and more employed people will find themselves with a choice never before encountered in the history of work in the industrialized world: whether to make their, say, twenty-five-hour-a-week job their central life interest or turn to a serious leisure activity for this kind of attachment because the job is too insubstantial for an investment of positive emotional, physical, and intellectual energy. Of course, for the unemployed and the retired, serious leisure is their only recourse if they are to have a central life interest at all. And there will always be a small number of people with sufficient time, energy, and opportunity to sustain more than one central life interest in either leisure or work and leisure.

As we saw earlier with leisure lifestyle, a leisure identity also arises in conjunction with a leisure-based central life interest. In other words, the lifestyle of the participants in a given serious leisure activity expresses their central life interest there and forms the basis for their personal and communal identity as people who go in for that activity. In the future, jobless or relatively jobless as it will be for many people, serious leisure will be the only remaining area in life where they can find an identity related to their distinctive personal qualities, qualities expressed in the course of realizing the rewards and benefits of serious leisure (see Stebbins, 1992b: chap. 6). Moreover, in the Information Age, it will be the only remaining area where these people can find a community role capable of fostering significant self-respect. When seen in the light of the importance of work in Western society, most of the casual leisure activities with their strong appeal of immediate intrinsic reward are usually dismissed as enhancing very little the self-respect of their participants.

The Contributions of Serious Leisure in General

Besides the volunteeers, other serious leisure participants also make important contributions to the community. One of these comes through the social worlds associated with the different forms of this leisure, wherein each type of member finds a distinctive sense of belonging and participation. This sense stands out in relief in the author's studies in this field. It is also evident in Mittelstaedt's (1995) detailed description of the types of participants inhabiting the bustling social world of American Civil War reenactments. Here each type enjoys its own special involvements.

Many serious leisure groups also have a far reaching salutary effect on the general welfare of the community. Put more concisely, they benefit their publics in such important ways as performing with a community orchestra or hosting a "star night" through the local astronomical society. The latter event is open to anyone interested in observing the evening sky through the portable telescopes of the society's amateur members. Finnegan (1989) describes for a single community (the English new town of Milton Keynes) the complex, positive effect on the different music publics of the entire local amateur-professional-hobbyist music scene. The effects of the activities of the key volunteers of Calgary and Edmonton on the general welfare of their local francophone communities have been evident throughout this book.

The Importance of Organizations

The work, or more accurately, the nonwork situation of many people in the Information Age will consist, in part, of being cast adrift from the key organizational moorings of their employment days, a clear sign of a post-traditional existence. More and more these people will find themselves floating, with no rudder, in an organizationless sea, a result of their unemployment, retirement, or marginal affiliation with a work organization as a temporary consultant or limited-term contractual worker. It is true that this absence of organizational ties will likely pose little or no problem for some people; their family relationships and friendship networks are all they will ever want. Others,

however, may well miss the sense of belonging to a collectivity with greater public visibility and integration than networks and relationships typically have. If this proposition turns out to be valid, being cut off from the organizational belongingness they once enjoyed at work will inspire these former employees to search for other organizations capable of replacing this loss.

Although there are forms of serious leisure with little or no organizational structure, most notably the liberal arts hobbies (Stebbins, 1994), the vast majority of these forms present much the opposite tendency. People seeking new organizational ties can find elaborate social worlds in the latter, consisting of clubs, associations, commercial dealers, useful services, organized routine events, and on and on.[7] Volunteers nearly always work in or for an organization of some kind. The main exceptions here are the votaries who serve as volunteers in a social movement so new that a formal organizational structure has not yet evolved. In addition, the various leisure organizations provide socially visible rallying points for the individualized leisure identities of their members as well as outlets for the central life interests they share. Furthermore, a club, team, orchestra, or society commonly serves as the hub or one important hub of the lifestyle enjoyed by the participants pursuing the associated serious leisure activity.

The casual leisure activities are unable fill this craving for organizational belonging, for they rarely if ever become formally organized. Participants here retain too much of their former character as consumer masses to serve as the seedbed for formal groups and organizations. There is, of course, a true sense of belonging that comes with sharing private symbols with other members of the same mass (Maffesoli, 1996: 76-77, 96-100), but the sense of solidarity that comes with belonging to an organization is commonly missing in casual leisure.

These concluding remarks indicate that today's serious leisure can offer a multitude of benefits in the jobless or job-reduced future that many inhabitants of the industrialized world now

face or soon will face. But how can such benefits be realized without a paying job? More to the point, what are the prospects there for the career volunteer, in general, and the key volunteer in the urban francophone subcommunities operating in minority circumstances, in particular?

Notes

Chapter 9

Francophone Career Volunteering in Crisis

Before we consider the crisis in career volunteering currently buffeting Canada's urban francophone communities functioning in minority circumstances, we must take stock of what has been found to this point in this study. With this background, we turn to the crisis itself, examining first the question of the importance of the urban francophone volunteer and then that of the effects of funding reductions. The chapter ends with a discussion of selected proposals for remedying the crisis.

Overview of the Findings

By way of opening this overview, consider again the statement presented in chapter 1: one of the strongest conclusions to emerge from this study is that there is a high degree of commitment to the local francophone community among the key volunteers in Calgary and Edmonton. This is evident above all in their heavy load of volunteer activities and responsibilities. But it is also evident in their endogamous marriages, the frenchness of their children, their preference for French schools, and their canadianness.

What is the nature of the volunteering born of this commitment? In recent decades the formal volunteering done by francophones living in minority circumstances has been predominantly of the ethnic-community variety: helping francophones maintain and develop their local linguistic community as effected primarily through the sectors of education, religion, arts and communication, sport and leisure, and clubs and associations. Enactment in 1969 and 1988 of the two Official Languages Acts triggered a growth spurt in grassroots organizations and with it an increase in the need for more volunteers of the ethnic community type. The governmental budgets

cuts that began to be felt starting in 1994 intensified still further this need, and especially the need for key volunteers. These volunteers work in the contemporary urban minority francophone communities, which are institutionally incomplete. Here they operate primarily within the aforementioned sectors, conscientiously serving there within their own social worlds and mosaics of participation.

