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GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH



A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THREE PHILANTHROPIC  
FINANCIAL CAMPAIGNS IN MONTREAL

. . . . .

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts

by

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

### PART I

#### INTRODUCTION

Chapter I.	Statement of Purposes, Methodology and Research Techniques.....	1
Chapter II.	The Cultural Setting of Philanthropy.....	9
	1. The Meaning of Philanthropy.	
	2. The Institutionalization and Diversification of Philanthropy.	
	3. Philanthropy in Canada.	
	4. Philanthropy in Montreal.	
	5. The Importance of the Philanthropic Campaign.	
Chapter III.	The Philanthropic Institution.....	25
	1. Institutional Types.	
	2. The Organization of the Money-Raising Institution.	

### PART II

#### STAGES IN A PHILANTHROPIC MONEY-RAISING CAMPAIGN

Chapter IV.	The Financial Campaign.....	37
	1. Inception.	
	2. Organization.	
	3. Solicitation.	
	4. Completion.	

### PART III

#### THREE ASPECTS OF THE INFORMAL ORGANIZATION OF THE FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN

Chapter V.	Status Interrelationships.....	60
	1. Social Position of Office Holders and its Consequences for Campaign Organization.	
	2. The Effect of Participation upon Social and Occupational Status of Volunteers.	
Chapter VI.	Campaign Authority Relationships.....	91
	1. Sources of Authority.	
	2. Use of Authority.	
	3. Division of Authority on Sex Lines.	
	4. Acceptance of Authority.	
	5. Locus of Responsibility and Control.	
Chapter VII.	The Framework of Values.....	122
	1. Traditional Philanthropic Values.	



TABLE OF CONTENTS (Cont'd)

Page

- 2. The Volunteer and his Values.
- 3. The Dual Value Orientation and its Consequences.

PART IV

CONCLUSIONS

Chapter Vlll. Summary of the Main Findings of this Thesis..... 141

Chapter lX      Suggestions for Further Research..... 148

Appendix.:..... 153

Bibliography.:..... 162

## List of Appendix Tables and Illustrations

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. Charitable Donations by Individuals, Companies and Estates, Canada and Regions - 1946.....	153
2. Approximate Estimate of the Amount and Percentage of Canadian Charitable Donations for Individuals, Profit Companies, and Estates.....	153
3. Relationship of Charitable Donations by Individuals to Taxable Income, Canada and Provinces - 1946 Taxation Year.....	154
4. Charitable Donations of Individuals by Income Class, Canada - 1946 Taxation Year.....	154
5. Percentage Distribution of Income and Donations by Income Group, Taxable Income and Charitable Donations of Individuals, Canada - 1946 Taxation Year.....	155
6. Charitable Donations of Individuals by Occupational Class, Canada - 1946 Taxation Year.....	156
7. Donation Rate of Companies by Income Class, Charitable Donations Per \$1,000 of Net Taxable Income by Income Class, Canada and Provinces - 1946 Taxation Year.....	157
8. Relationship of Donations to Income for High Income Companies (Donations and Incomes for Companies with Income of \$100,000 or Over Expressed as Percentage of Total for all Companies) Canada and Provinces - 1946 Taxation Year.....	158
9. Yearly Campaign Receipts, Welfare Federation of Montreal 1923-1948.....	159

## Figure

1. The Formal Structure of a Philanthropic Money-Raising Institution.....	160
2. The Formal Structure of a Satellite Philanthropic Institution.....	160
3. The Campaign Authority Pattern and Status Hierarchy....	161



## PREFACE

To Professor Aileen Ross, the thesis director whose initial interest made this study possible, the writer wishes to express his appreciation for her constant willingness to discuss the many problems which arose during the course of this analysis. The author is also grateful to Mrs. Joan Jackson, Research Assistant, for her technical advice, and to Mrs. Dudley Rose for her help in interviewing respondents.

Because philanthropy is a field of human behavior which has been mainly overlooked as a focus of study by sociologists, the writer was faced with the task of conceptualizing empirical data within a theoretical framework without help from previous studies of a similar nature. The author wishes to acknowledge the contributions made in this regard by his fellow students in formal seminar discussions, and during informal meetings.

## PART I

### Introduction



## CHAPTER I

### Statement of Purposes, Methodology and Research Techniques

Purposes.

Although philanthropy is a traditional pattern of activity in our society, its sociological implications, particularly the institutional and money-raising aspects, have not been greatly explored or investigated. It is this type of activity which the sociologist should investigate since, from common sense observation, it is evident that it is a recurrent feature of our urban life requiring the efforts of numerous individuals, financially<sup>1.</sup> and otherwise.

This thesis is the first step in a research program designed to investigate the organization of philanthropy, its significance for the individual, and the larger social organization of which he is a part.

Before determining the focus of this pilot study it was considered advisable to become familiar with the background of Protestant and non-sectarian philanthropic activity in Montreal. Following this a number of initial interviews were undertaken. This interview material gave rise to the thesis problem, and, to some extent, the questions to which data of this nature could be subjected. It was realized that this type of material imposed certain limitations upon the range of investigation, but only infrequently was it possible to supplement it with the investigator's observations gathered

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1. See Appendix Table 2.



while actually participating in philanthropic activity. This stage of the research ended when it was decided that this thesis would report upon a sociological study of the organization of three philanthropic financial campaigns in Montreal. The particular campaigns chosen for study were those organized by the Metropolitan Y.M.C.A., Welfare Federation, and the Salvation Army, all of Montreal.

Only when the pattern of campaign activity has been worked out can particular questions be answered. This demands a knowledge of the historical background of philanthropy, and of the manner in which it has become institutionalized. This is outlined in Chapters II and III and raises the question: where does the financial campaign fit into the philanthropic institution's pattern of activity? To answer this, Part II describes the way in which the campaign is organized and operates.

Having thus furnished a general setting the next step was to analyse the organization of the campaign in order to indicate the relationship between the organization and the individual. This is the aim of Part III. Three axes of analysis were chosen, using the sociological concepts of status, authority, and values since they gave the most fruitful approach to the problem of organization. It is this problem of campaign organization which is the main focus of this thesis.

The concept of status was used in an attempt to show the relationship between an individual's position in the social structure and his position in the campaign organization. In order to do

this it was necessary to ask the questions: what type of person is drawn into these campaigns, and what are some of their more important social characteristics from the point of view of the organization? In answering these questions it is also shown how individuals who volunteer for this activity arrange themselves for effective action.

The next step in the analysis of campaign organization was to determine its authority structure, and the resulting relationships between the participants. In order to determine this particular pattern, an analysis was made of the sources of authority, and its use by particular office holders. Following this line of analysis the next step was to establish the locus of responsibility and control.

The first two lines of analysis give some indication of how people are drawn into these campaigns, and the way in which they are arranged for effective action. The next problem was to understand why hundreds and sometimes thousands of individuals of varied social backgrounds voluntarily form themselves into an organization for the purpose of raising money for others to use. Why do people join the organization? How do they look upon this activity? What is the basis of their participation? An attempt was made to answer these questions by analysing the campaign's framework of values.



### Methodology.

It was indicated above that the primary focus of this study is upon the social organization of three philanthropic fund-raising campaigns. A minimum of attention has been paid to the activities involved during the operation of the campaign in its soliciting for funds. It is a study of selected aspects of the action structure which underlies the formal organization for work.

The campaigns were viewed as part of a philanthropic institution's pattern of activity. The activity of any institution, when seen through the eyes of its various members, can be divided into a number of distinctive action patterns. That is, an institution comprises an organization, or complex, of patterns of action which define ways of acting for individual participants. Each pattern is structured in its details, and the relevant activities defined, thus supplying the actors with a statement of their duties and privileges.

The formal definitions of action contained in a pattern of action are abstractions which do not adequately reflect the empirical reality. The formal organization, however, serves as an analytical device which can be used to understand the ways in which the actual action deviates from this formal structure. It may be used as a starting point through which subsequent lines of analysis may be drawn. Particular axes of analysis, however, may be more profitable than others due to limitations of data.

Since these campaigns are viewed as an action pattern of a particular type of philanthropic institution the theory of institutions provides the conceptual framework of this study. The concept of status implies a description of the activity performed by an individual because of his position in a particular social milieu. It is obvious that an adult individual occupies more than one status. These statuses, however are mutually related. Using this concept, an analysis can be made to determine those social characteristics of individual participants which are important for their placement in the campaign organization, the consequences of these characteristics for the organization, and some indication of the relationship between an individual's position in the campaign to his position in a social or occupational milieu.

The incumbent of a particular position in an organization may be directed, and may direct others, to perform certain duties. This implies the use of authority which is a recognized right to influence the actions of others. Authority adheres to offices, to a greater or lesser degree, in any organization. However, the authority of a particular office may be related to the incumbent's superior status in another organization. Through the use of this concept an analysis can be made to determine the actual patterning of action which emerges through the use of authority, the resulting relationships between participants, and the consequences of the use of authority for the campaign organization.

This patterning of action is a hierarchical arrangement of statuses. In the performance of duties laid down for the status

which he occupies, the individual may express himself in terms which indicate certain values or meanings which are common to the group, and which are attached to objects, and activities. By following this line of analysis it is possible to determine some of the reasons why people voluntarily give their time and effort to these campaigns, and to indicate the meaning which this activity has for them.

#### Research Techniques.

Much of the material concerning the background of Protestant and non-sectarian philanthropic activity in Montreal was provided by the personal records of a deceased Montreal philanthropist. This consisted of personal letters, fund collecting records, press clippings, and data concerning the organization of non-Catholic and non-Jewish philanthropy in Montreal.

A sample of six non-directed interviews was undertaken to determine the interview procedure, the thesis problem and its dimensions. From organization charts it was evident that the campaigns under study were organized into a hierarchy of roles. The first six interviews were chosen, therefore, from the three upper hierarchical levels.

Fifty-two additional interviews were completed, making a total of fifty-eight altogether. Of these, eighteen were males and the remainder were females. The people interviewed were chosen from each level in the campaign organization in order that the total structure could be built up as it appeared to the various individuals participating. If the leaders had risen from the bottom of the hierarchy,

they could describe the structure from their present perspective, and as it appeared to them in their changing positions. Two interviews were of this type. One leader was chosen for his present position without participation in the lower substructures, giving a somewhat different perspective. This procedure was followed with individuals in other positions. By interviewing people in different strata the different perspectives were outlined. However, it was found that in interviewing individuals in the lower substructures, women were more easily accessible than men, perhaps over-accenting the female perspective. This should be interpreted as a warning rather than as a fact since such a bias can only be verified through further interviews with males.

To make a more complete picture, a collection was made of newspaper clippings, and the many booklets and pamphlets of philanthropic campaigns. From these were gathered interrelations embodied in the formal structure of rules and constitutions. These were fitted together with the interviews mentioned above.

Furthermore, the writer was able to participate in a philanthropic campaign in a minor capacity as a participant observer. The material thus gathered proved helpful both in adding to the data and in checking interview statements concerning campaign activity.

Although the primary focus of this study is upon three specific campaigns, (the Metropolitan Y.M.C.A., Welfare Federation, and the Salvation Army) the interviews also gave a great deal of information about similar types of campaigns in which respondents had participated.



In order to illustrate certain facts they drew upon their overall campaign experience. Whereas all the material gathered was used to provide a background for this study, it has only been drawn upon specifically when it provides a more adequate illustration of points common to all campaigns under study.

## CHAPTER II

### The Cultural Setting of Philanthropy

### The Meaning of Philanthropy.

In every society human activities are given meaning.

In this way individual activity is directed into certain channels and diverted from others. In our society philanthropic activity, in all its diverse forms, from the administration of huge philanthropic trusts, to unorganized, intermittent voluntary giving, is undertaken by a multitude of individuals and groups for whom its meaning may be religious, ethical, economic, legal or professional.<sup>1.</sup> This meaning, or cultural definition, may be passed on from generation to generation becoming part of the social heritage of the group. These cultural definitions of human activity are factors which help to govern behavior. According to Parsons, "....These are the patterns of culture which are susceptible of institutionalization....".<sup>2.</sup>

Philanthropic activity has passed through various stages of institutionalization. Today there exist many philanthropic institutions serving a variety of needs which are supported by many individuals and groups part of whose motivation for giving may be said to stem from the cultural definition of giving. Within limits, it is "approved" activity provided that it does not adversely affect human "initiative".

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1. Faris, Ellsworth, "Charity and the Social Sciences"; from Intelligent Philanthropy, Edited by E. Faris, F. Laune, and A.J. Todd, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1930. pp. 299-310.
  2. Parsons, Talcott. Essays in Sociological Theory: Pure and Applied. Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1949. p.9.

Before the organized campaigns came into existence, philanthropic giving was a haphazard affair in which the individual used his wealth to help others without being subjected to a barrage of appeals and propaganda, and a constant stream of highly organized canvassers using a variety of techniques to gain donations. This haphazard giving was culturally defined according to the ideals of "service", and "sacrifice". Today however, most philanthropic giving has become organized and is a recognised aim of a particular type of philanthropic institution.

In common usage the term "charity" means a quality of thought or feeling, and a pattern of conduct with reference to the unfortunate in society.<sup>3.</sup> This type of activity acquired a religious sanction very early in the history of western culture. It was looked upon as the responsibility of the group. "Altruism was a more imaginative interpretation of group self-preservation."<sup>4.</sup> With the passage of time the whole scope and meaning of philanthropy has undergone many changes. There have been changes in the types of beneficiaries and in the types of benefits. These have both reflected the changing social values of the community.

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3. Pray, Kenneth, L.M. "Charity": from Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, New York, Macmillan and Company, 1948.

4. Ibid.



The early Christian church with its emphasis upon immortality and the importance of life after death, tended to weaken charitable motives related to immediate social conditions and objectives, and to strengthen the belief in the eternal personal welfare of the individual. Care for the spiritual needs of the beneficiaries of charity became more important than their physical or social needs. This view of philanthropy provided a stimulus to private charitable effort.

A multitude of philanthropic endeavors were organized by the early Christian church. Good works were considered as a means of spiritual salvation, and were associated with the granting of indulgences in return for alms. The abuses of this system formed the point of attack upon the Roman Catholic Church during the Reformation. The Protestant ethic maintained justification by faith and denied that virtue could be gained by particular charitable acts which were dissociated from the moral life of the individual. This point of view was a factor in the subsequent replacement of the church by the state in philanthropic effort in Europe and later, but to a lesser extent, in America.

Economic and political changes which brought with them social disorganization were other factors in setting the stage for the administration of public relief by the state. Social disorganization coincided with the decline of old religious sanctions concerning private giving, and depletion of charitable resources both private

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and secular. The first and most comprehensive measure by government in the field of charity was the Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601. This was the outgrowth of many former experiments, and lasted 200 years.