Volunteering has become a way of life for many of the respondents in this study, especially for those who have steadily participated in it for many years and throughout the development stage of their careers. For this reason many are unable to remember with any accuracy whether their early involvement in volunteering was sporadic or gradual or whether it followed the delayed-steady pattern. Nevertheless, their description of their volunteer careers suggests that they experienced a steady pattern of early development soon after their initial entry into volunteering.The respondents who had spent less time in volunteer work than these steady participants could remember more clearly, however, their gradual entry into the world of volunteering. On the other hand, the voracious need for volunteers in these two communities also appears to accelerate the passage of many newcomers to this kind of leisure toward steady participation in it. Being with their children and working to improve either their educational or their leisure lives or both were two of the most frequently cited reasons the respondents gave for entering volunteering.

Steady participation dominated in all five minority community sectors. Moreover, the present study suggests that it is common for many formal career volunteers in Canada's urban francophone communities to cycle continuously through the beginning, development, and maintenance stages. With each change of position comes the need to learn different procedures and expectations, whether the new position is in the same group or organization in which the

participant has been working or in another group or organization in the same institutional sector or even a different one.A sense of career emerges from all this, chiefly in the form of feeling more and more competent to handle any problem or challenge that comes along, whatever the volunteer post. As for career decline, the reasons for it vary, with deteriorating mental acuity, physical stamina, and personal health numbering among the more important of them. But even where these conditions are absent, some volunteers do lose interest in volunteering, most often in mid-life or later.

This study revealed that some burned out key volunteers return to this kind of leisure after a period of recuperation or after certain changes have taken place at work or at home (e.g., a major project is completed for one's employer or the children grow older and more self-reliant), but that others drop out never to return. In fact, none of the sample was burned out, for had a respondent suffered thus, he or she would have quit volunteer work and therefore been unavailable for interviewing as an active key volunteer. Nevertheless many of them worried that burn out might someday hit them.

Of the ten rewards, four stood out as especially salient for the volunteers of this study. Among these four, self-enrichment through the volunteer experience was by far the most powerful for the overall sample. It was at once a main personal reward and the reward most directly related to volunteering, for it is here that the personal benefits of altruism are particularly strongly felt, or for a couple of key volunteers in the religion sector, they experienced the benefits of spirituality instead. Respondents in both cities ranked second the reward of group accomplishment and third the two rewards of self-enhancement and contribution to the maintenance and development of the francophone community. Turning to costs, one of the tensions in key volunteering - the temporal tension - centers on the necessity for constant planning and scheduling, the two main ways of

making the most efficient use of scarce time. The relational tension refers to the friction that sometimes emerges between spouse and volunteer or children and volunteer when the latter privileges a volunteer engagement over the demands of one or both of the former. I attached the label of obligative tension to the stress arising from the inability to meet various domestic requirements when faced with volunteer commitments holding a higher priority. Finally, some respondents experience a leisure tension, which unlike the preceding tensions, is mainly positive in tone. This means they are attracted to certain volunteer roles (defined in this book as leisure), but have discovered that they now have little or no time for some, or even all, of the other leisure activities they are also fond of. It was also found that various annoyances pervade career volunteering in the two francophone communities, as most everywhere else in life, but that deeper dislikes there are much less common. The two most prominent dislikes among the key volunteers of this study are the behavior of difficult persons and the shortage of reliable volunteers.

It was further concluded that the active francophones in these communities - those who participate routinely in one or more aspects of local community life - have developed a substantial foundation for their linguistic identity, distinguishing them in this regard from their passive _compatriotes_, a certain number of whom are in the process of assimilating to English and the anglophone culture enveloping them. That foundation is the special linguistic lifestyle that comes from using more or less routinely the French language. The essence of that lifestyle lies in extensive participation in the many and varied events, meetings, discussions, and social activities of the social world of local francophones.The rewards they experience - particularly those of self-enrichment, group accomplishment, self-enhancement, and contribution to the maintenance and development of the local community - can be said to constitute an important set of orientations that further justify pursuing the lifestyle of francophone as a special linguistic minority in

Canada's larger cities.

The key volunteers' views of volunteering were conceptualized as falling at the poles of two antinomies: choice/obligation and leisure/work. It was nonetheless possible to resolve the contradictory elements in this set of responses, leading thereby to the conception that, at bottom, volunteering, including especially the career type, is chosen leisure activity. This conclusion was framed in the context of the marginality of serious leisure in modern industrial society. The discussion and resolution of the two antinomies will enable volunteers to explain both to themselves and to other people the true nature of volunteer work.

Finally, it was observed that today's career volunteering, as well as other forms of serious leisure, can offer a multitude of benefits in the jobless or job-reduced future that many inhabitants of the industrialized world now face or soon will face. These include ties with a social world, one or more organizations, a distinctive lifestyle and identity, and a central life interest, all of which revolve around one or more volunteer or other serious leisure activities.

The Importance of Francophone Volunteers

Toward the end of the interview, each respondent was asked a short series of questions bearing on the present-day importance of volunteers in his or her linguistic community. The generalizations that emerged from the ensuing discussion form the first part of this chapter and the springboard for an examination of the effect of declining funds on nonprofit francophone organizations. After this I present several proposals designed to help alleviate the contemporary crisis in francophone career volunteering, which is a product of several factors, most notably burnout, budget cuts, and volunteer shortages. Burnout is an especially pernicious problem, since it is a state of mind wholely antithetical to the one generated by leisure. A general conclusion follows.

The overall sample left no doubt that they regarded the volunteers in their linguistic

community as extremely important:

> Frankly, I don't see how Edmonton's francophone community could survive without them. Even before the government's budget reductions, they played a dominant role everywhere in the community. Now with the cuts, that role has been magnified enormously. Those who you call the key volunteers are our leaders, our inspiration, I would even say our lifeblood. They are very, very important in so many ways. But the ordinary volunteers are also extremely important. To be sure, we need both kinds. (male volunteer in the sectors of clubs and associations and arts and communication)

Had I replayed this statement to the other forty-three interviewees, I am sure each would have heartily endorsed it. I never did this, however. Instead, I ceased asking about the importance of volunteers after the first dozen interviews, because the response was always the same and, in giving it, some of the respondents suggested that they saw the matter as self-evident and that I should also view it in the same light.

A similar pattern of responses emerged when I asked about the need for volunteers and whether it was increasing, decreasing, or holding steady. Every interviewee interrogated on this question observed a growing need for them, although one said the need was steady for his own organization (a club). Here, too, responses were so uniform and so powerful that I could see little gain from continuing to ask this question. Thus it was dropped after the sixteenth interview.

This observed need for volunteers suggests the existence of a general shortage of these critical people in the two communities, a proposition that received additional support from the responses of the overall sample to the question of whether the number of available volunteers is sufficient or insufficient. Only three respondents said the number of volunteers was sufficient, meaning that they had no difficulty in their organizations (in religion, education, and one of the

arts) finding people to help with routine activities and to assume key positions. The others, in referring both to their own group or organization and to the local francophone community as a whole, left no doubt that they saw an acute and widespread shortage of francophone volunteers.

> Part of the problem is that the need for volunteers has risen dramatically, which leaves us now with an acute shortage of them. I think that budget reductions in education are a big problem. What is worse, is the decline in the number of contributors in the parishes, I guess because there is so much unemployment these days. Yet there is work that must be done, and now we have to rely on the volunteers to do it. But there aren't enough of them to meet all our needs. (female volunteer in the sector of religion)

Different respondents cited different causes, among them pressure at work, indifference toward the local francophone community, complexity of the volunteer post to be filled, and dissension in a particular organization or in the community as a whole. Organizations with a large proportion of elderly members must sometimes struggle with greater shortages of volunteers than organizations of the same type composed mostly of younger members. As noted earlier, aging eventually leads to career decline in volunteers as health, stamina, and mental acuity deteriorate.

This problem, it turns out, is hardly unique to the urban francophone communities that have sprung up in Canada as minority groups. Putnam (1995) has observed it on a far more general level in the United States, where the number of members is declining in voluntary organizations requiring high levels of face-to-face interaction with people outside the person's own family and friendship circles. The reverse is true, however, for voluntary mass membership organizations, which he calls "tertiary organizations" and which are exemplified by the Sierra Club and the American Association of Retired Persons. They seldom, if ever, require this level of contact with strangers. The vast majority of groups and organizations in the urban francophone

subcommunities are grass-roots rather than tertiary organizations.

Still another facet of the question of the importance of the urban francophone volunteer centers on the kind and amount of recognition for volunteer work that this person receives from family and from the language community. All but two respondents (one from each city) reported that they were adequately recognized at home for their volunteering efforts outside it. Notwithstanding the tensions it occasionally generates in the family routine, key volunteering was seen by those who do it as laudatory in the eyes of their spouses and children. Of course, volunteers who serve in their children's interest are appreciated even more, while those married to spouses who volunteer gain a kind of sympathetic recognition from them. At any rate, the key volunteers of this study usually leave home to execute their volunteer responsibilities with the support of their families.

That support may well serve as a psychological buffer while they are performing their roles, for public recognition, whether from the employer or the larger French community, is much less often evident here. Seventy-five percent (12 of 16 respondents) of the Calgary sample compared with forty-two percent (8 of 19 respondents) of the Edmonton sample lamented the dearth of such recognition. That Edmonton, in comparison with Calgary, had significantly fewer volunteers who felt recognition was a problem, can possibly be explained by the greater solidarity of the francophone community in the first city. In chapter 1 it was observed that, in contrast to Calgary, Edmonton has more key volunteers of local origin who are less inclined to move away and who serve within a somewhat richer array of groups and organizations a larger population of francophones many of whom are concentrated in a single geographic area of the city. It may well be that Edmonton's francophones have the opportunity to get to know each other better, and in this manner to come to appreciate each other somewhat more than happens among their compatriots in

Calgary.

Responses to this question were complicated, however. First, rather few of the key volunteers felt they were personally ignored, since they held highly visible and responsible posts, posts often recognized annually at institutionalized receptions or meetings.[1] Instead, most worried about the weak or nonexistent recognition of the rank-and-file volunteers, many of whom work hard and contribute a great deal to the organization or the broader linguistic community or both, and yet, for all that, remain unsung.

> I am adequately recognized for what I do for the _____ Society, but I know francophone volunteers in ____ [city] who are ignored by those who engage them as well as by the larger francophone community. To be sure, we volunteer for the satisfaction it gives us, but being taken for granted is not very pleasant. I think volunteers should be recognized routinely, not just once a year. And they should be recognized individually and not as a group, which is how it's done when recognition takes place at the end of the year and or annually during National Volunteer Week. (female volunteer in education)

Routine recognition is important. The respondents said that personal expressions of gratitude and compliments for work well done coming from other volunteers and from their employers constitute a most special form of recognition. The occasional free lunch or small gift is appreciated, too, but shrinking group and organizational budgets now allow fewer and fewer of these tokens of gratitude. It appears that, more than anything, it is the routine, overt expression of respect for them as persons and for their contributions to the group and its projects that volunteers, both key and ordinary, prize most highly, especially when it comes from their colleagues, their employers, or the wider francophone community.