The industrial revolution brought with it social disorganization which aroused philanthropic interest, but it also brought into being a new type of capitalist interested in economy in public spending, an inexhaustible supply of cheap labour, and a minimum of interference in economic life. All this was threatened by government philanthropic activity. The Report of the Poor Law Commission of 1813 was the result of the struggle between the new capitalist class, and those who looked upon the government as a source of philanthropy.<sup>6.</sup>

The Institutionalization and Diversification  
of Philanthropy.

In America the rise of philanthropic activity, particularly the organization of large philanthropic foundations, coincided with the closing of the American frontier. This is not to suggest that philanthropy was of no concern before this time, but "purposely-planned philanthropy of the American Foundation type is a development of the last fifty years."<sup>7.</sup> This type of philanthropy stemmed from the large fortunes which were accumulated in the exploitation of the American frontier.

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5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Orton, Dwayne. The Future of Educational Philanthropy. Eastern Association of College and University Business Officers. 25th Annual Meeting, New York, 1944. p. 89.

The existence of these large foundations is evidence of a surplus of wealth that was not needed for reinvestment, and the beginnings of a rudimentary social consciousness on the part of the holders of such wealth. But the private foundation is also "an attempt to project the theory of individualism in the social sphere; those who accumulated large fortunes wished also to determine how this wealth was to be redistributed, and what social effects it was intended to bring about. The foundation is therefore a symbol of individualism." 8.

According to Lindeman, the foundation was the result of two forces operating within the American capitalistic pattern. These were "(a) huge fortunes which could not possibly be used in consumption, however conspicuous and wasteful, by the possessors, and (b) the enthusiastic acceptance of the principle of organization. The foundation is a manifestation of collectivism expressing itself on a purely practical level. If business and industry demand rigid forms of organization, why not philanthropy?" 9.

There are three types of foundation now in existence: "(a) those established by the will of a single donor and receiving funds from no other source, (b) those established by the legal act of a single donor, and (c) those established by the legal act of a group of donors." 10.

The rise of philanthropic trusts, which were founded upon large private fortunes, combined with an awakening interest in

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8. Lindeman, E.C. Wealth and Culture. New York, Harcourt Brace & Co., 1936. p.5.

9. Ibid. pp.7-8.

10. Ibid. p.10.

human affairs to bring about the rapid growth of organized philanthropy.<sup>11.</sup>

These large philanthropic trusts and foundations were, however, only one aspect, if an important one, of organized philanthropy. Founded as they were on private wealth they were bound to feel the effects of the decline of large individual fortunes. Large corporations superseded individuals as custodians of wealth, and it became more and more difficult to tap this source of potential philanthropic donations. This fact brought with it the need for a different type of organization which would appeal to the business executive. Furthermore, with a growing interest in, and awareness of social problems, the larger foundations no longer served the growing list of needs. They had been organized to serve specific needs, but these had increased in number with the awakened social interest.

Philanthropic activity, already highly diversified, began to take on new forms which became highly specialized. Government, as well as private citizens began to take more and more interest in the diverse forms of philanthropy. One of the major distinctions between European and American philanthropy was the greater variety and larger proportions of philanthropy in America undertaken by private groups. This pattern however, began to change with the trend towards dependence upon government aid.

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11. Norton, William J. The Cooperative Movement in Social Work. New York, MacMillan Co., 1927. p.1.



To enable it to undertake various types of welfare activity such as child care, maternal welfare, old age pensions, and hospitals, the government needed revenue. This was obtained through the taxing of large private fortunes, other high income groups, and corporations.

The decline of large private fortunes, and the growth of large corporations, the growing field of government philanthropic interests, and the growing list of social needs were factors which contributed to the growth of a particular type of philanthropic institution which served as a coordinating, policy-making, and money-raising agency for other philanthropic institutions which had been organized to meet the growing social needs.

At the beginning of the twentieth century America had a large body of organized but uncoordinated social agencies. There existed a multiplicity of uncoordinated agencies causing limited support, excessive costs, duplication and inefficiency. A movement grew to foster cooperation and prevent overlapping of function. Social work, in all its forms, was looked upon as a public utility, which, if it was to be carried out under private auspices, should be obliged to give the public ample assurance that the service would not be wasteful, would not consume its resources in internal machinery, and would not<sup>12.</sup> be destructive of American values.

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12. Ibid.

The establishment of a Committee of Benevolent Associations by the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce in 1900 was the beginning of an attempt on the part of donors in the United States to bring order into the field of private philanthropy. From this beginning sprang Councils of Social Agencies which were mutual associations of social work organizations whose expressed aim was to provide<sup>13.</sup> the mechanics of cooperation, mutual planning and joint action. Financial Federations, whose objective was to correlate the activities of the various philanthropic institutions through central financing were another development in this field. They were established on a volunteer basis except for the hiring of a professional executive. By the use of new campaign methods this type of organization was able to raise more money.

The rationale of this new type of philanthropic institution indicated a realization that its main source of donations was the business community. Its programme was therefore arranged to appeal to this group. This marked the beginning of a new era for organized philanthropy which had heretofore been oriented to a traditional order stressing traditional values. It now became oriented to a more secular order in which the values and methods of business organizations were stressed. Three major axioms were formulated: (i) the necessity for a trained staff because the organization was looked upon as a

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13. Ibid.

business undertaking; (ii) an organized selling campaign would have to be carried out which should not be on an amateur basis; and (iii) there should be the right of designation of the gift by the donor.<sup>14.</sup> This type of organization provided a place for the professional money-raiser who was used to the methods of the financial world.

The campaign method of raising funds for philanthropy was a movement apart from the financial federation, and was first used by the Young Men's Christian Association. Today it is used by all types of philanthropic institutions, but it was at first used by few because:

"It was argued that more money might be obtained at first by this method, but that such increases would be given not as a result of interest in the work and an understanding of it, but because of obnoxious, irresistible pressure, and because of the excitement and enthusiasm the campaign generated. It was thought that the larger gifts might shrink after the first appeal; that some people would make pledges in order to see their names in the paper which was not a proper spirit; that team members would use all sorts of arguments, some of which the organization could not approve; that the rivalry among the teams would breed a scramble for the best names on the prospect list, and a slighting of other names; and that it would be harder to get renewals from those who subscribed during a campaign. It was further argued that there would be great difficulty in obtaining people who were willing to continue as members of teams year after year." 15.

World War 1, with its many government money-raising campaigns saw the acceptance of campaign methods which were based on

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14. Ibid.

15. Ibid. p. 193.

the following principles: (i) skilled planning and direction (ii) compilation, efficient distribution and constant control of a sufficient number of prospect cards, (iii) organized use of large numbers of volunteers, (iv) the largest amount of publicity it was possible to secure, and (v) a short specified time at the end of which the work was to be completed.<sup>16.</sup>

Philanthropy in Canada.

In a recent study by the Josies an attempt was made to provide some idea of the contributions to private charity<sup>17.</sup> in Canada as they are represented by claims for exemption from duty or taxation. The authors claim that, "since exemptions are allowed for such contributions it seems likely that the (returns made for tax purposes) cover the bulk of donations made."<sup>18.</sup>

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16. Ibid. p.195.

17. "In its legal sense 'charity' comprises trusts or organizations for (1) the relief of poverty; (2) the advancement of education; (3) the advancement of religion; and (4) other purposes beneficial to the community not falling under any of the preceding heads. The Minister of National Revenue has stated that the organizations to be regarded as charitable in the eyes of the law are those of a public nature whose object is to benefit the community or some part of it as opposed to particular individuals pointed out by the donor. In short, gifts for the abstract purpose of relieving poverty, advancing education or religion are charitable....Finally, it may be said in deciding whether a particular gift is charitable as being beneficial to the community, the point to be considered is the purpose of the gift and the organization. The source from which the funds are derived is not the test." Josie, Gordon and Svanhuit, Charitable Donations in Canada. Ottawa; The Canadian Welfare Council, 1949. p.5.

18. Ibid.

The overall individual donation rate is 1.30 per cent.

"In Ontario and all the eastern provinces the rate is over one per cent.....The rate is less than one per cent in all provinces west of Ontario with a low of 0.52 per cent in British Columbia".<sup>19.</sup>

Individuals in the higher income groups generally<sup>20.</sup> give at a higher rate than those in the lower income groups. However, over thirty-six million dollars or 58.90 per cent of all individual donations were contributed by persons with less than \$3000 taxable income. Further, more than one third of all contributions were made by<sup>21.</sup> people with less than \$2000 taxable income. The professional classes,<sup>22.</sup> having relatively higher incomes, give at a higher donation rate.

With respect to corporation charitable contributions for Canada as a whole there is a decline in the percentage of donations with increase in net taxable income, but this varies to some extent according to province. "The smallest companies give more than three times<sup>23.</sup> the percentage donation of those in the largest earning group." Furthermore, for Canada as a whole those companies with a net taxable income of \$100,000 or more received 79.82 per cent of the total net taxable income, but they claimed only 66.62 per cent of the charitable donations

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19. Ibid.

20. See Appendix Table 4.

21. See Appendix Table 4 and 5.

22. See Appendix Table 6.

23. Gordon and Svanhuit Josie. Op. Cit., p. 7. See Appendix Table 7.



24.  
of all companies.

In an overall picture of charitable donations in Canada it can be said that:

"In spite of the generous exemptions from income tax allowed for donations to charity in Canada, Canadians are making relatively little use of this privilege. The implication is that they are not giving any thing like the amounts allowed. Computed as a percentage of taxable income the overall donation rate of individuals is 1.30 per cent; of corporations 0.76 per cent. The overall donation rate of estates subject to succession duty is 2.10 per cent." 25.

"The total charitable donations for 1946 were then, roughly 80 million dollars of which more than three quarters was donated by individuals. Nearly 60 per cent of individual contributions came from persons with less than \$3000 taxable income, so that this group paid over 45 per cent of the national charity bill." 26.

The above illustrations give some indication of the amount of money contributed to philanthropies in Canada today. This amount has grown with the increasing diversity of services offered by philanthropic institutions. As new needs were recognized these institutions offered special services to meet them.

New "areas" of service were recognized by those engaged in philanthropic activity. New needs, which provided new "areas" of service were brought to the attention of philanthropic organizations by increasing evidence of social disorganization; the result of rapid

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24. See Appendix Table 8.

25. Gordon and Svanhuit Josie. Op. Cit., p. 8. See Appendix Table 1.

26. Ibid. See Appendix Table 2

industrialization and all it involved. These new "areas" of service were divided into a diversity of specializations such as child care, family welfare, adoption care, group work and many others. This increasing specialization of services was accompanied by their professionalization.

#### Philanthropy in Montreal.

Montreal was the only city in the province of Quebec to establish the coordinating, policy-making, and money-raising institutions mentioned above. These were divided according to religious affiliation and nationality. The Protestant group established the Montreal Council of Social Agencies which subsequently organized Financial Federation which in 1943 was renamed Welfare Federation. The Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, founded in 1917 and the oldest organization of its kind in Montreal, served the Jewish community. The Federation of Catholic Charities was established in 1930 by the English-speaking Catholic community, while the Federation Oeuvres de Charite Canadiennes francaises was organized in 1933 to serve a certain number of French-speaking Catholic agencies.<sup>27.</sup>

The Montreal Council of Social Agencies comprises self-supporting organizations and thirty-one institutions included under Welfare Federation. "Among the self-supporting organizations a certain

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27. Minville, Esdras. Labour Legislation and Social Services in the Province of Quebec. A Study Prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, 1938. p. 55. Dates mentioned are quoted in a letter from the Secretary, Community Chests and Councils Division, The Canadian Welfare Council, Ottawa, Canada.

number such as the hospitals, orphan asylums, and others not of a hospitalizing nature receive grants from the "Assistance Publique."<sup>28.</sup>

The philanthropic institutions serving the Protestant population of the City of Montreal have organized their money-raising activities after the pattern followed by similar institutions in the United States, and which is followed by all similar privately supported philanthropic institutions in Canada.

The Importance of the Philanthropic Campaign.

In Montreal, as in other areas of Canada and the United States where the pattern of private philanthropy was followed, the increasing needs and specialization emphasized the importance of the financial campaign. This particular pattern of activity became one of the most important activities of the philanthropic institutions whose stated aims were coordination, policy-making, and money-raising, and which had been organized on the basis of a division of labour with the satellite institutions under their control.

Some indication of the importance of the philanthropic financial campaign, and the gradual increase in its objective in order to serve the growing financial needs of philanthropic institutions may be seen with respect to the amounts raised during the financial campaigns<sup>29.</sup> of Welfare Federation of Montreal from 1923 to 1948.

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28. Ibid. p. 62.

29. See Appendix Table 9.

Summary.

The cultural definition of philanthropic activity changes with the changing culture. Western civilization has seen this particular culture pattern become institutionalized by coming under the control of religious, government, and voluntaristic philanthropic institutions. All three types of institutionalized philanthropy exist in our society today. Factors of importance in the founding of philanthropy in America were: the capitalistic pattern of American society, within which huge fortunes of surplus wealth could be made, and the acceptance and efficient exploitation of the principle of organization. The decline of large personal fortunes, the rise of the large corporations, and the voluntary free-founding of a large number of philanthropic institutions serving many and varied needs were factors which gave rise to the organization of Councils of Social Agencies, Community Chests, and Federations. These were a particular type of philanthropic institution whose main functions were policy-making, coordinating, and money-raising for the community's network of philanthropic institutions. The campaign method of money-raising was first used by the Young Men's Christian Association, and was quickly accepted and followed by Federations, Community Chests, and similar institutions.

In Montreal the Council of Social Agencies is an institution which to some extent coordinates the activities of its member institutions. Its stated purposes are:

"Basically to match health and welfare services to people's needs, and to help in the promotion of the best services it can get. How is this work done? By representatives of its member agencies, and many who

are not members, getting together to work cooperatively, scientifically, idealistically, persistently, and enthusiastically on social problems of importance. This means sharing knowledge, learning new things, and getting information across to the general public, who use and support Montreal's welfare services, and whose representative this Council is." 30.

Unlike some of its member institutions such as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Salvation Army, and Welfare Federation, whose money-raising campaigns are the focus of this study, the Montreal Council of Social Agencies has no money-raising function.<sup>31.</sup> These three institutions each have a number of institutional units over whom they exert a certain degree of control, whose activities they coordinate, and for whom they organize the financial campaigns in which these three institutions participate, to a greater or lesser extent, with their satellite institutional units.

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30. Welfare Federation Year Book. Welfare Federation of Montreal, 1949. p. 12.

31. Examples of the institutional units referred to are the Notre de Dame de Grace, and St. Denis branches of the Y.M.C.A., the Catherine Booth Hospital of the Salvation Army; and the Family Welfare Association and the Protestant Foster Home Center of Welfare Federation. There are numerous other institutional units under the control of these three money-raising institutions, but it is considered unnecessary to mention all of them here.

### CHAPTER III

#### The Philanthropic Institution

### Institutional Types.

It is a characteristic of our social organization than many of the structures found therein have been organized on a voluntary basis. This is particularly true with respect to philanthropic institutions which have grown out of the voluntary association of individuals whose apparent aim has been to satisfy, as best they might, the needs of the less fortunate.

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An institution is an organization of behavior patterns.

A behavior pattern is a relatively uniform way of acting which may be the result of the uniform response of a plurality of individuals to the

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1. The concept of institutions used in this study is derived from two sources. Talcott Parsons considers institutions as a complex of institutionalized culture patterns to which a complex of motivations and social sanction have become attached. "A pattern governing action in a social system will be called institutionalized in so far as it defines the main modes of legitimately expected behavior of the persons acting in the relevant social roles and in so far as conformity with these expectations is of strategic structural significance to the social system. An institutional pattern is thus a culture pattern.....to which a certain structured complex of motivations and social sanctions has become attached. It is an ideal pattern, but since conformity is legitimately expected it is not a "utopian" pattern. An institution is a complex of such institutional patterns which it is convenient to treat as a structural unit in the social system." Parsons, Talcott. Op. Cit., Footnote, p. 4. In his definition of institutions Hughes stresses the factors of "consistency" and "concert" or "organization" which should be added to Parson's definition. "Two features of such elementary institutions are (1) a set of mores or formal rules which can be fulfilled by (2) people acting collectively in traditional complementary capacities or offices. The first of these represents consistency; the second concert or organization." Hughes, E. C. "Institutions", from New Outline of the Principles of Sociology, New York, Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1946. p. 228.

same stimuli or convention. It is in the uniform activities which are the response of a plurality of actors to convention that we are particularly interested here. A pattern of behavior is said to be institutionalized when there exists a social definition of the behavior expected of the actor in a given position in a social relationship. In familiar situations which have been considered socially significant to our social groups, the behavior of actors must conform to recognized ways of acting, since these expected ways define the proper and necessary behavior.

Since we say that an institution is an organization of such patterns we imply both the direction of the activity towards an object or purpose, and the social limitations placed on the forms which this activity can take. Recurring situations have been structured in their details, and large parts of the activities relevant to them have been defined, thus supplying us with a statement of the duties and privileges of the actors in the situation. Behavioral patterns in which such a limiting social definition is generally accepted, and taken into consideration by the actors, is said to be institutionalized. General agreement which exists with respect to the adequacy and necessity of this definition ensures consistency. Furthermore, such behavioral patterns are interrelated with each other and unified through their orientation towards a goal.

Philanthropic institutions are mainly supported by voluntary contributions which has necessitated a periodical campaign to "sell" the organization to the public. This has led to the growth of a particular



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type of office with a corresponding type of incumbent. The duties of the incumbent of such an office has been not only to "sell" the organization to the public through various types of propaganda, but also to provide the techniques necessary to organize the efforts of interested individuals to collect donations from the public.

"Out of all this has come an institutional structure which is remarkably the same in a great variety of organizations.....It consists of a board (generally self-perpetuating, or nearly so), an enterprising promotional and administrative officer and a professional staff, and two other categories of people - those who subsidize the organization and those who receive its services. The different parts articulate in some measure the social and economic structure of American society. This form is a by-product of voluntary founding and voluntary financial support in a prosperous, expanding individualistic society. It differs from the form of organization of business in that boards are trustees rather than owners, and in that the receivers of the services pay for only part of what they receive". 3.

In order to outline the formal structural pattern of those institutions with which the organization of the financial campaign is interrelated it is first necessary to distinguish between two types of philanthropic institutions. Although both are oriented to norms of service, and have a similar type of structure, the institution in which this study is primarily interested is that which, (like the Welfare Federation, the Young Men's Christian Association, or the Salvation Army

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2. Hughes, E. C. "The Impact of War on American Institutions." American Journal of Sociology, Vol. XLIII, No. 3, Nov., 1942. pp. 398-403.

3. Hughes, E. C. Op. Cit., p. 400.

headquarters of Montreal) has the important functions of coordinating, policy-making, and money-raising for those satellite philanthropic institutions organized around it.<sup>4.</sup> However, these are not the sole functions, or recognized aims,<sup>5.</sup> of this type of institution. Oriented as it is by norms of service it, like its satellites, may have other functions to perform, as in the case of the Metropolitan Branch of the Young Men's Christian Association with its educational, and recreational activities. On the other hand it is this type of institution which coordinates the activities of its satellite institutions, which provides the general framework of policy within which they define their own activity, and which organize the campaign activity in which they, to a greater or lesser degree may participate, and from which they receive financial support.

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4. The concept of satellite institutions in this context refers to those philanthropic institutions, such as the Protestant Foster Home Center, the Notre Dame de Grace Branch of the Young Men's Christian Association, and the Catherine Booth Hospital, all of Montreal, which receive money, whose policies are, to a greater or lesser degree affected, and whose activities are, to a greater or lesser degree coordinated, by virtue of their subordinate relationship with a coordinating policy-making and money-raising philanthropic institution. See footnote 31, Chap. II.
5. The concept of function used in this thesis refers to the observed consequences of an item or pattern of behavior which contributes to the maintenance of the social system, and which are intended and recognized by the participants in the system. On the other hand, the concept of dysfunction refers to those observed consequences of such an item or pattern which detract from the maintenance of the social system.
- Merton, Robert, K. Social Theory and Social Structure. Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1949, pp. 50-51.

Some indication of the importance of these three principal functions can be gained from their formal definition in the case of Welfare Federation of Montreal.

"Federation has saved the community an incalculable amount of effort and expense in reducing a substantial number of appeals to one annual drive. Federation has raised nearly \$20,000,000 in its 27 years, making possible an expenditure of at least half as much again for the health and welfare of a significant part of the community.

Federation has brought to health and welfare organizations business-like methods in budgetting and administration, and has received a substantial measure of coordination in planning.

Federation has demonstrated the validity of private programs which since have become public, and has spearheaded the promotion and development of public welfare programs for the total community.

Federation has performed the function of watchdog for the welfare interests of the English-speaking population of the city, sometimes under circumstances which meant the difference between life and starvation for many citizens in the community. 6.

#### The Organization of the Money-Raising Institution.

The formal structure of this type of philanthropic institution can best be described by outlining its six substructures. 7. The activity, carried on within an institutional milieu, is organized on the basis of a technical division of labour, and according to the goal of the institution. This activity may be proprietary, managerial, administrative or labour. Furthermore, each type of activity pertains

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6. Welfare Federation Yearbook 1948. Issued by Welfare Federation of Montreal, 1949. p. 6.

7. See Figure 1.

to a specific type of office, and these are arranged in a hierarchical order. Each hierarchical level or substructure may contain a number of offices. In a static sense an institution can be viewed as a hierarchy of offices which are distributed throughout each substructure. In this sense an institutional structure can be looked upon as an arrangement of individuals in office in order to pursue some agreed end by allocating them<sup>8.</sup> duties. The expected roles or duties required by a position in the hierarchy indicate the formal structure as it is<sup>9.</sup> expected to operate.

At the apex of the six substructures of the coordinating, policy-making, and money-raising institution<sup>10.</sup> is the advisory board. This consists of a relatively small group of volunteers of high prestige in the community. "Successful" business men make up the majority of this group, but it may also include persons who are symbolic of success in other fields in which they have gained prestige. This group seldom meets to perform any specific role. Their names appear on annual reports, and official publications which state the aims and policies of the institution, but they take no part in its day to day activities. As individuals they attend and sometimes officiate at important functions where they are given a place of honour. It is this group which aids in

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8. Selznick, Philip. "Foundations of the Theory of Organization", The American Sociological Review, Vol. XIII, No. 11, Feb. 1948. pp.25-35.

9. The action structure which underlies the formal organization for work in an institution can only be elucidated through intensive investigation and analysis. This has not been attempted with respect to the institutions under discussion. The outline of the formal structure was considered sufficient for the main purpose of this study which is a sociological analysis of selected aspects of the action structure of this type of institution's campaign activity.

10. Hereafter called money-raising institutions.

subsidizing the activities of the institution thereby serving notice to other potential donors that this activity meets with their approval and warrants financial and active support.

"It is important to have men like Mr. A. on the board; he is so generous and his name is so well known. He is a vital person. He has the ability to make others come across.....I think too, that they are flattered that Mr. A. has put them in that class when he asks them: 'How about a ten-thousand dollar subscription?' Some of it has to do with business; they don't think it would be wise to refuse for business reasons." 11.

".....I know that Mr. W. was asked to head the Y.M.C.A. campaign on terribly short notice. He needed weeks to figure out where all the money was to come from. Mr. A. had a lot to do with his accepting, and also the heads of the various branches (of the campaign). 12.

The board of governors is a more active voluntary group than the advisory board. Holding office in this substructure are representatives of other institutions and groups within the community whose point of view is important to the policy formulation of the institution. In the case of Welfare Federation of Montreal these include business executives, professionals, and representatives of such groups as the Montreal Local Council of Women, the Montreal Board of Trade, and the Junior League of Montreal. Not all these functionaries actively participate in the activities of the board. Many of them may be selected as members, but their roles - the duties and responsibilities of office - except in the case of the chairman, vice-chairman, and honorary secretary

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11. Interview No. 38.

12. Interview No. 37.

have not been explicitly defined. The more active members meet periodically to discuss and formulate policy and its administration. For the year 1949 in the case of Welfare Federation, the functionaries holding office at this level numbered seventy-eight of whom twenty were women.

The most active voluntary group in the six substructures is the board of directors. The highest functionaries in this substructure are the chairman, vice-chairman, honorary secretary, honorary treasurer, and assistant honorary treasurer. Individual members of this group may also be members of the substructure above them, the board of governors. A small proportion may be female. It is this group which meets at specified intervals to consider the activities of the satellite units, and to define situations for them within the framework of policy laid down by the board of governors.

The three substructures already outlined are composed of volunteer members. The highest full-time functionary at the staff level is the executive secretary. In the formal sense this office is the channel through which all authority and communication flows downward from the upper levels, and communication flows upwards from the staff

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13. The foregoing outline of the formal structure of the groups comprising the three voluntary groups in the upper substructures applies specifically to Welfare Federation, but it is considered representative of the Young Men's Christian Association, Metropolitan Branch, and the Headquarters of the Salvation Army. In these institutions each group of functionaries may go by a different title, and may be more active than the group to which it corresponds above, but these and other differences are not considered important in a descriptive analysis of this nature.

substructure below to the substructures above. The role of the executive secretary in this type of institution is important to campaign activity since he must provide the techniques necessary for the organization of volunteers who are interested in actively participating in the institution's financial campaign. It is the executive secretary who must know the campaign pattern, and the appropriate time to begin activating it.

"It is wise - indeed essential - that a social organization consider the sources from which it will derive its income before setting up its campaign machinery. A careful survey of the financial position of the constituency is indispensable in determining the amount of money that can reasonably be expected and where to obtain it. The information collected will materially aid in the set-up of the soliciting campaign organization, and in learning the type of personnel required and where emphasis should be placed for best results." 14.

The executive secretary's other explicit duties are technical and administrative. With his knowledge of technical details he is able to inform those in authority above him of the technical feasibility of their policies which he must see implemented.

"My job is to sit in on all the board and committee meetings, and tell them of our needs. I look after the publicity and try to let the people know what we need. I'm here to see that things run smoothly. Of course, I'm just one in a large organization. I handle the financial matters here, but you should hear the great story of how the (Salvation) Army is serving the underprivileged, the ex-prisoners, unmarried mothers, the sick and the aged. We have to finance all these needs and they are all growing. I have told you of our financial campaign organization, but there is a great story to be told of our

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14. Gamble, Charles W. How to Raise Money. New York, Association Press, 1942. p. 20.

other activities from all the other (Salvation Army) corps in every part of the city. 15.

The remainder of the staff whose career lies within this type of philanthropic institution have a variety of roles according to the stated purposes of the institution. These may consist of the professional duties of the social worker in such fields as recreation and group work as in the case of the Metropolitan Young Men's Christian Association, but in the institution's money-raising activities the roles of the other staff members may be carried out in such offices as that of publicity director, public relations, or administration. The executive-secretary has a technical knowledge of all these latter activities which he may perform himself if required, or he may use the results of this division of labour in making his decisions.

This type of "executive" has an important role to play in corporate bodies which are a feature of our society. These bodies must seek the approval and support of the public if they are to continue to function. According to Hughes:

"Few institutions enjoy such prestige and endowments that they can forego continued reinterpretation of their meaning and value to the community. This brings with it the necessity of having some set of functionaries who will act as promoters and propagandists as well as administrators. Even such a traditional profession as medicine and such an established organization as the Roman Catholic church must have people of this sort.....

Sometimes, as in the case of executive secretaries of medical associations, these people are drawn from the ranks of the profession. In other cases they are drawn from outside. University presidents have often been drawn from the clergy. In the Y.M.C.A., the chief executive officer is quite often not drawn from the ranks of the "secretaries". But whether or not that be the case, the functions of these executive officers are such that they do



not remain full colleagues of their professional associates. They are rather liaison officers between the technical staff, governing boards, and the contributing and clientele publics. Their technique is essentially a political one; it is much the same whether they act for a trade association, the Y.M.C.A., a hospital, a social agency, or a university. There is, indeed, a good deal of competition among institutions for men who have this technique, and some movement of them from one institution to another....." 16.

A structural characteristic which distinguishes this type of institution from its satellite units is that one of its main stated purposes, that of raising money is oriented towards a group of donors who subsidize its activities and those of its satellites. 17.

These satellite institutions may provide staff for the campaign organization, or the executive secretary of the satellite institution may initiate the campaign pattern in his district under the authority of 18.  
the money-raising institution.

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16. Hughes, Everett C. "Institutional Office and the Person". The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. XLIII, No. 3, Nov. 1937, p. 412.

17. This does not mean, as has already been pointed out, that it may not have a body of recipients of some of its services which is also a characteristic of its satellites. The satellites however, do not have a body of donors who subsidize them directly. The donations are collected by canvassers in the financial campaign organization of the money-raising institution.

18. This applies particularly to the Young Men's Christian Association.

Summary.

There are six substructures within the formal structural framework of the money-raising institutions. These comprise the advisory board, the board of governors, the board of directors, the executive secretary, the staff, and the donors. The functionaries holding office in the first three of these substructures are voluntary. The two lower substructures are composed of full-time workers whose roles consist of implementing the formal policy definitions as laid down by the functionaries in higher offices acting in their respective capacities as members of the board of governors, or the board of directors. The members of the advisory board have no active role relative to their status in the institution. They are individuals who are looked upon as having attained "success" in their occupation with a consequent high degree of prestige which they bring to their office in the institution.

The donors are related to the institution through its money-raising campaign. It is they who subsidize its activities, and that of its satellites. The campaign organization is initiated within the institution through the executive secretary and the full-time staff.

## PART II

### Stages in a Philanthropic Money-Raising Campaign

## CHAPTER IV

### The Financial Campaign

Inception.