The Effects of Declining External Funding

Despite the general hue and cry these days from francophones and anglophones alike about funding cutbacks in both the private and the public sectors, a few francophone groups and organizations in Calgary and Edmonton (mainly clubs and arts groups) have never been, or at least are not now, dependent on them. For them as well as for the other groups and organizations, financial independence is reached, in principle, from at least six different sources. These sources are bingos, raffles, casinos, donations, membership dues, and ticket sales from group- or organization-sponsored events. Nevertheless, to attain this goal it is usually necessary, in reality, to try to exploit several of them.

But note that membership fees, which in Alberta francophone organizations typically range between five and fifteen dollars, contribute proportionately little to the group's treasury, unless it has a large membership, a oiseau rare in that province. Note further that casinos, though generally lucrative, are only available to incorporated entities holding a charity number with Revenue Canada and that, in Alberta, they can be legally held no more than once every other year. Lacking a charity number also dampens benefactor enthusiasm for making donations to the group. Finally, bear in mind that exploitation any of these sources requires considerable personnel, initiative, and organization, if they are going to return significant amounts of money to the group. The responsibility for meeting these three conditions invariably falls squarely on the shoulders of one or two of the group's key volunteers.

So it happens that the key volunteers usually wind up at the very center of the funding question, where they try to fill the particular needs of their group or organization with the limited money available to it. If they were lucky at the time they took office, they inherited a stable financial base with established mechanisms for maintaining that stability. Their only job then

would have been to ensure that nothing goes wrong that would cause the base to deteriorate. But the current economic climate virtually guarantees financial trouble somewhere down the road for nearly every urban francophone group and organization. The sweeping effect of the Information Age is to offer less employment to more people, one consequence of which is to put smaller paychecks into the pockets of most of the working-age population. In the end, there will be fewer dollars available even for five and ten dollar memberships, not to mention gambling, donations, and tickets to events. Sooner or later, then, the majority of key volunteers will find themselves struggling to adapt their group's programs to its shrinking financial resources.

In broadest terms, there are only two ways to effect such an adaptation: reduce the number or scope of the programs or find more volunteers to run them. Neither option is easy. On the one hand, we have seen that the volunteer supply is presently dwindling, or perhaps more accurately put, potential volunteers, who exist in ample numbers in the local francophone community, are not stepping forward.[2] On the other hand, reducing programs to bring expenses in line with revenues might, were the practice to become widespread, undermine the organizational foundation of that community. In light of our earlier discussion of the rewards of serious leisure volunteering and the sense of obligation felt by many key volunteers, it is clear that every respondent in this study would agree that the wholesale cutting of programs should be avoided at all costs. But this means, then, that recruitment of group and organizational members has to be given top priority, with the aim of building a membership sufficiently large to supply the number of volunteers needed to effectively run the collectivity and its programs.

Assuming the recruitment problem can be solved and a reasonably stable financial base thereby ensured, then the key volunteers in Canada's urban subcommunities can set about gaining control of their francophone organizations, an operating condition being described these days as

one of utmost importance. Groups and organizations who have grown dependent on government subsidies, and in the course of it all have lost much of their earlier capacity to survive without them, are certainly heading for trouble in these days of official stinginess. In referring to the French-Canadian subcommunities at a federal economic summit held early in 1993, economist Gilles Paquet (Le Franco, 1993: 9) argued that dependence on the Secretary of State (now renamed Canadian Heritage) is "la meilleure façon de vous tuer" (the best way to kill yourselves). The present study and my earlier one of the Calgary French community (Stebbins, 1994) suggest a somewhat less dramatic outcome, however; that dependence is not fatal, since the informal world would continue were the formal world to shut down for some reason. Still Paquet's warning does indicate that, given the contemporary propensity in government circles for trimming budgets, francophone groups and organizations operating in minority circumstances must increasingly face the possibility of functioning largely on their own, as they did earlier in this century.

It is also true, as Roméo Paquette (1997: 3) has observed, that governments may fund projects and organizations according to a set of priorities substantially different from the set of priorities embraced by all or a substantial part of the local francophone community. Furthermore, in addition to the occasional, unfulfilled collective aspiration caused by this discrepancy, we find the more subtle side effect of draining away the indigenous initiative and dynamism on which the community depends for survival. In fact, this is one of the main reasons given by the Franco-Ontarian sports organizations studied by Dallaire (1995) for seeking self-management, even though they receive sizable grants from their provincial government.

All this can be understood as the political side of key volunteering in the milieu of the urban francophone minority. Politics, in this study the relations with provincial and federal governments, were mentioned in the interviews only with regard to the questions of funding and

budget reductions. Analysis of this political facet of key francophone volunteering does suggest, however, that the urban minority francophone communities are now in, or are about to enter, a full-scale volunteer crisis rooted in a combination of reduced public and private grants, shortages of volunteers, burnout of some key volunteers, and the need to gain more complete control of their own groups and organizations. Paquette (1997) argues that these subcommunities are, at present, highly fragile and that the aforementioned conditions are contributing mightily to this situation. There is therefore a real sense of urgency about ameliorating the conditions.

To this end, the next section contains some additional proposals designed to deal with the crisis. Some of the proposals are quite general and therefore not as practical as action-oriented community leaders would like when circumstances force them to act. Nevertheless, they are start, and it is hoped they will stimulate further thought, if not action, on the larger questions of the importance of volunteers and the advantages of local management.

Some Proposals

At once the most practical and locally manageable of the following proposals is the one calling for a volunteer bank, preferably a bank that is on-line. It is in the best interest of the local urban francophone community that this bank be local as well. A provincial or regional bank would be substantially removed from the everyday life and needs of the local francophone communities, and would lose some of its effectiveness for this reason. Be that as it may, the local chapter of the provincial francophone spokes organization - for example, the ACFA in Alberta - is in many instances possibly the best organization within which to attempt to establish one. For the local volunteer bank should be located in and run by the most inclusive collectivity in the community, the one possessing the greatest scope for reaching every individual francophone and every francophone group and organization there without prejudice in regard to its institutional sector or

official objectives.

At the very least, the volunteer bank should develop and maintain a list of the names, addresses, and telephone numbers of all local francophones who want to volunteer in some capacity. The recruited volunteers should also be classified according to the institutional sectors they are willing to serve in as well as by the particular capabilities they are willing to use there (e.g., skills in typing, editing, accounting, fund raising, computer operation). Further, the bank should actively recruit volunteers, keeping in mind that many anglophone students in nearby college and university French literature and French education programs are reasonably fluent in French and seeking opportunities to gain further experience in the oral and written sides of the language as well as to learn more about modern francophone life. When they volunteer in the local French community, both it and the students benefit enormously.

Finally, the person in charge of the proposed volunteer bank should try to coordinate the community's volunteer activities as much as possible. Granted, complete coordination in a large urban francophone community is an impossible dream, but he or she can nevertheless take a significant step in that direction by maintaining a calendar of the dates and times of community events, group and organizational meetings, and the many other activities that rely on local volunteers to execute them. At minimum, this calendar should have a scope of six months. To obviate schedule conflicts in volunteering among their own participants, those responsible for organizing the various events, meetings, and activities in the community - the employers - should be encouraged to inform the bank of the dates and times over the next six months at which they will take place, as well as to consult its calendar before setting those dates and times.

The second proposal, which assumes the presence of a reasonably smoothly-functioning volunteer bank, calls for developing a policy on volunteer use. The framing of this policy should

fall to the organization responsible for the bank, which, however, should consult widely throughout the local community to ensure that all who will be affected by it will also have ample opportunity to shape it. Although such a policy could conceivably bear on a number of areas of volunteering, it should most certainly touch on the question of the optimal breadth of involvement allowed for anyone wanting to volunteer. In other words, one important part of this policy, and one that could help counteract burnout by widely distributing the community's volunteer workload, would be to encourage the use of underengaged volunteers wherever possible. True, there will be times when only a highly visible, committed, or experienced volunteer can effectively fill a particular post. In the Calgary French community, for example, two highly competent francophones are frequently asked to fill the posts of secretary and treasurer in organizations where these two functions are likely to get, or have already gotten, quite complex. It is also true that some people have more time or energy for volunteering than others and that some of the former crave greater involvement.

Nonetheless, in light of the widely-acknowledged shortage of volunteers, bringing "new blood" into circulation in this fashion would surely be lauded by most members of the community. And remember, key volunteers, because their commitment to their linguistic community and desire to help in it is exceptionally strong, they often find it difficult to refuse requests for their services, even though many of them are already overloaded at the time. In this regard, Malenfant (1993: 102) observed, in summarizing his interview with Émile Vincent, former Director General of the Fédération des Handicappés (both pseudonyms), that:

> he claimed to always have difficulty saying no, refusing to give, but he finally developed a reflex of refusal in order to avoid upsetting his weekends. Some small exceptions occurred, but they became increasingly rare. (author's translation)

For precisely these reasons, the coordinator of the volunteer bank might recommend a new member on its list to a group who has contacted it for a volunteer to fill a certain function. It should be understood, too, that the group, even though it approached the bank, would still have the right to refuse to engage the person recommended.

Among other elements that might be incorporated in the bank's policy for volunteer use is the directive that it speak for volunteers as a distinctive category of member of the francophone community; that it hear their complaints, disseminate their points of view, try to ensure the best conditions available for their work as volunteers (e.g., realistic expectations, manageable tasks, sociable interaction with other volunteers, Howell, 1986), among other considerations. In addition, the bank's coordinator could advise on the question of recognition, suggesting in line with what was said earlier some effective ways to accomplish this. Finally, with much planning and determination, the bank could evolve into a volunteer center, which for example, would arrange for generalized training for some of the more complicated posts in the community (e.g., treasurer, secretary, president) or suggest ways to use volunteers leading to the best fit possible between their leisure interests and the task requirements of the group or organization engaging them. The functions of the volunteer bank should remain intact, nevertheless, organized as one major wing of the more inclusive centre.

The remaining proposals presented in this section, if adopted, would lead to changes affecting the larger society, which includes, of course, the local urban francophone community. If and when these changes are implemented, members of these communities would benefit along with everyone else, since the changes would also help reduce their shortage of volunteers and, as a consequence, the rate at which they experience burnout.

Thus Rifkin proposes that governments issue tax deduction vouchers to volunteers,

calculated on the basis of the number of hours of service they have given to legally-certified, tax-exempt organizations. The deductions would constitute a shadow wage. earned by underemployed workers with exceptional amounts of free time on their hands. This wage would offset in proportion to the number of hours of volunteering the taxes owed by these volunteers, as calculated from their gainful employment or from the real property they own. As an alternative, the vouchers could be used to obtain governmental goods and services, an arrangement Kouri (1990: 14) believes would be especially popular with the elderly:

> For example, citizens could do volunteer jobs in agencies and earn units of service from government agencies of their choice. They could exchange their vouchers for such items as tickets to municipal opera performances or tuition at a community college where they could study new skills to use in paid jobs.

This proposal brings to the fore once again the third sector and the preeminent role it is destined to play in the industrialized societies of the Information Age. Because goods and services are provided here, this sector generates for the typical industrialized society economic value estimated in billions of dollars. Rifkin (1995) and Aronowitz and DiFazio (1994), among others, see a greatly expanded place for the third sector in the job-reduced present and future. Here the propensity at all levels of government has been, and seems likely to continue, to respond to sharply diminished revenues by cutting or reducing many of the publicly-funded health, social, and educational programs and services.