The philanthropic money-raising institution comprises an arrangement of personnel whose activity is oriented to norms of "service". This is the central idea around which this institution and its satellites are organized. This service oriented type of organization is a structural arrangement of activity which is continuous. The organization of campaign activity, on the other hand, has an economic orientation. It is oriented to the satisfaction of the financial needs of the philanthropic money-raising institution of which it is an action pattern - the organized activity involved in the pursuit of a particular aim - and of the financial needs of its satellite units. Furthermore, for the great majority of its participants campaign activity is intermittent.

In some respects the campaign organization may appear relatively unorganized and unrelated to the philanthropic money-raising institution. However, the pattern of organization of the campaigns under study is maintained by this institution which sets in motion the machinery to activate it at a stated time every year. If the institution is to maintain itself, and its satellites, it must continue to satisfy certain needs of the recipients of its services, and live up to the expectations of its members and the community. To do this it follows a rationally conceived course of action. The organization of the campaign may therefore be looked upon as a system of rational action which is an integral part of an institutional matrix.

"Organization, we are told, is the arrangement of personnel for facilitating the accomplishment of some agreed purpose through the allocation of functions and responsibilities.....Organization is the structural expression of rational action. The mobilization of technical and managerial skills requires a pattern of coordination, a systematic ordering of positions and duties which defines a chain of command and makes possible the administrative integration of specialized functions.....The security of all participants, and of the system as a whole generates a persistent pressure for the institutionalization of relationships, which are thus removed from the uncertainties of individual fealty or sentiment." 1.

The formal pattern of the campaign organization however, does not indicate the particular organizational patterning which appears during its day to day operation.

"The formal administrative design can never adequately or fully reflect the concrete organization to which it refers, for the obvious reason that no abstract plan or pattern can - or may, if it is to be useful, exhaustively describe the empirical totality. At the same time that which is not included in the design.....is vitally relevant to the maintenance and development of the formal system itself." 2.

Functionaries, both volunteer and staff, of the money-raising institution realize the necessity for organization with respect to the financial campaign. Many of the volunteer functionaries of the board of governors or the board of directors hold important positions in financial, industrial, and other types of profit oriented institutions where efficient technical and administrative organization is a tradition and a necessity if they are to survive in a competitive milieu.

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1. Selznick, Philip. Op. Cit., p. 25.

2. Ibid. p. 25.

"The basis of a successful campaign is a sound organization. Sound organization in turn, depends upon proper personnel.....The institution that already has on its board the outstanding individuals of the community is fortunate... ..An effort to raise a large amount of money cannot be successful unless the services of the best qualified men and women are obtained; and even a small campaign changes from an arduous task to a simple, satisfying experience if care is used to draw the right people into the right jobs. The individuals composing the campaign organization must be the best possible ones drawn from the entire area, community or membership for their particular responsibilities in the campaign." 3.

One of the first steps to be taken at the inception of the campaign is the selection of a sponsor to fill the office of honorary chairman which lies at the apex of the campaign's hierarchy of offices. He is selected by the higher functionaries and the executive secretary of the money-raising institution but little active participation in the actual organization and subsequent operation of the campaign is required of him. He is usually a person who is "successful", and has prestige in the community. By accepting this office he serves to legitimate the purpose of the campaign for the prospective donors. He also helps to choose the campaign chairman, and sponsors him both for other campaign volunteers, and the general public.

To the executive secretary and the volunteer functionaries in the philanthropic money-raising institution one of the most important positions to be filled in the campaign organization is that of general campaign chairman. In some cases a small list of prospective campaign chairmen is drawn up by this group and submitted to members of the advisory board of the money-raising institution and the

honorary chairman of the campaign. These individuals will sponsor a particular name on the list. In other cases certain institutions which are important to the economy of the community, and comprise stable elements in its institutional structure, will take turns in nominating a high business executive for the office of chairman. In many instances the highest offices in these institutions are filled by individuals who are also members of the advisory board, or a similar group, of the money-raising institution. Individuals in these high offices of non-philanthropic institutions are in a position to know the abilities of the executives who serve them, and are therefore able to nominate a suitable candidate for campaign chairman.

"In Welfare Federation it is the board which chooses the chairman. Actually, they get a prospect and ask someone like Mr. \_\_\_ if he thinks their choice is a good one.....What actually happens is that different institutions take turns in supplying a chairman for the various philanthropic campaigns. The Bank of \_\_\_ will supply one this year, and the Bank of \_\_\_ will do the same next year. They take it in turns. When a new man takes a new position here he is told that he will be the chairman for such and such a campaign whenever it may occur. These men are chosen because they are important people. They are also interested in the work of the philanthropy. They have to be interested or they aren't much good.....They know what is expected of them and they are public spirited people. It is the leader's job to coordinate activities. He goes into conference with the board, and they work out the plan of campaign. Of course, if you have someone of importance up there it means a lot to the campaign. You can't have just anybody or people will not be inclined to help. If you have somebody as chairman whom people respect, then they won't have any qualms about giving or helping." 4.



The campaign chairman is formally selected by virtue of his business ability, occupational and social position, leadership qualities, and financial influence in the community. Since the campaign will require a great deal of his time he must be in a position where he can leave his occupational role to be, in part, temporarily carried out by another. This means that whatever his occupation may be he has reached a relatively high and secure place in it and the institution in which he carries on his occupation.

"The general chairman is the cornerstone on which the organization structure depends, the pivot on which the functioning of the campaign personnel turns. He should be a man of high standing, well known throughout the campaign area. He should be an executive with the ability and experience to delegate duties to his immediate assistant in the campaign, and to give sympathetic guidance while holding them firmly responsible for carrying through their particular portion of the effort. The general chairman might well be the executive head of a large business corporation.....but his background of experience should be such that he receives ready recognition and respect for his executive and leadership qualities. If he is a good presiding officer, that is an advantage. If he is a good speaker and a man of financial influence, those qualities too, will aid greatly. But the primary factor is well recognized ability as an executive for directing, leading and inspiring men to carry through their duties to a successful conclusion." 5.

The campaign chairman is chosen well in advance of the opening date of the campaign, and from then on he meets with the institutional functionaries to help organize the campaign and set its objective. Two factors are important in assessing the campaign objective; the financial needs of the institutions which depend upon the

campaign as the major source of their income, and the probable degree of community response to the campaign appeal. The financial needs of the dependent philanthropic institutions for which the campaign is their major source of income, are assessed through their annual budget statements which are submitted to the executive secretary of the money-raising institution who discusses them with the board. The degree of community response is tentatively estimated by recourse to lists of previous donors, and an estimation of the amount of "new" money which can be expected. Before deciding upon the objective the board may seek the opinion of certain leading citizens who are in a position to assess the probable reaction of those donors in the community, such as the corporations and "special names",<sup>6.</sup> from whom a large part of the objective is to come.

Publicity arrangements defining the appeal of the campaign are undertaken by the paid publicity director, or the staff executive. In some cases these arrangements may be the responsibility of a volunteer publicity committee. The appeal is usually defined in terms of a particular "theme" such as, "Thirty-one appeals in one,"<sup>7.</sup>

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6. Some of the most common sources of funds are: (1) personal contributions, (2) corporation gifts, (3) contributions from fraternal organizations, (4) gifts from civic groups, and (5) donations, such as charity balls, bazaars and concerts. Gamble. Op. Cit. p. 27.

7. The Montreal Daily Star, 30 Sept. 1949.

as in the case of the 1949 financial campaign of Welfare Federation of Montreal. This particular theme emphasizes the many interests served in order to attract a large number of donors. Such is the purpose of a well defined appeal.

The timing of the appeal is an important factor in the success of the campaign. It is so timed that it does not conflict with other campaigns, or community festivals and celebrations. The representatives of the various philanthropic organizations in the community meet annually to arrange the opening date of their respective campaigns. A few weeks prior to this date the publicity of the appeal begins, and gradually increases in intensity until the opening date. During the course of the campaign a constant barrage of publicity is maintained by all available media.

The campaign is formally sponsored before it begins by the honorary chairman and functionaries in some of the community's most respected institutions who issue statements praising the work which the money-raising institution is carrying on.

"Leading citizens and others in a position to appreciate the effectiveness of the work of the organization are asked to become sponsors of the campaign. They are individually or in small group meetings, acquainted with what the organization hopes to accomplish, and their approval will help materially to create favourable public reaction. No definite duties are assigned them as sponsors; many of them however, will fit into key positions in the campaign or will release statements commending the work. This phase of campaign organization has also been found an effective preliminary means of informing

people who are able to contribute generously when they are interested." 8.

Organization.

Below the campaign chairman in authority and responsibility are the vice-chairmen; one representing each canvassing division, and another who is the administrative link between the staff executive<sup>9.</sup> and the chairman. These vice-chairmen may be chosen by the chairman alone, or by the chairman and the board of the institution. They may be friends, or business acquaintances of the chairman or other individuals who have shown their ability in previous campaigns. Their occupations may be various, but they are individuals who are in a position to get others to volunteer to help in the campaign. This means that they have relatively high occupational status.

"The vice-chairmen are chosen by the chairman from amongst his friends or they may be chosen partly by the board. They tell the chairman who to pick because they know who can do the job best. The vice-

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8. Gamble. Op. Cit. p. 27.

9. The staff executive in the campaign refers especially to the executive secretary of the money-raising institution. In some campaigns there is a division of labour at this level which comprises the activities of the executive secretary, publicity director and public relations director which are separate officers in the staff administration substructure.

chairmen accept because they are public spirited..... They continue to help in succeeding campaigns because they are public spirited, and because they realize that someone has to do the job. The business men of the community know that they owe something to it, so they see it as their duty to help out by actively participating, and by giving what they can. They look upon it as a good thing to keep the community healthy." 10.

These vice-chairmen must be in a position to get others to work for them. In the case of the administrative vice-chairman, he should be able to select volunteers willing to help at the administrative level. The vice-chairmen in charge of different canvassing divisions should have a similar ability in getting volunteer canvassers. It is a general rule that these vice-chairmen who organize the various canvassing divisions are of equal or higher occupational and social position with respect to the donors in their section. For the various divisions the occupational status of the vice-chairman is important. Unless he is at least of equal occupational status with the larger donors in his division he will be in an unfavourable position in trying to persuade them that the campaign is worthwhile. He must be in a position to interpret the reasons for the campaign to this group in terms which are meaningful to them. He is not in a favourable position to do this unless he is at least one of them.

This is especially important with respect to the "special names" division. This group contains the wealthiest and

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most influential individuals and groups in the community. Many of the individuals in this group of donors are of equal or higher occupational or social position with respect to the general campaign chairman. Furthermore, a larger proportion of the total objective is solicited from them. This means that in order for the vice-chairman and his volunteers of this division to approach this group of donors successfully they must be in a position to understand the norms and motivations prevailing in a particular social or occupational milieu. In other words, they must be of equal or higher occupational or social status.

"People give generously largely through their confidence in, and their personal or business contacts with the people who solicit them. For this chairmanship("special names division") bankers, industrial leaders, and wealthy retired businessmen have been found successful." 12.

The importance of knowing who to place in the "special names" division is realized both by the campaign organizers and the ordinary volunteers. It is a matter of choosing the "right" canvasser for every individual on the "special names" list. According to one volunteer campaign worker:

"Special names is a different matter; there you have to choose the correct names. Ability to canvass isn't as important; it is who you know. Some will give only to a certain person.....They

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11. In some campaigns both "special names" and "special corporations" are organized under "special names"; in others they are divided into two divisions.

12. Gamble. Op. Cit., pp. 29-30.

mark this on the cards, so that the big giver will get a canvasser who pleases her. No matter how good at collecting you are, you wouldn't be much help on "special names" unless you had the proper connections." 13.

The organizational aspect of this particular division was emphasized by a staff worker.

"Special names are the next in line; you contact them in the summer and right on into October, but the lists have to be organized before the campaign formally begins. The lists require some reorganization before each campaign, you add about half a dozen names, and find that half a dozen or so die off.....every year. They have to be replaced. We have done very well on that. In fact, our special names list has gotten about as big as we can handle right now. Sometimes people ask for a special name that they want to canvass because they think they can do it better. They know the individual personally or the man is in business with them; something like that. Yes, we do have to be careful about this switching; there is quite a system. The cards can't be changed unless the person who requests it can show that they have a better right to take that card. It is all carefully checked with the master-file that never leaves here, and the Metropolitan Board decides who is to take the card." 14.

Below the vice-chairmen in the hierarchical structure of the campaign organization are placed the staff executive, consisting of the executive secretary of the money-raising institution and the publicity director. It is the staff executive which retains the organizational pattern of the campaign, and which supplies "prospect" and "donor" lists, propaganda techniques, canvassing methods, and reasons for the campaign to the large body of volunteers who make up the

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13. Interview No. 39.

14. Interview No. 33.

membership of other substructures in the campaign organization.

At the next structural level below the staff executive lie two administrative groups; one composed of paid office staff drawn from the money-raising institution, and the other consisting of volunteer office staff. The first of these has been called staff administration, and the second volunteer administration. A vice-chairman, who is a volunteer and responsible to the campaign chairman, may be placed in authority at this level especially if there are a number of administrative volunteers, but the staff administration usually remains under the control of the staff executive. Both the latter groups are sometimes formally placed under the authority of an administrative vice-chairman.

The staff executive and the staff administration are a direct link with the money-raising institution of which they are integral and permanent units. Theirs is a continuing type of activity whereas that of the volunteer is intermittent or discontinuous.

The role of the executive secretary was indicated by statements of two of them.

"The professional is the sparkplug behind the campaign. He has to be into everything and keep the thing going. He sits in on all the board meetings and so on. I worked for the Y.M.C.A. in Halifax for a couple of years, and last year we had a drive for capital funds. You should have seen the things we did to raise money. There are all sorts of techniques. The success of the campaign depends for the



most part on a strong professional campaigner. There is a distinct type of campaign depending upon the professional behind it. If he is a strong professional character you will have a strong, aggressive campaign. He is the man who gets people to do things." 15.

"The professional worker is the guiding hand behind the campaign. I learned much of what I know from the various campaigns in which I was engaged in Toronto. I learned a lot there, and there is a lot to learn. Now it has got to the point where there is a definite organization, and techniques to be followed." 16.

For some of these individuals campaign organizing is a continuous year round duty; for others it is only one aspect of their total role within the money-raising institution.

"The professional's job may be the organization of the campaign. He may make it a year long job. Mr. \_\_\_ has a Mr. \_\_\_ with him who does nothing else. They try to keep the files of the various lists up to date. Each philanthropy has its own lists. They go around to corporations and business concerns, and try to interest them in letting them put in slips for their employees to sign so that they can collect that way. That is the sort of thing they do. Of course, they have other jobs. Mr. \_\_\_ interprets the policy of the board of Welfare Federation. He doesn't spend all his time on campaign activity but someone does practically nothing else." 17.

Although this type of person is important in an administrative sense it is also important that the large body of donors look upon the organization as voluntary. For them, the norms of voluntary "service", and "sacrifice" for the less fortunate are inconsistent with their conception of the paid organizer and publicity director

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15. Interview No. 14.

16. Interview No. 13.

17. Interview No. 27.

using the organizational and publicity techniques of profit-making institutions. The paid worker, therefore, remains in the background, unobtrusively performing his role. The volunteer, on the other hand, is placed in the public view as he carries out his activities as they have been outlined by the staff executive.

Below the administrative substructure in the hierarchy of authority and responsibility are the canvassing divisions in which all potential donors are placed, and which are headed by a vice-chairman. These divisions may comprise "special names", and or "special corporations", "industrial", "financial", "services and professions", "women", and "territorial divisions".<sup>18.</sup>

These divisions are further divided into a number of subdivisions or teams. Each team is organized to canvass a particular group of donors within each division which is headed by a vice-chairman<sup>19.</sup> to whom the captain of each team is responsible. The team captain is chosen by the vice-chairman from amongst his employees or social acquaintances and with his help the team members are persuaded to volunteer for campaign activity. The membership of the respective teams to a large extent reflects the occupational, social, and residential characteristics of the group of donors which each team is to canvass.

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18. This is considered representative of the divisional organization in these campaigns. Divisional classification may vary with succeeding campaigns of a particular institution, and between institutions.

19. This does not apply to the organization of the "special names" division. See Above, pp. 46-47.

For the female canvassers this is to a large degree leisure-time activity which takes up most of their time during the campaign. With the male canvassers on the other hand, it is spare time activity in which they are engaged only after the temporal demands of their occupation have been met.

To a large extent the success of the campaign depends upon the efforts of the canvassers on all the various teams. Since the "special names" division is expected to provide a large proportion of the total objective much depends upon the efforts of the carefully chosen canvassers on that team. On the other hand, it is claimed by the campaign organizers that the day of large family fortunes is passing. These were an important source of funds in the "special names" division, so that with less financial support coming from this source it has been necessary to seek a larger number of smaller contributions from lower income groups. According to the Josies: "More than forty-five per cent of all charitable donations in Canada was paid by individuals with less than \$3000 taxable income." <sup>20.</sup> This was verbalized by a campaign functionary in the following manner:

".....You often hear it said these days that they are trying to widen the base. That is, they are trying to get more people to give less. Yes, I think you can say that there is a different type of people giving. They havn't as much money, but there are more of them giving. People will tell you that they are trying to broaden the base. They have to, because they no longer have the big income families giving large amounts. In the first

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20. Josie, Gordon and Svanhuit, Op. Cit., p. 8.

place there are not so many big families as there used to be, and secondly, the ones that are left are not as rich as they used to be so they can't afford to give as much away as they used to. There has been a levelling off of incomes, and people just can't afford to give as much, although there are still some who don't give as much as they could according to their income tax." 21.

In order to "widen the base" of smaller contributions more volunteer canvassers are needed. This appears to be a major problem for the organizers of philanthropic financial campaigns, especially with respect to female volunteers. The demands upon the time of the mother and housewife make it difficult for her to volunteer until such time as her children leave home, or her husband is earning sufficient income to afford paid domestic help in the home. This indicates that the majority of the married women who participate in these campaigns are older, or if they are relatively young that they have sufficient financial resources to enable them to afford domestic help, thus giving them sufficient leisure time to participate in campaign activity. Some female volunteers expressed themselves in this regard.

"You have to keep on collecting, especially people of our age. The younger people can't take it over because they are worse up against it than we are. They are more tied down with their children and houses than those of us whose children are grown up." 22.

"Canvassers are becoming increasingly difficult to get. There aren't the young women coming in that we need. They are tied down with the children; they

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21. Interview No. 30.

22. Interview No. 20.

don't have help, or the money to hire help. Yet many do it, but it is under protest.....The system of enlisting your friends as canvassers isn't the best one. The friends are getting tired, and we aren't getting in the young women. A serious situation is building up, and there will be a great shortage of volunteers." 23.

All of the substructures within the campaign organization, the honorary chairman, chairman, vice-chairmen, staff executive, staff voluntary administration, and canvassers, are activated by the potential response of a large group of donors. All campaign activity is oriented towards the goal of complete donor response to the objective of the campaign. For donors to respond adequately their interest must be stimulated. This means that the ideas and values embodied in the norms of the money-raising institution and its satellites must be agreeable to the donors. Since these philanthropic institutions tend to enlarge their sphere of activity it is necessary for them to appeal for larger amounts of money. This means that donors must be asked to give more, and that more people should be persuaded to donate, but for this latter possibility to materialize the activities of the philanthropic institutions must be made meaningful to potential donors. It is this constant reinterpretation of their activities to groups within the community which helps to keep the interest of donors aroused, and thus provide the necessary financial support. Unknown to them, the donors are arranged into divisions according to occupation

and occupational status, social class, wealth and residence. Each of these factors may be of greater or lesser importance in the various divisions. In some cases, notably in the lower income groups, location may be the deciding factor. In the case of the "special names" division occupational and social status, and wealth are the important criteria. For each section, the money-raising institution maintains a file of past and potential donors which indicates the amount of previous donations. For the more important donors who are placed on the "special names" file, more information with respect to the above factors is necessary since special care is taken to see that a "suitable" canvasser is chosen to solicit them.

#### Solicitation.

The opening date of the campaign sees the various volunteer canvassing teams begin soliciting. Each team has been set a quota of the total objective which it endeavors to collect before the campaign closes. As actual canvassing begins the intensity of the propaganda appeal reaches its peak. There are two types of propaganda; that which is expressed through channels such as press, radio, posters, and movie shorts, and the more "personal" explanation of the canvasser to the prospective donor. The campaign organizers consider this "personal" approach important to the success of the campaign. Canvassers are given instruction on how to answer the many questions of prospective donors who must be "sold" on the idea that this is a cause worthy of their support.

This instruction also endeavors to teach the canvasser the various techniques of solicitation. These may consist of the most

favourable time to approach a donor, ways of gaining entrance to the household, how to meet criticisms, and means of gaining the donor's confidence. In the 1949 Welfare Federation Campaign in Montreal an instruction booklet was given to each canvasser which outlined "five basic selling principles". These were: "(1) getting ready, (2) getting in, (3) getting your story across, (4) getting around objections, and (5) getting the pledge".

On the subject of canvasser training, one vice-chairman of the women's division of the Welfare Federation Campaign had this to say:

"The canvasser has simply got to be trained. You give them these booklets to read, but they don't bother to read them. If I had my way the first thing I would do is hire the Forum, pack every woman in, and see that she was instructed. They can lose money for you. The first year I was in charge here in Westmount, I asked them to come to my house; only about 30 showed up. That year we had cartoons showing the proper and bad approaches; they were really good. When I got through one woman who had canvassed for 20 years or more, came up to me and said she was horrified with herself because she had done so many things the wrong way all these years. She went out and doubled what she usually brought in. If they are interested they can do wonders. I remember one woman who always went over the top; she was a whizz at it. I asked her how she managed. She said she read her canvasser's manual from cover to cover until she had almost memorized the thing and she tried to apply it in her work." 24.

Since canvassers are able to choose the donors whom they will solicit, many of them choose their friends or business acquaintances, thus making their task somewhat easier. The campaign organizers endeavor to so arrange the process of solicitation that as many donors as possible will be approached by persons with whom they are already acquainted.

In many cases a canvasser who is an important customer of a particular firm will canvass it. A successful business man, who has prestige and is well known in the business world, may canvass other business men. Bank managers may canvass those of their acquaintances with whom they have business relationships. Club members, male and female, may canvass other club members. These canvasser-donor relationships ease the task of the canvasser, and increase the possibilities of a donation.

During the course of the campaign there is a daily analysis of the results in order to determine the possibility of reaching the objective. Team quotas may be raised depending upon donor response and rate of solicitation. Results of each day's canvass are publicized in order to arouse the interest of donors and canvassers. "Report Luncheons" are held every few days at which the vice-chairmen of the various divisions report upon their progress. In order to stimulate competition between teams, (excluding the "special names" division) and between individuals, prizes are given to the captain of the team reporting the highest percentage of its quota so far collected, and to the individual who has collected the largest amount



of money. Many of the "special names" donations are solicited and collected before the opening date of the campaign. It is claimed by the campaign organizers that if these donations, which represent a high percentage of the total objective, were reported as they were collected the donating public would lose interest in the campaign. They are, therefore, reported during successive "Report Luncheons".

As the campaign draws to a close, competition between teams is heightened, and the propaganda stresses the urgency of the appeal. Should the objective not be reached in the allotted time, the campaign may continue for a few days longer. In order to maintain interest in the campaign during this time the public is warned of its responsibility to philanthropy, and of the adverse publicity for the community which will result from a failure to reach the objective. Should the objective be reached before the closing date of the campaign a higher goal is set.

#### Completion.

At the close of the campaign a banquet is held and attended by campaign members and some of the most important and prestigious figures in the community. After the final audit of the total amount collected has been read, presentations which are symbolic of individual and collective effort, are made to successful canvassers, teams and divisions.

After the close of the campaign there remains the task of mailing donation receipts, the computation and payment of campaign expenses, the revision and filing of donor lists, and compilation of a statistical report of campaign results. These activities

are carried out by the paid workers of the money-raising institution.

Summary.

The financial campaigns under study are a formally and rationally organized action pattern of a particular type of philanthropic institution. This organized activity comprises six substructures each of which contains individuals with certain social characteristics. These substructures consist of honorary chairman, chairman, vice-chairmen, staff executive, staff and volunteer administration, and canvassers. Except for the staff executive and staff administration, the activity of the individuals in each substructure is voluntary. For these two exceptions the organization of the campaign may be a continuous activity. For the volunteer, on the other hand, it is intermittent with respect to the campaigns under study. For the majority of female volunteers campaign activity is leisure time activity.

The campaign objective is set by functionaries of the money-raising institution and the campaign chairman. The objective is decided on the basis of the financial needs of the satellite institutions, which depend upon financial campaigns for their major source of income, and the estimated probable degree of response to the campaign appeal.

Before the campaign begins it is formally sponsored by a group of leading citizens, as well as the honorary chairman, who define the reasons for the campaign to the general public.

It is a general rule that each donor in the "special names" division be canvassed by a volunteer who is at least of equal occupational or social status. This is considered necessary since a relatively large proportion of the campaign objective comes from this source. The majority of donors are placed in the various divisions such as "territorial", "industrial", "financial", "special names", "women's", and "services and professions" on the basis of their occupation, occupational and social status, wealth and residence. These factors may be of more or less importance for each division.

The opening date of the campaign is marked by an increase in the amount and the intensity of propaganda through various media, and the "personal approach" of canvassers to prospective donors. The canvasser is instructed on how to approach donors some of whom may be his friends or business acquaintances. As the campaign progresses, competition is stimulated between individual canvassers and teams for the largest individual or team quota. The campaign closes with a banquet at which the final report is read and presentations are made to successful canvassers, teams and divisions for individual and collective effort. After the campaign has ended there remain some necessary final administrative tasks which are completed by the paid workers of the money-raising institution.

### PART III

#### Three Aspects of the Informal Organization of the Philanthropic Financial Campaign

## Chapter V

### Status Interrelationships

The theoretical orientation of this study is that of institutions, and in particular institutional action patterns which are the machinery evolved to implement its stated purposes.<sup>1.</sup> This orientation supplies the important concept of status, or the social definition of who and what a person is. This conceptual element will be used in an analysis of the individual's position outside the campaign situation; its consequences for campaign organization; and the effect of participation in the campaign upon the social standing of volunteers.

The previous chapter indicated the types of offices which are found in the campaign organization. The kind of station

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1. Parsons defines status as: "Any patterned definition of who and what a person is, constitutes a description of a status. The term particularly implies that the holder of a particular station performs an activity not in any immediate sense because of any attribute of his "personality", but simply on account of the position occupied in the social system as a whole. Status then has three basic components: rights, obligations and expected performance (or role aspects). The totality of the particular statuses he occupies may be called the position of the individual in the social system." Parsons. Op. Cit. p. 43. This "patterned definition of who and what a person is", is determined by the evaluations of others according to a normative pattern. The concepts of social and occupational status used in this thesis are thus determined. In other words, the action of an individual in a social or occupational milieu is evaluated by others according to a normative pattern prevailing in society. The status of an individual is a resultant of the common evaluations of him by others according to this normative pattern. In this study a person's social or occupational status is derived from the verbalized evaluations of the individual in a social or occupational milieu by respondents. Ibid. pp. 166-183.

which an office gives depends upon the importance, scope and function of the organization of which the office is a part, and upon the importance of the particular office within the organization. Conversely, holding a particular social station may help the person to acquire a particular office.<sup>2.</sup>

When an individual is given a position in the campaign organization he is assigned certain duties which he is expected to perform. The role<sup>3.</sup> thus assigned to the individual, while a necessary part of the total organization, is only one of the many socially defined activities which an individual plays in his day to day activity. The fact that he plays a number of segmentary activities such as husband, business man, and campaign volunteer means that he will

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2. Davis, Kingsley. Human Society. New York, Macmillan Co., 1949, p. 88.

3. "Role is the dynamic aspect of status, the behavior counterpart of the ideal of expected position defined by a status. Though the term role is applicable to any behavior expected of the incumbent of a status.....a particularly important part of it is what may be called his "functional" role. It is one of the most important features of a social system that the component individuals are interdependent. This interdependence becomes structurally patterned in that A as the incumbent of a status is expected to perform certain functions which are important to the welfare and satisfaction either of other individuals, B, C - or of the units within which the status is defined as a whole....."

"Role, as the behavioral aspect of status furnishes the link between the ideal and the behavioral patterns of a society. Each definition of a status includes that of an expected role. These expectations are, however, conformed with to varying degrees, and the kinds and degrees of deviance from the ideal patterns which are found in the actual behavioral patterns are of the greatest importance....."

Parsons. Op. Cit., pp. 43-44.

tend to carry over certain aspects of one type of activity into another.<sup>4.</sup> For example, the salesman who becomes a volunteer canvasser in a campaign may see his duties in it as a type of selling activity. By interpreting and carrying out his assigned duties in this fashion he may antagonize certain other volunteers and some donors. The formal organization of the campaign does not enable the investigator to take account of problems of this nature. He must, if he is to gain any worthwhile understanding of the way the campaign is actually organized, try to analyse its informal organization for work. By doing so he may see that:

"The whole individual raises new problems for the organization, partly because he brings with him a set of established habits as well, perhaps, as commitments to special groups outside the organization." 5.

Unlike the volunteer participants, for the staff executive and staff administration personnel,<sup>6.</sup> the organization of the campaign is a continuous activity which is part of the behavior expected of them as functionaries within the money-raising institution. Although they may bring to this activity certain characteristics which stem from sources outside the institution, these are not as evident, not as important to the campaign as the factors which stem from the social and occupational milieu of the volunteers. This staff executive remains in the background during the organization of the campaign, and outlines for the benefit of the volunteers the activities necessary for an effective

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4. As Selznick points out: ".....individuals have a propensity to resist depersonalization, to spill over the boundaries of their segmentary roles, to participate as wholes." Selznick. Op. Cit., p. 26.