While there will surely be some demand for casual volunteering in the expanded third sector, possibly compensated with appropriate tax deductions as well, most of the needed volunteering will be of the serious, career variety. Nevertheless, it will only be career volunteering if it is defined by the volunteers as leisure rather than simply another obligated activity. In other

words, if volunteer work leading to tax deductions is to become a genuine part of a person's optimal leisure lifestyle (Stebbins, 1998a), he or she must feel free to reject it if it offers no significant satisfaction and abandon it if and when it becomes unsatisfying. By meeting these conditions the volunteer shows that he or she is not dependent on the shadow wages earned, that there is no felt obligation to work for them.

These same criteria of choice and satisfaction should also be applied to Rifkin's proposal for social wages. This is the money given to the permanently unemployed for the volunteer work they do, in effect the same money they received as welfare payments in more affluent times. Certainly many of today's unemployed can be trained to work in complicated third sector roles and to perform effectively there once established in them. But again, to the extent they come to depend on the income they receive, it is illogical to argue that these "volunteers" are pursuing serious leisure. Even though some of them will find satisfaction in these roles, they are still obligated to fill them, just as they were with the paying jobs they once held.

It is likely in many instances that workers receiving social wages will work side by side with true, unremunerated volunteers, creating problems for their managers that they and researchers in the social sciences have only begun to confront. After studying volunteers in seven different organizations, all of which were also managed by volunteers, Pearce (1993: 177-178) concluded that

> the tension that can exist between volunteer and employee co-workers remains one of the unpleasant secrets of nonprofit organizations. The preceding discussion described how volunteers and employees, by the very nature of their different relationships to the organization, tend to undermine each other's legitimacy. Employees have higher professional and expertise-based status while undermining the legitimacy of volunteer

> "sacrifice" by taking salaries for their work. Volunteers give of themselves to the organization, yet undermine the professionalism of employees.

Nonetheless, Pearce found that damaging levels of volunteer-employee conflict developed in only one of the organizations she investigated.

Conclusions

Although the full solution to the volunteer crisis as described above will come from sources well beyond the francophone communities of Calgary and Edmonton, there still are, as we have just seen, certain steps that the leaders of these communities (all of them key volunteers themselves) can take to solve it. In particular they can work to strengthen the recognition of volunteers, establish a viable volunteer bank, and develop an imaginative, humane policy for its operation. The question is, then, do they have the will to do what is within their power to help alleviate the volunteer crisis by taking these steps?

My observations which, it should be noted, come more from the Calgary French community than from the one in Edmonton, suggest nonetheless that both communities are actively trying to solve the volunteer crisis. Moreover, both, in having just completed new community centers, have put themselves in the advantageous position of being able to work from a central location to establish an effective and efficient volunteer bank (and center) and develop a forward-looking policy with which to run it. There is furthermore a healthy spirit in the Calgary and Edmonton communities, for no small number of francophones there are at present boldly pushing forward with characteristic fervor, albeit a fervor mixed, as always, with cautious optimism. That is, no one is overconfident; there will be further reductions in government funding of important programs, setbacks in their efforts to retain control of the schools, and possibly worse (c.f., Le Tourneau, 1988: 309). But many believe in effect that the immediate future is theirs, that

they can personally arrange for the survival and prosperity of the French language and its various cultures in the two cities. And whereas the distant future holds more uncertainty they know that the present-day combination of French language, leisure, and linguistic lifestyle and its interweave with the surrounding anglophone world will play a vital role in carrying them through.

At the center of all this, lies the highly committed cadre of key francophone volunteers, motivated as they are by strong feelings of altruism and self-interestedness to find meaningful serious leisure for themselves, while moving their local group or organization forward for its good and the development of the wider linguistic community. They really are the captains of the modern urban francophone community. And what this study shows very clearly, is that they are ready to stay at the helm, providing they can steer a personal course around the shoals of burnout.

Notes

Appendix

Interview Guide for the

Study of Francophone Volunteers

(translated from French)

With the exception of those in sections A and B, the questions in this guide were developed to explore further several key beliefs, attitudes, and activities associated with French language, leisure, linguistic life-style, and key volunteering in Calgary and Edmonton. I became aware of these considerations and their importance in the course of conducting the participant observation. The questions in sections A and B are of the standard demographic variety commonly posed in sociolinguistic research. As explained in Chapter 9, questions D1 and D2 were eventually dropped from the guide.

A. Personal background

1. language: Are you a mother-tongue francophone or a second-language francophone?
2. Origins: Where were you born? Where were you raised?
    a) Where have you lived since age 18?
3. When did you arrive in Calgary/Edmonton?
4. Schooling: What diplomas do you hold? Where did you earn them? In which subjects?
5. What is your present occupation?
    a) Do you use French there?

B. Family Composition

1. What is your marital status?

    a) Is your spouse/partner francophone?

2. How many children do you have?

    a) How many are living with you at present?

    b) Which languages do they speak?

    c) Do they speak/write French? How well?

    d) Do they (or did they) go to French, immersion, or anglophone schools, French day care?

C. Volunteering

1. What are your present francophone volunteer activities?

    a) When did you start doing each?

    b) What do you do in each?

    c) Were you recruited or did you join on your own?

    d) Were you remunerated in any of these activities?

2. How long have you been volunteering for francophone groups and organizations?

    a) In which other activities have you volunteered over the years?

    b) Where did you do this volunteering?

3. Did your parents do any volunteering?

    a) (if yes) In which activities?

4. Does your spouse do any volunteering?

    a) (if yes) In which activities?

5. Does your volunteering cause problems at home (e.g., tensions, schedule conflicts)?

    a) at work?

b) with other volunteer commitments?

c) with other leisure activities?

6. Why did you decide to take up your present volunteer activities?

a) What do you like about volunteering? (probe for both altruistic and self-interested motives)

b) What are the rewards of volunteering for you? (present rewards card)

7. What do you dislike about volunteering? (e.g., disagreements, supervision, other volunteers)

a) Are there particular tensions in volunteering?

8. Do you feel that volunteering is a choice or an obligation?

9. How would you describe volunteering: as work? as leisure? as neither but instead as a distinct type of activity in itself?

10. What are your plans for francophone volunteering in the next year or two?

11. What volunteering do you do in English (or another language outside French)?

D. The importance of volunteering in the local francophone community

1. How important is francophone volunteering in Calgary/Edmonton?

a) Is there another way to accomplish the work volunteers do in Calgary/Edmonton?

2. Is the need for volunteers increasing in Calgary/Edmonton?

a) Are there enough volunteers to meet current needs? Of your group or organization? Of the local francophone community as a whole?

3. What are the effects of governmental and corporate funding cutbacks on local volunteering?

4. Are the volunteers in Calgary/Edmonton properly recognized for their contributions?

a) Are there ceremonies, awards, etc.?

5. Does your family recognize the importance of your volunteer work for you?

a) Its importance for the local francophone community?

6. Does your employer recognize the importance of your volunteer work for you?

a) Its importance for the local francophone community?

E. Organizations

1. Which francophone organizations do you belong to (including religious organizations)?

a) Which ones do you volunteer for?

b) How regularly do you participate in each?

F. Leisure in French

1. What leisure activities do you participate in where you speak French (beside volunteering)?

a) sport, games, exercise (as participant, as observer)

b) community events (shows, expositions, fêtes, etc)

c) the fine and popular arts (as participant, as consumer)

d) films

e) reading (books, newspapers, magazines, etc.)

f) hobbies, other amateur activities (science)

g) radio/television (as participant, as consumer)

h) sociable events (meals, parties, conversations, réveillons, organizational meetings, etc.)

i) family activities (including the above done with family)

j) other

G. Other observations, comments

Chapter Notes

(assembled from Chapters 1-9)

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CAB International.

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i. It happens from time to time, even in democratic organizations, that people get elected to positions and then turn out to be poorly suited to fill them. As in every other sphere of public life, incompetency, low commitment, personal aggrandizement, and similar weaknesses blemish the performance of the occasional key volunteer in the francophone communities of urban Canada. These people soon lose the respect of their francophone constituents.

ii. The locution "francophones as a minority group" is my translation of the French "francophones en milieu minoritaire," a commonly used expression in the French social science literature in this area.

iii. My research on the francophone community of New Orleans, to be conducted in 1999, will shed some comparative light on this question (see Introduction for further details). Louder (1996: 112) has already visited many of these communities, although he has not yet conducted systematic research on them.

iv. In Canada the term "francophile" is used by some speakers to describe people who routinely speak (and, more rarely, write) French as a second language. The various dictionaries, whether French or English, whether published in Canada or elsewhere, give no credence to these Canadian definitions; the dictionary definitions of these terms are substantially different. My observations suggest that the special Canadian usage of francophone, anglophone, and francophile was pioneered by social scientists to help them make sense of the complicated linguistic environment

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in which Canadians have lived since Quebec's Quiet Revolution in the 1960s. Today this usage has gained a degree of currency among the lay public in Canada, although more so among francophones than anglophones, it appears. Nonetheless, in the interest of remaining consistent with the dictionary definitions, I will privilege "second-language francophone" over francophile.

v. The president of La Francophonie Jeunesse de l'Alberta, one of the interviewees in this study and someone considerably younger than thirty-five, was the only exception to this observation. To avoid a possibly embarrassing and, for some respondents, seemingly inappropriate query, the question of age was never actually posed. Rather age data in this study are estimates based on physical appearance, work history, and similar indirect measures.

vi. Excluded from this range was a respondent who had lived in Edmonton only two years.

vii. This proportion included one homemaker. The classification of occupations is taken from Statistics Canada (1980).

viii. One of the thirty-four children was too young to go to school.

1. We will return to this matter of balance as it relates to volunteering and serious leisure. At that time I will present a list of rewards in which pleasure in serious leisure in general and career volunteering in particular is shown to be but one reward of many and, in most serious leisure activities, a minor reward at that.

2. A more complete discussion of the serious leisure perspective than that presented here is available in Stebbins (1992a; 1998).

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3. I use the term "career" broadly in this definition, based on Goffman's (1961: 127-128) elaboration of the idea of "moral career." Such careers are available in all substantial, complicated roles, including especially those in work, leisure, politics, religion, volunteering, and interpersonal relationships (see also, Lindesmith et al, 1991: 277; Hewett, 1991: 246). George Floro (1978) discussed the existence of careers in volunteer work nearly two decades ago.

4.What we are calling worklike tasks here are defined in some intellectual circles as housework and thus as an occupation. Under this interpretation they should be treated as work in the present scheme.

1. Two of the five presidents of nonprofit associations interviewed by Malenfant (1993: 77, 163) were married to women who also volunteered extensively.

2. In my search for these resources, I personally visited the Conseil de la Vie Française en Amérique, Centre d'Action Bénévole de Québec, Archives of the Séminaire du Québec, Musée de l'Amérique Française, and Centre d'Études Interdisciplinaires sur les Lettres, les Arts et les Traditions des Francophones en Amérique du Nord (CELAT) at Laval University, as well as several government and university libraries. From these visits, it became clear that a general history of volunteering among francophones living in minority circumstances remains to be written, and that writing it will be a veritable travail de bénédictin, requiring, among other activities, the detailed examination of the many local community histories and francophone community and provincial newspapers.

3. Outside northern and eastern Ontario and New Brunswick, minority francophones seeking

opportunities in needs or ideological volunteering are most likely to find them in the local anglophone organizations. Likewise, should they have a particular need, they must often turn to them for help in meeting it.