5. Ibid.

6. See Appendix Figure 3.



campaign organization. Unlike the volunteers, the rewards of the staff executive and staff administration are pecuniary, and their training takes place within the money-raising institution. In this way their status with the campaign differs from that of the volunteers.

It has been shown by some investigators that an individual's position in one organization affects his position in another.<sup>7.</sup> This being so, it can be seen that in order to fill the higher positions such as honorary-chairman, chairman, and vice-chairmen, in the campaign organization, individuals who rank high in a social or occupational milieu need to be recruited. The organization needs to attract individuals with certain social characteristics which enable them to occupy a high position in the campaign. This involves a process of "cooptation" by which individuals with these characteristics are absorbed<sup>8.</sup> into the hierarchy of the organization.

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7. "Where in a general society a low status is assigned based, e.g. on race, nationality, sex, age, education, ownership of property, or family, it is difficult in general to acquire high status in formal organizations in that society; and where there is high social status it tends to facilitate attainment of high organization status though less so in democratic than in aristocratic societies. Conversely, those having low status in formal organizations are not likely to have high social status, though there are many exceptions; and those having high status especially in important organizations, tend thereby to acquire higher general social status. The bearing of this is that if status systems are necessary in formal organizations, it is probable that they will extend into general social relationships in greater or less degree depending upon the society." Bernard, Chester. "Functions and Pathology of Status Systems in Formal Organizations", from Industry and Society. Wm. Foote Whyte (ed.). New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., inc., 1946. pp. 49-50.

8. "Cooptation is the process of absorbing new elements into the leadership or policy determining structure of an organization as a means of averting threats to its stability and existence.....The significance of cooptation for organizational analysis is.....that this change is consequential for the character and role of the organization." Selznick. Op. Cit. p. 34.

This process has implications for those social values which are part of the campaign situation since persons who have high social or occupational position will bring to the campaign other values and sentiments which contribute to, or detract from, the effective functioning of the campaign. These implications will be analysed in a succeeding chapter.

Social Position of Office Holders and its Consequences for Campaign Organization.

These campaigns can be conceived as a hierarchy of substructures; each substructure containing one or more offices whose incumbents are given certain defined positions in relation to each other, and expected to perform certain patterns of activity. The honorary chairman is the person who occupies the highest position in the campaign despite the fact that very little activity is expected of him in relation to those in lower substructures. Persons who rank high in a social or occupational milieu hold this position because they have achieved ends which others envy, and are symbolic of success in the work world from which they gain prestige.<sup>9.</sup>

By selecting an honorary chairman who has been a success in the work world the campaign organizers are legitimating campaign activity for other volunteers. The prestige which this particular

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9. "Prestige....is bound up with a 'complex sign or symbol situation' embodied in whatever is known as success. It accrues to the individual as a result of his possessing qualities or achieving ends envied by the group." Wilson, Logan. The Academic Man. New York, Oxford University Press, 1942. p. 168.

figure brings to the organization indicates to the remaining volunteer participants that the activity which they are asked to undertake has been approved by one who is symbolic of success in the community. Not only does the honorary chairman indicate his approval of the organization to volunteers, but also to prospective donors.

Some honorary chairmen are more active in support of the organization than others, and attempt to explain the reasons for their support, especially to persons who are their social or occupational equals who may be prospective large donors. These individuals will listen to the honorary chairman since he is one of them and can explain the aims of the campaign in terms meaningful to them. One such honorary chairman explained this in an interview:

"An interesting thing was that these business men would give if the matter was explained to them properly. They would give their money and support. There have been innumerable times when I have approached men like these for support and they have said; 'Well, if you think it is alright then I'll give'. They rely on you to use the money properly. They know they can trust you." 10.

This interview indicates the importance of the occupational position of this particular honorary chairman to the campaign. He was seen by his equals not as a campaign functionary, but as one of themselves whom they could trust.

It is the prestige gained in a social or occupational milieu which places the successful individual in the office of campaign

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10. Interview No. 18.

chairman. His office in the campaign can be seen as a by-product of achievement in other fields. As Hughes says:

"Places of influence in our greater non-commercial organizations are, however, open mainly to those who have acquired prestige in some other field....it is of importance that these offices are by-products of achievements of another kind. They are prerogatives and responsibilities acquired incidentally; it might even be said that they are exercised ex officio or ex statu." 11.

The honorary chairman helps to choose the campaign chairman because he is in a position to know these individuals who hold important positions in the business world, and who have the ability to fulfill the duties required by this office. Since the chairman is constantly before the public eye during the campaign it is important that he be chosen to occupy this status by a figure of prestige to the remainder of the campaign volunteers, and the donating public. Although the honorary chairman, by his acceptance of his campaign position, indicates his approval of the campaign and its aims, his duties do not require his active participation in the campaign to the same extent as the chairman and those in other substructures. On the other hand the role of campaign chairman requires a great deal of activity. It is the chairman who, in effect, through his public announcements attempts to define the situation for the volunteers and the prospective donors. This requires that he, like the honorary chairman, have sufficient prestige to guarantee that this activity

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11. Hughes. Op. Cit., p. 411.

is worthy of the volunteers' support, and the aims of the campaign are worthy of the help of donors.

From the foregoing, it is evident that the chairman must have a high enough position in the social or occupational sphere to give him the prestige which is necessary if he is to gain the support of volunteers and donors. Like the honorary chairman he takes this prestige to the campaign situation, and lends the weight of it as a drawing card for volunteers and donors.

The following interview with a female respondent who had acted as a volunteer in the women's division of a number of campaigns gives some indication of the attributes which the chairman brings to the campaign:

"The man who is chairman is the head of the entire campaign. He is the most important person of all....He has to be a person of good standing in the community, be very much in touch with the business world, have charm, ability, and be able to speak well. He must have financial contacts. You can count on his being in big business or in high finance. You would never have a professional like a doctor." 12.

Another female respondent stressed the "financial position" of the chairman, and his ability to command respect.

"I would say that the man had to have a well established financial position, (and) command respect." 13.

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12. Interview No. 48.

13. Interview No. 49.

The following interview from a male respondent stresses a number of attributes of the chairman:

"The man who is chosen as chairman is important in the community, and he has quite a bit of influence with the big business men in the community. He must also be respected by the community. You wouldn't get someone who hit the bottle....Of course he has some social standing as well, but I don't think that is too important. The thing is to get somebody who knows the community, and whom the community knows. He has to be respected." 14.

The attributes of "importance in the community", "influence" in an occupational milieu, and "respect" which are stressed in this interview all indicate a high degree of success. These factors are part of a "complex sign or symbol situation embodied in whatever is known as success"<sup>15.</sup> It is this which is the chairman's source of prestige, and which he transfers to the campaign situation.

There are two other positions in the campaign structure which require that those chosen to fill them have a degree of prestige outside the organization. These are the statuses of the vice-chairmen and the "special names" volunteers. The vice-chairmen of the various divisions are either friends of business acquaintances of the chairman. They move in the same social or occupational circles, indicating that they have a relatively high status. This is shown in the following excerpt from an interview with a "public relations"

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14. Interview No.22.

15. Wilson. Op. Cit.

manager of one of the campaigns under study:

"When the campaign chairman chooses his vice-chairmen he gets his friends or executives in other firms who have business dealings with him." 16.

A prominent Montreal business man and the chairman of several campaigns for the Y.M.C.A. and Welfare Federation indicated the same type of relationship which exists between the chairman and the various vice-chairmen:

"When the leader is chosen he chooses his vice-chairmen. These are people who are important in various fields....There are many sections covering all types of donors. At the head of these sections are the vice-chairmen who are important people in that particular field. They are connected in some way with the campaign chairman. Some may be his friends who are willing to help him out, and some may be his business acquaintances." 17.

The "special names" volunteers are also selected for their campaign position on the basis of the high social or occupational status, since this division collects a relatively large proportion of the total campaign objective from the wealthiest individuals and corporations in the community. These volunteers are better able to approach these donors on equal terms because they are their social or occupational equals or nearly so. As the aforementioned "public relations" manager stated it:

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16. Interview No.11.

17. Interview No.17.

"Each section is split into teams with team captains, and they go out and get their money, but the "special names" and the "special corporations" are left alone. They are canvassed by people who are important." 18.

The foregoing analysis indicates that the traditional lines of distinction which exist in our society are brought into the campaign by its participants. As Jamieson says:

"Charity as a sanctioned social enterprise is not merely the result of a kind heart and a neighbourly interest in the poor. It involved traditional lines of distinction as well, and honorific functions accrue to those of high social standing....A person's career and social standing are not identified solely with his occupation and material well-being, but with his functional relationship to recognized social institutions as well. In this sense Philanthropist and Captain of Industry are often a dual but integrated personality. The index and corollary of economic success are directorships on the board of religious, charitable, and educational institutions." 19

Besides prestige, another element, which certain volunteers bring to the campaign, comprises certain "functionally specific" elements of their occupational role. The high status of the chairman

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18. Interview No.11.

19. Jamieson, Stuart, M. French and English in the Institutional Structure of Montreal, M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1938. p. 174, footnote.

20. The functionally specific elements of an occupational role refer to those activities performed by an individual by virtue of the authority of his office which, in a private capacity, he would not be allowed to do. Parsons gives an example of this: "...the treasurer of a company, in the name of the company, can sometimes sign cheques for very large amounts which far exceed his private resources. But the authority of office in this sense is strictly limited to the powers of the particular office, as defined in the structure of the



and vice-chairmen, especially the "special names" vice-chairman, in the business world involves a knowledge of the financial strength of those with whom they come into contact. Part of their occupational role may be to determine the financial stability or otherwise of individuals and corporations. It is these functionally specific elements of his occupational role which the individual uses in his role of chairman, vice-chairman or "special names" volunteer. This is not to suggest that these aspects of the person's occupational role are used in assessing all prospective donations, but they are used where possible. As one female canvasser said:

"The planning and the list making is such a job. I know that my husband before the campaign had to go through all these lists and assess them for what he thought they could give on the basis of knowing their business and private affairs. I can tell you it was a shock to some of these men to be asked for \$5,000. They had not thought in these terms at all." 21.

When large donations have been assessed by individuals holding a high position in the campaign structure through their knowledge

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hierarchy in question. Authority in this sense is not enjoyed by virtue of a technical competence. The treasurer does not necessarily have the skill in signing checks which is superior to that of many of his subordinates. But this kind of authority shares with that based on technical competence the fact that it is functionally specific. The officer of a concern is condemned or penalized for exceeding his authority in a way similar to that in which a doctor would be for trying to get his patient to do things not justified as means for maintaining or improving his health." Parson, Op. Cit., pp. 190-191.

21. Interview No.37.

of the financial strength of prospective large donors, a volunteer in the "special names" section is given a certain number of these individuals to canvass. Two factors are important in organizing volunteers to canvass large donors. The first of these is that the canvasser's social or occupational status is generally equal to that of the donor. In order that the large donor contributes he needs to be satisfied that the campaign is worthy of his support. It is part of the canvasser's role to give him confidence in the campaign so that he will likely contribute. By being of equal or higher social or occupational status the canvasser is lending the weight of his prestige to the campaign and this acts as a stimulus for the large donor. Furthermore, the canvasser's high status makes it possible for him to explain the aims of the campaign in terms which are meaningful to the large donor. It is the canvasser's high social or occupational status to which the donor reacts, and not his campaign position. These factors are evident in the following statement by a female functionary in the women's division of one of the campaigns under study:

"Special names" is a different matter. There you have to get the "correct names" to canvass. Ability isn't important. It is who you know. Some donors will give only to a certain person whom they select from "special names" though there might be another woman canvasser equally prominent....They mark this on the card so the big giver will get who pleases her. No matter how good you were on "special names" it would not be much help unless you had the proper connections." 22.

The social and occupational positions of volunteers in the remaining divisions is also important in this respect, but during the organization of the campaign they are not consciously related to the status of the donors to the same extent as they are in the "special names" division. Since this latter division is relatively small in the number of donors in comparison with other divisions it is a comparatively easy task to suit the canvasser's to the donor's social or occupational strata. These donors are known to the "special names" canvassers and higher campaign functionaries whereas, of the remaining donors, relatively little information is known concerning them. These are individuals and firms which are not as important and do not have as high a degree of prestige in the social or business world as do those individuals and corporations which are organized under "special names". This is not to suggest that the social or occupational status of the remaining volunteer canvassers is not important. There are certain factors which stem from these positions outside the campaign which are brought into the campaign situation, and which are important in choosing particular volunteers to canvass certain donors. This applies to all divisions.

These factors stem from the relationships between individuals. Many people who participate in campaign activity as canvassers or higher functionaries seek the active or financial help of others with whom they are acquainted. By asking others for help the

individual may, in some cases, place himself under an obligation to them, so that when they are in need of similar help they can turn to those individuals who are under an obligation to them. In time this type of obligation grows into a system of mutual claims between individuals which are brought by the volunteer into the campaign and used to gain donations or participants. One small business man who was a volunteer in one of the campaigns under study indicated the use to which obligations owed to another may be put:

"A man might be under obligation to someone whom he can't refuse when he is asked for a donation. It works that way sometimes....If they are asked by a business acquaintance to help out they can't very well refuse. I make it a point of never mixing business and philanthropy. I don't think it is a good thing, but I know a lot of people who do it. It works both ways of course; if someone asks you to help, you can always do the same with him. I have never worked that way." 23.

In the business world the system of mutual claims is evident in the relationship between managers or owners of business institutions and important customers. In some cases this relationship is transferred to the campaign situation. One campaign chairman who is the owner of a prosperous business gave evidence of this:

"Of course, it is only sensible to have a certain firm canvassed by its best customer. What can they do? That sort of thing goes on a lot...." 24.

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23. Interview No.22.

24. Interview No.17.

It is this particular type of relationship involving mutual claims which, when known to the organizers of the campaign, is used as a factor in selecting volunteers.

For the majority of women who participate in these campaigns it is a leisure time activity. Many of them participate in one campaign after another, spending most of the day helping to organize the women's division, and later canvassing. These women have a high social status, and the husbands of many of them rank high in their respective occupations.

Their high social standing, and the amount of time they are able to spend with the campaign make these women suitable recruits for the women's division. It is important to note here that women are never chosen to fill the status of honorary chairman or campaign chairman despite the fact that some of the campaigns in which they participate are of primary interest to women. An example of this is seen in a recent building fund campaign in which the office of the campaign chairman was filled by a male. The female organizers realized that in order to gain the financial support of wealthy business men it was necessary to have a business man as chairman who could approach others of equal occupational status. As a high female functionary in this particular campaign stated:

"This system of mutual obligations comes out in selecting heads of campaigns. Take Mr. \_\_\_ who was Chairman of the \_\_\_ Campaign. We wanted him because he was so prominent in the \_\_\_ Bank. He understood finance, was in a strong position himself, was friends with men

we would ask for money, and could meet them on equal footing and not as a begger. He would not even consider it until he knew that Mr. \_\_\_ and certain others were behind it, and would give their support. I went to see him and put it to him this way. I reminded him of the way we had worked together on the \_\_\_ Council, and of the many times he had called on me when he was in a spot and the women had gotten him out of it. Now we were on the spot and wanted him to help us. He really couldn't refuse when it was put to him in that way. The same thing has happened to me. On one campaign Mrs. \_\_\_ was my vice-chairman, and the other day she called me to help her with the \_\_\_ Campaign which she is heading. I couldn't refuse her after the help she has given me." 25.