4. Ideally, in the short history presented here of Calgary's organizations, comparisons would have been made with Edmonton for the same period. I was unable to find historical information of this sort for Edmonton, however, which means I can only speak for Calgary until 1969 when federal and provincial linguistic acts begin to assert a uniform effect on both cities.

5. The Federal Government is not the only source of outside funding for projects leading to realization of the four goals, only the most generous. The Bureau of Quebec also grants funds for francophone community projects implemented outside Quebec, although these projects must be related to the province in some way. And depending on the nature of the project, financial support may be obtained in Alberta from provincial or municipal agencies or from provincially-run lotteries. At one time the Catholic Church gave money for these purposes.

6. A brief history of these cuts, set out in a communiqué from the Agence Presse Francophone, was published in *Le Franco* (1997: 2) and probably some of the other French-language newspapers published for francophones living in minority circumstances.

7. There are exceptions, of course, found chiefly in the jobs where French is a necessity, including, in the main, teaching, translating, working in the local francophone organizations, and holding certain bilingual positions in government, usually federal but sometimes provincial.

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1. Arai and Pedlar (1997: 179-180) do mention that the core volunteers they studied saw a career in the history of their personal involvement in community-building activities. The authors, however, did not directly study the volunteer career.

2. By way of additional evidence, note that two of the five presidents of voluntary associations who Malenfant (1993: 73, 100) interviewed described in much the same way their careers in volunteering.

3. Since we have already noted that the sector or sectors of volunteer work are usually chosen for leisure reasons, for their appeal to the volunteer, one might ask how it can happen that someone might wind up working in a sector with which he or she is unfamiliar. Most of the time respondents who had worked in these circumstances said they felt an obligation to help with at least some of the sport, leisure, or educational activities of their children. But, as noted earlier, this should be classified as marginal volunteering to the extent that the volunteer has little or no affinity for or familiarity with the sector.

4. These rates of volunteering are for Americans in their seventies and eighties, which must suffice, however, since no data exist for Canadians in these age groups. The last age group in the Canadian surveys is "age 64 and beyond" (Duchesne, 1989: 11; Statistics Canada, 1998b: 27).

5. Since no reasonable explanation for this Calgary-Edmonton discrepancy comes to mind, it may be that it is due to idiosyncratic differences between the two subsamples.

1. The tenth reward was added to the list on the file card after the sixth interview.

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2. A couple of respondents described vast and complicated projects they hoped to realize through the group or organization over which they presided, projects that, if successful, would enhance considerably, the group or organization in particular and the francophone community in general. Not surprisingly, one of them ranked reward 10 as the most important for him, while the other ranked reward 9 as third most important for her.

3. Certain components of this definition have been drawn from the earlier definitional efforts of Sobel 1981) and Veal (1993).

4. "Orientation" is defined here as a mental and emotional point of view or frame of reference centered on the common set of interests or social conditions.

1. Somewhat more than a third of both samples also performed volunteer work in English, although they were much less likely to occupy key volunteer posts in this language than when volunteering in French.

2. As good a descriptor as "quietly disaffiliated" is, Goffman's decision to classify such people as deviant fails to square with the serious leisure participants' views of themselves and, for that matter, with the canons of deviance theory (e.g., Stebbins, 1996a: 2-7).

3. Rosenthal's (1981) study of chiropractors exemplifies this possibility.

1. I am indebted to Stanley Parker for calling my attention to this possibility.

2. Mason-Mullet, apparently unaware of the small literature on volunteering as leisure (see chapter 3), organizes her discussion around what she sees as the novel idea that, when done as participative

citizenship, volunteering is in reality leisure.

1. This practice of mandatory overtime for existing employees is believed to cost the employer significantly less than hiring additional full-time employees to perform the overtime tasks. For instance, management economizes by avoiding the costs of fringe benefits they would have to grant to new personnel.

2. These authors are by no means the first to note these trends. For example, Jenkins and Sherman (1979) discussed them from a British standpoint, and three years later Jones (1982) described the same processes at work in Australia. Nevertheless, Rifkin (1995: 6) was able to observe that the enormous corporate spending on electronic technology during the 1980s began to pay off only in the early 1990s through increased productivity, reduced labor costs, and greater profits. The cost of labor is being reduced chiefly by shrinking the workforce.

3. There are other forces behind this trend besides government cutbacks and corporate downsizing. One is the popularity of the early retirement incentive programs. Another is the reduction of the minimum age from sixty-five to sixty, the age at which a subscriber can draw benefits from the Canada Pension Plan.

4. See, for example, Jenkins and Sherman (1981) and Sherman (1986). Nonetheless, Rifkin comes closer than the others to completing the story when he examines the role of volunteers and community service in the closing chapters of his book.

5. In the studies of amateurs and hobbyists, such people have often been analyzed as "devotees" and compared with "participants," who are the regulars in Unruh's scheme (see Stebbins, 1992b:

46-48).

7. This is an accurate portrayal of the concept of workaholic as originally set out by Machlowitz (1980). Perhaps because of the label itself, many people have misinterpreted of her ideas, resulting in the popular but erroneous notion that she was writing about driven obsessives.

7. Unruh's (1979) concept of the social world resembles in many ways Maffesoli's (1996) concept of the tribe.

1. Canada holds each April in both official languages an annual national volunteer week. This constitutes a recognition of sorts for all volunteers. Nevertheless, the kind of recognition said to be lacking is of the intermediate variety, that coming from employers and the local community. This is the kind they want most, since it comes from people who form part of their social world.

2. Several respondents were convinced that there are actually enough people in their language community to do the volunteer work it needs. These people have simply not been recruited. Moreover, they will remain hidden until an effective recruitment plan is devised and implemented.