This excerpt from an interview indicates that the role of campaign chairman is particularly suited to a male of high occupational status. It also points to the factor already mentioned above, that obligations between individuals are important in selecting recruits, be they ordinary canvassers or campaign chairman.

The social background of many of the women volunteers showed that they had been trained for this type of philanthropic activity. Many of them had been, and some still were, members of various women's clubs and associations notably the Junior League of Montreal. It is within these groups that many women volunteers had been taught that philanthropic activity was expected of them. The following statement by a female volunteer indicates the importance of this type of training and the way in which it directs women with leisure time

into this type of activity:

"The depression got me interested. That seems rather remote, but in 1929 I was prepared to take a business course, then the family decided they didn't want me to work, and I had time to kill. I got started in the Junior League largely to keep amused, for something to do, then I became sincerely interested, and one thing led to another. I think the League arouses the interest of a number of persons. You notice how many of the women on the boards of Welfare Federation and the Red Cross are League trained." 26.

The following interview with a female respondent illustrates the process by which women are trained and the selective factors which direct them into campaign activity:

I don't remember when it all started. It was a long time ago. A friend of my mother's got me into it, I guess. I didn't really do a great deal until I was at McGill taking a partial course. I joined the Junior League after that. There are always a group of women who like to organize; they know you have worked before, that your children are grown up, you have the time, and you are always being asked to do something. And it is your duty." 27.

Training for philanthropic activity is given to women in these "socially selective" groups, but of importance in this respect is the training which both men and women have received as members of a family. In many interviews respondents stressed the fact that they were brought up to look upon philanthropic activity as part of

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26. Interview No.26.

27. Interview No.47.

their social status. They learned that they were expected to undertake "good works"; that it was their duty to help the "less fortunate". It is this type of family training which guides these individuals into philanthropic activity thus providing recruits for philanthropic organizations such as these campaigns. They see it as one expected aspect of their social status which they perform in the role of campaign volunteer. This factor of training was stressed by one female respondent who has been a volunteer canvasser in a number of campaigns:

"Training is all important. I have tried to bring my sons up to give and be responsible for others. Sometimes I drag one of them to a committee meeting, but I don't blame him for being bored. My eldest son got caught in the last Welfare Federation Campaign; he had cards to take. I think they passed them out in the office. You are brought up to it." 28.

This same factor was stressed by another female volunteer:

"It was a matter of training. We had it ground into us at home. My generation had it well pounded in; you couldn't escape it. You got it in every direction, at home, in church, and in Junior College in the States. They generally encouraged and sponsored this type of work. We were taught that you not only gave your money, but you gave your time." 29.

The foregoing analysis has indicated that certain factors which are components of an individual's high social or occupational status are brought into the campaign situation. In summary

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28. Interview No.45.

29. Interview No.39.



these factors are prestige, functionally specific elements of the person's occupational role, mutual claims and obligations, leisure time of women of high social status, training and expectations with respect to philanthropic activity. It is from these individuals that the campaign receives active support. A function of this high status group with respect to the campaign is that it gives the organization prestige in the eyes of the donors, other volunteers and the community, thus helping it to become acceptable to them and worthy of support.

As Jamieson says:

"The function of the philanthropic group, in addition to that of giving lies in lending the weight of its prestige as a drawing card in money raising activities, and as a guarantee of responsibility in the control and administration of funds". 30.

However, certain of the factors mentioned above are, under certain circumstances, dysfunctional with respect to the campaign organization. The functionally specific elements of the occupational role of the person holding a high status in the campaign are sometimes used to assess prospective donations of large donors. When the "special names" canvasser approaches this type of individual for a donation, the latter sometimes resents the fact that he has been asked to give a large sum since he realizes that somebody in the organization has used knowledge gained in an occupational role to determine

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30. Jamieson. Op. Cit., p. 175.

his donation. In some cases this resentment may cause the prospective donor to give a smaller amount than that for which he has been assessed, or he may refuse to give at all, and henceforth give to other philanthropic organizations.

It has been shown that some volunteers use mutual claims and obligations in order to gain recruits and donors. Some respondents looked upon this as a form of coercion which did not fit into their conception of philanthropy. In some cases it antagonized prospective volunteers and donors. This was expressed by a volunteer in the women's division:

"Mr. \_\_\_ uses pressure, but the men rather expect this; they find so much of it in business, and a person like Mr. \_\_\_ would really know if somebody was holding back. Still, I don't think it is right. It must antagonize many people". 31.

These mutual claims and obligations which the volunteer brings to the campaign situation result in a system of reciprocal claims and obligations in which one person will ask another for financial or active help in succeeding campaigns in which he or she is involved. Conversely, these individuals will ask this person for assistance when they become involved in this activity. This reciprocal system results, in some cases, in a particular canvasser losing his or her effectiveness in either canvassing or recruiting. Since the same individual approaches

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31. Interview No. 48.

the same group during succeeding campaigns they may resent these constant demands. This is shown in the following excerpt from an interview with a female volunteer who has held high status in the women's division of a number of campaigns:

"....I try to keep my interest divided, and not to take on too many in the same year. You have to ask your friends, and if they always see you coming for money you lose your effectiveness". 32.

The Effect of Participation upon Social and Occupational Status of Volunteers.

This chapter has so far dealt mainly with the effect of the functionaries' social position upon campaign organization. What follows is an analysis of the effect of participation upon the social and occupational status of volunteers. The individual not only brings something to his status in any organization, but it also gives something to him. The following is an attempt to determine those factors within the campaign organization which reward the volunteer participant.

One of the most important rewards which the volunteer receives is prestige. This can be seen as a factor in the campaign which serves to motivate individuals to participate. To be offered a status in the campaign organization, be it campaign chairman or volunteer canvasser, is to be offered prestige, or the opportunity to gain it.

For the honorary chairman who is already a "successful" individual, his status in the campaign gives him a certain amount of

prestige, but he gives more to it than he takes from it. Evidence to support this hypothesis comes from interview material which indicates that the individual chosen for the position of honorary chairman must satisfy himself that by accepting it he will not endanger his prestige in the eyes of others. He tries to ensure that his campaign status will not detract from the prestige he has gained in other fields, or that it will not harm him in any other way. This is evident in the following excerpt from an interview with a female volunteer:

"Mr. \_\_\_ is an exceptional honorary chairman. He has such wealth that he has to look around for ways to dispose of it. He is in a position to make up the difference if a campaign appears to be a failure. He won't be connected with a failure. I wouldn't be surprised if social prestige didn't somewhat affect the situation. He is a big man with tremendous contacts; other men like to be associated with him, to work with him. There is a social climbing element; if he endorses a campaign others will follow without question. They like to be on the same bandwagon with him." 33.

Not only does this interview show that the honorary chairman tries to first satisfy himself that the campaign is likely to succeed, but it also indicates that other individuals seek to gain prestige through associating with such a prestigious figure.

The following interview material from a female volunteer indicates that the name of the honorary chairman is an important prestige symbol to others;

"Certain names are important. Families like the X's and the Y's stand for something in the community. When you see their names connected with a

campaign you know that they wouldn't waste their time with it unless it was worthwhile. They, too, are the people who give large amounts. They give a type of endorsement to the organization". 34.

The campaign chairman comes to the campaign situation with a high social and occupational status but these are not as high in the eyes of others in comparison with those of the honorary chairman. In the three campaigns under study it is evident that the chairman is chosen through an informal arrangement between the highest functionaries and the executive secretary of the money-raising institution, and the honorary chairman. This latter individual knows those persons who are likely to attain a high degree of "success" in the business world, and who are still mobile in this respect. It is this type of person who is generally chosen as chairman. He has already reached a stage in his career which has brought him to the notice of others, but he has yet to attain the high social and occupational status of the honorary chairman. By being chosen for chairman the individual stands out before the eyes of the community. He becomes a symbol of the campaign in the eyes of others, and he is identified with it through the large amount of publicity in which his name is linked with that of the campaign. By becoming identified as the leader of the campaign he is given prestige, but this depends in part upon its success. If it succeeds he carries the prestige thus gained with him into his occupational

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34. Interview No.51.

sphere. He has proved himself to others which may reflect to his advantage in other fields of activity. These factors are evident in the remarks of a publicity manager of one of the campaigns under study:

"He succeeds because he has to; it helps him in his business. The last general chairman of Welfare Federation was Mr. \_\_\_ and he went over the objective by about ten thousand dollars. Shortly after they finished the campaign he got a promotion in his firm. It helps those fellows in their job if they can succeed in a campaign like Welfare Federation.

Mr. \_\_\_ is the general chairman this year. I don't think he wanted an objective that was too high. It's a feather in his cap if he can make it.....If he makes it, it helps him a lot and people take notice of him." 35.

The social and occupational position of both the honorary chairman and the campaign chairman is an important factor in gaining recruits for the organization. Before many individuals will agree to volunteer it is necessary that they can assure themselves that this is "socially safe" activity; that others of higher or equal status are already associated with it. If those with whom they wish to be associated, or who, in their eyes, are figures of prestige, are already participating in the campaign they will consider it "socially safe" to do so themselves. This can be seen in the following remarks of a female volunteer who has held the status of vice-chairman in the women's division of a number of campaigns:

"When you want people in positions it makes a difference who is sanctioning and backing the campaign. When I call up, the women want to know: "Who is doing it with you?" If I can tell Mrs. Jones that Mrs. Smith - in a higher social standing than Mrs. Jones - is taking part she is willing, but if Mrs. Smith was beneath her she would begin to hedge and try to get out of it. They are more willing provided their friends or "good company" women are doing it. They insist on knowing whether or not it is "socially safe", and if it will help them to be known, though they would be the first to deny that is the real reason for asking". 36.

Most important from the point of view of the volunteer in the lower positions in these campaigns is that he or she sees this activity as a means of gaining prestige by being associated with those of higher status. This serves as a reward for the recruit. This was described by a female volunteer:

"Others are impressed by the names of the people with whom they will work. You can't help but make some friends out of a group working on a campaign. They rather like having their name being associated with Mrs. \_\_\_\_". 37

Some volunteers see campaign activity as a means of associating and making "contacts" with those of higher status which they may be able to use to their advantage in a social or occupational milieu. Other volunteers see it as a means of meeting people with interests similar to their own, or as a means of increasing their status mobility. The following excerpt from an interview with a volunteer illustrates this point:

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36. Interview No. 23.

37. Interview No. 32.

"....Some people like to work in these campaigns because it gives them a social push. This isn't the majority by any means; don't get me wrong. There are many very sincere persons, but some think it will help them along socially. They expect to make friends with the people on their team and they often do. They are impressed with this "upper crust" or whatever you want to call it". 38.

The foregoing analysis gives some indication of the types of rewards which the recruits are offered by joining the campaign organization. These, for the most part, pertain to the enhancement and furthering of the individual's social or occupational status. Their acts are evaluated, and this helps them to rise on an evaluative scale in the eyes of others. To participate in this type of activity is to be associated with "good works", thus helping the person to become accepted by others.

For the young business man who is still striving to increase his status mobility the campaign organization may serve as a structure parallel to his business organization in which he can "prove" himself to his business superiors. Unable to gain the recognition in this latter milieu which he considers his due, he may see the campaign as an organization in which both he and his superiors participate, and in which he has an opportunity to show his "selling" ability. 39.

In the case of the female volunteers campaign activity in particular, and philanthropic activity in general, appears from the

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38. Interview No. 38.

39. This assumption is suggested as a topic for further research.



observer's point of view, to serve as a career. Interview data indicates that women of higher social status, with few domestic responsibilities and a great deal of leisure time, use this type of activity as a career for which they have received a certain amount of training both in the home and in associations such as the Junior League.<sup>40.</sup> These women begin their career as a volunteer canvasser, and gradually work their way up to the status of vice-chairman of the women's division. They volunteer for one campaign after another, or they may prefer to work for two or three campaigns and spend the remainder of their leisure time with some other type of philanthropic activity. The prestige of those above them, the steady promotion within philanthropic organizations for this type of volunteer, and the social aggrandizement which it gives to the female volunteer serve as her rewards.

Because women of high social status tend to look upon this activity as a career, the higher offices in the women's division in the campaign tend to become their prerogative. The high offices are "passed around" within this "career circle", which makes it difficult for the newcomer to break in unless she has the proper qualifications with respect to status and previous training, and a sponsor in the "inner fraternity".

Those female respondents who spent a great deal of their leisure time at this activity saw it in this light as the following

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40. See pp. 75-78.

remarks by two women of high social status indicate:

"I started out canvassing, then rose to team captain, district office, and head of the women's division of Welfare Federation. I have been on various boards for years, but then I have no children and have the time. I started out with Mrs. \_\_\_; she asked me to canvass. It was a very new thing here in those days, the amounts were much smaller, but it was just as difficult to get because it was a new thing". 41

"I got into charity work because I was expected to. I did take on some of my mother's interests, but in her day things were not run on a large scale. They didn't have organized campaigns. My parents brought me up to do it. Once you are in it you never seem to get out.....I wouldn't be surprised if some of the older women didn't like the executive part of the campaigns because it was like having a career....." 42.

It should be pointed out here that it is only those women with adequate leisure time, and of a high social standing whose family or associational background indicates training and expectations with respect to philanthropic activity, who have been considered as interpreting it as a type of career. There are other female volunteers who participate but who do not have all these characteristics, and look upon it, as has already been indicated, as a means of associating with those of higher status in the hope thereby of gaining prestige and increasing their status mobility.  
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41. Interview No. 55.

42. Interview No. 45.

43. Since the focus of this study is upon the campaign in organization further analysis of philanthropic activity as a career for women is not desirable at this point. It is a suggestion for further study.

Summary.

The foregoing analysis of the status interrelationships of these campaigns under study indicates that the individual's status within these organizations varies in relation to his social and occupational status.

Individuals of high social and occupational status are recruited to fill the higher statuses in the campaign. The most important men in the business world become honorary chairmen; the business man who has attained a high degree of success becomes the campaign chairman, and other individuals with similar characteristics become its vice-chairmen. This indicates that the person's status outside the campaign affects his status within it.

The honorary chairman, chairman, vice-chairmen, and "special names" volunteers, have prestige which stems from non-campaign sources, and which they bring with them into the campaign situation. Some of them may also bring functionally specific elements of their occupational role into this situation in order to better assess the donations of some prospective donors. Some volunteers may use the obligations which others owe them in order to recruit these individuals. Both the functionally specific elements of his occupational role and the obligations which the volunteer brings to his status in the campaign may prove dysfunctional. The first with respect to prospective donors and the second with respect to recruits.

For the majority of female volunteers this appears to be a leisure time activity. These are women of high social status who have received training for philanthropy in associations such as the Junior League. For both men and women of high social status this activity is one expected aspect of their status for which they may have received training in the home prior to marriage.

To be offered a position in the campaign organization is to be offered prestige or the opportunity to gain it. This is an important reward for the volunteer. The chairman gains prestige by being chosen to lead the campaign and from its subsequent success. The volunteers lower in status see the campaign as a means of gaining this reward through their association with those of higher social or occupational status. For some it is a means of making "contacts" thereby increasing their status mobility. By participating in these campaigns individuals become associated with "good works", thus helping them to rise on an evaluative scale in the eyes of others. For some women with sufficient leisure time and high social status this may be seen as a career.

## Chapter VI

### Campaign Authority Relationships

Since campaigns are organized with the particular aim of raising money, individual members of the organization must be told to perform specific acts. In the performance of these acts there is a conscious or unconscious acceptance of authority.<sup>1.</sup> No type of organization can operate effectively if its members, in pursuit of a common end, have not first accepted and agreed upon ways and means. The pattern of authority relationships in these campaigns operates within a formal framework which, through the hierarchical arrangement of personnel, indicates specific lines of communication and authority.<sup>2.</sup> This facilitates the achievement of the purpose of the campaign.

However, investigation shows that the campaign's formal authority pattern is paralleled by a structure of informal authority relationships. This is the analytical focus of this chapter. An attempt will be made to determine some of the sources of authority; how it is divided along sex lines; how it is used; factors which make for its acceptance or non-acceptance, and finally, the actual locus of responsibility and control.

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1. "Authority is an institutionally recognized right to influence the actions of others, regardless of their immediate personal attitudes to the direction of influence. It is exercised by the incumbent of an office or other socially defined status such as that of parent, doctor, prophet. The kind and degree of authority exercised is clearly one of the most important bases of the differential valuation of individuals. Parsons, Op. Cit., p. 171.

2. See Figure 3.

The authority relationships which exist in this type of organized money-raising activity are necessary if those who participate are to perform their duties effectively. Since volunteers need to be told their duties with a reasonable expectation that they will carry them out, it is logically necessary for the presence of someone who can successfully issue orders to others.<sup>3.</sup> There must be some person or persons in the campaign who are recognized as having a right to influence the activities of others. It is action within the relationships evident in the campaign structure which is influenced by those "in authority". The "right" to influence the action of other volunteers, in a formal sense, stems from the individual's incumbency of a particular office in a particular campaign substructure. This "right" in part originates in the expectations of other volunteers with respect to the incumbent.

#### Sources of Authority.

The formal patterning of authority in the campaigns under study is similar to that found in the philanthropic institutions under whose direction they are organized. The ordering of personnel into an authority framework places them in particular relationships<sup>4.</sup>

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3. According to Weber, "The existence of emperative control turns only on the actual presence of one person successfully issuing orders to others; it does not necessarily imply the existence of an administrative staff, or, for that matter, of a corporate group. It is, however, uncommon to find it not associated with one of these". Weber, Max. The Theory of Social and Economic Organization. Translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons. New York, Oxford University Press, 1947. p. 153.

4. The term, social relationship, as used in this study, denotes the behavior of a plurality of actors, the actions of each taking account of the action of others and oriented in these terms. Weber, Op. Cit., p. 118.

with one another which, in an institution, are given formal definition. However, in these campaigns such relationships have relatively little formal definition. To be more explicit, the majority of male volunteers follow a career line within an occupation in which the existing relationships are explicitly defined, and which are transferred to the campaign situation. For example, the influential business executive or wealthy industrialist will transfer his relationships with other individuals in his occupational milieu to his position in the campaign. For both male and female volunteers this particular arrangement is also evident in the social sphere in that their relationships with others of the same or different social status is transferred in the same manner. In this way the campaign organization mobilizes volunteers into a particular order of relationships which reflect the pattern of relationships in which its members are placed in their day to day activity outside the campaign.

"From observation I would say that the general chairman had to have a well established financial position, command respect and be public spirited. He should be a person difficult to refuse by virtue of having given generously himself; usually he is a bank executive. They change about, each one bringing in his group of loyal supporters, prestige and connections through directorships". 5.

This particular arrangement is, in part, due to the necessity for organization within the campaign structure. If the campaign is to pursue its particular end of raising money, it must have



an ordering of relationships which will function more or less effectively. By using preexisting patterns in other structures it places its participants in relationships to one another to which they are already accustomed, thus lessening the likelihood of friction. This is not to suggest that this pattern is followed precisely in the same manner, but it may be seen as the "model" arrangement in the campaigns under study.

In some cases, deviation from this pattern is due to the efficiency of a particular participant in organizing or canvassing who may be in a relatively subordinate relationship to others in outside groups or institutions. This efficiency places the individual in a superior relationship within the campaign structure.

What has been said above does not apply to the various staff executives who participate in these campaigns. The role of these executives is to set forth the organization pattern, which includes the publicity and canvassing techniques, in order that the volunteers may know what to do. Their's is a somewhat ambiguous position since their job is to show the volunteers the activity necessary for the successful organization of the campaign, and the subsequent canvassing techniques, but in doing so they cannot appear to exert authority on their own. They must work with and through the authority of the chairman or vice-chairmen.

#### Use of Authority.

When the behavior of the members of any institution or group is influenced by a person in authority making explicit the

activities he wants them to perform, the pattern of authority may be called "domination".<sup>6</sup> In these campaigns this formal pattern of "domination" makes explicit only a minimum of activity. Of major importance in this respect is the fact that the campaign office, as such, gives a minimum of authority to the individual incumbent, thus giving him little formal "domination" with respect to his office. This fact is stressed in many interviews such as the following by a business leader, which indicates that a minimum of authority adheres to a particular office, but that authority is brought to it by the incumbent's status within a particular occupational or social milieu.

"The campaign chairman has to be someone who is well up in the community. It's no good getting someone whom nobody knows. You wouldn't get an office boy to be chairman. He could not go out and meet the most important people in town; so the chairman has to be someone who can meet anybody....There are many sections covering alltypes of subscriptions. At the head of these sections are the vice-chairmen who are important people in that particular field. They are connected in some way with the campaign chairman. Some may be his friends who are willing to help him out, and some may be his business acquaintances....

The job of the various vice-chairmen is to get people around them who can canvass that section. The vice-chairmen must be people who can get people to work for them. They may get people from their firm, or their friends to do it." 7.

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6. Goldhamer, Herbert and Shils, Edward A., "Types of Power and Status", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. XLV, No. 2, Sept., 1939. pp. 171-182.

7. Interview No. 17.

It is evident from this interview that the chairman and vice-chairmen must have influence either socially or occupationally or both before they take office in the campaign. This influence in fields outside the campaign is used to gain campaign members for the various substructures. The campaign chairman is influenced in his acceptance of this office by the occupational or social status of those who ask him to accept it. This also applies to the vice-chairman with respect to the campaign chairman. These vice-chairmen may also be persuaded to participate by the same influential individuals who asked the campaign chairman. This applies particularly to the vice-chairman in charge of the "special names". Since this division is organized to approach some of the most influential individuals in both the business and non-business world, its vice-chairman must be in a position to influence their response to the campaign appeal. Furthermore, it is necessary that he be able to persuade people of superior occupational or social status to volunteer to canvass this group of donors. In this particular division the vice-chairman may use little or no actual "domination" in the sense that he gives explicit demands or requests to his volunteer canvassers. He is, however, in a position to indirectly influence others in their desire to participate in that he may wield a great deal of influence in the business or social world.

The manner in which the influence stemming from an authoritative position in a particular social milieu is used, consciously

or unconsciously, to influence the behavior of individuals in another social milieu may be termed "manipulation".<sup>8.</sup> In the campaigns under study the behavior of the chairman, vice-chairmen, team captains and ordinary canvassers was influenced in this way. The following interview gives some indication of the ways in which "manipulation" works in the campaign with respect to the campaign chairman:

"For the head of a campaign you must have a well established business man. He has to have a very good reputation, be of unquestioned integrity and be one whose judgement is respected. Well, yes, he would have to have social standing; an "old Montrealer" as a rule. The important part is that he must be able to contact the proper individuals on a personal basis. He should be a friend of the most important people who will give, or at least be in their set." 9.

The manner in which the vice-chairman uses his influence in both the business and social world for campaign purposes is indicated by the following excerpt from an interview:

"The job of the various vice-chairmen is to get people around them who can canvass that section. The vice-chairmen must be people who can get people to work for them. They may get people from their firms, or their friends, to do it." 10.

Seen from the perspective of the ordinary canvasser this type of influence, whether social or occupational, is difficult to resist:

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8. Goldhamer and Shils. Op. Cit.

9. Interview No. 38.

10. Interview No. 17.

"Well, I think people give their time because they can't let a friend down, nothing more or less than that. They don't like to do it, but it has to be done by somebody. I can't say that I think the campaign system of charity is the best way, but it is all we have to work with at present. You have to work because you can't refuse the person who asks you. I know that personally I find it difficult to refuse." 11.

The vice-chairman in charge of the women's division is generally a non-professional in the sense that she has no position in the business world. Her influence, therefore, may stem from her class position or her status within other non-occupational groups in the community.

"....generally they have to be the executive type; not necessarily wealthy. Mrs. \_\_\_ is taking it this year and she is only a doctor's wife. Usually campaign leaders are "old Montrealers" - they have been in the run of things. However, I don't think there is any deliberate policy of selecting "old Montrealers". They have social standing not in the sense of always appearing at parties, but they know people and have contacts. They have to be pleasant, easy to get along with; you know what I mean. In a big campaign you get the same people canvassing over and over. The positions shouldn't be too difficult to fill; they have it all down to such a system so that when you go in you are given the lists and all the literature. And you don't have to know too terribly much yourself...." 12.

From the foregoing it can be seen that the incumbent of an office within the campaign structure receives from it a minimum of authority in the sense that he or she can demand obedience for

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11. Interview No. 38.

12. Interview No. 50.

specific commands. On the other hand, the incumbent brings to the office a great deal of influence which stems from his or her status in an occupational or social milieu. The authority of the staff executive however, stems, not from outside sources, but from his office which demands that he perform a particularly vital function within the campaign structure. Without him to show the volunteers, from campaign chairman to canvasser, the particular pattern of activity necessary for its successful conclusion, the campaign could not operate as an effective organization. It is the staff executive who draws up a list of canvassing techniques which the vice-chairmen distribute among their canvassers; who organizes publicity arrangements for the vice-chairmen in charge of publicity; who supplies lists of past and prospective donors for the various divisions, and who is constantly ready to advise the campaign chairmen on technical matters. The staff executive, acting in his many capacities, is the organizational key for the campaign, but, despite his importance to it, he remains as much as possible in the background. It is the volunteers who come before the eyes of the community. They, however, realize the importance of the staff executive to the campaign and, in general, take his advice. It is evident, therefore, that in reality this particular worker has a great deal of authority which, in part, stems from the realization by the volunteers, from chairman to canvasser, that he is indispensable to them in carrying out their activities.

"The first thing you simply must have is proper organization. A campaign can't do without that. It is a full time job; you need a

professional; one who is paid to see that the job is properly done....Charity is big business and you need somebody on the top that is capable." 13

#### Division of Authority on Sex Lines.

A particularly important factor in the informal structuring of authority within the campaign is that of sex. For the volunteer participants there is a division of authority on sex lines. In general, the women volunteers are organized within the women's division in the campaigns under study. This means that the vice-chairman in charge of that division has no authority over the male volunteers in other divisions. Furthermore, it tends to decrease the likelihood of competitive comparison between husband and wife since by the present arrangement they are in different divisions, and, as a rule, in different positions. Sometimes, female volunteer canvassers are of a social status superior to their male counterparts, and this is particularly true of the vice-chairman of the women's division with respect to the majority of male canvassers. In many cases the female volunteer is married, and her husband has a high position in the business or professional world. Because of this, where the husband holds a position in the campaign, it may be on a higher level than that of his wife. In this case, the husband is not in a position where he receives orders from his wife. He may however, be a "special names" canvasser, but since this particular division is

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looked upon as most important from the point of view of its objective, and the influence of its donors, there is small likelihood that the husband will be invidiously compared with respect to his position and authority within the campaign with his wife despite the fact that she may be vice-chairman of the women's division.

Acceptance of Authority.

Since the campaigns under study are, except for the staff executive and the staff administrative substructures, composed of volunteers, it is important to seek elements within and without the campaign situation which affect the motivation for obedience or disobedience to authority. If the campaign is to succeed, it is important that the participants carry out their assigned duties. This implies that there must be at least a minimum of authority and obedience.

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It has been shown above that although important offices in the campaign give a minimum of authority to their incumbents, the authority which exists in these particular offices is brought to them from the incumbent's status in an occupational or social milieu. The individual volunteer realizes this fact, and guides his campaign activity accordingly. He sees those individuals holding positions of authority, not as campaign chairmen, vice-chairman or team captain but as persons holding relatively higher positions than him in the business world, or

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14. See above, pp. 95-99.



as individuals of a higher social standing. Because of this fact, the individual finds it difficult to refuse to participate as a campaign member and, as a member, to refuse to act according to definitions of his activities as expressed by those in authority in the campaign. These factors are evident in the following statements by respondents:

"The first man to get hold of is the campaign chairman who must be influential in business and in society....The chairman gets a group of people around him to help. He usually asks his friends or he may get an executive in his own business, who may like the idea or may not, but will usually do it. The various chairmen then get hold of others to help them, either friends of people who work for them. In this way the organization is built up from the top down like a pyramid." 15.

"The leaders in these campaigns are big business men....They know where the money is, and have a large organization behind them to supply workers, or secretarial help. They can bully people into taking jobs. I don't know what would happen if someone refused them. If the General Manager of the Bank asks you to help you will accept whereas you will turn down somebody else who is not so important." 16.

The "pressure" which the chairman or vice-chairman is able to use in the occupational or social sphere is also used in  
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the form of indirect sanctions which are evident in these campaigns. Sanctions which persons in positions of authority outside the campaign

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15. Interview No. 7.

16. Interview No. 57.

17. These indirect sanctions refer to the threat of the use of authority in an occupational or social milieu by high campaign functionaries in order to bring about conformity to their orders as campaign officers.

are able to use, are brought into the positions of authority in the campaign. Many of the volunteers complain of this type of indirect pressure. They object to being "pressured" into volunteering and complain that it is not the "right approach". Some respondents claimed that through the use of pressure in recruiting, campaign volunteers are antagonized. Many employees are told to participate by the "boss" whom they can hardly refuse, especially since such campaign activity occupies their working hours. This method of recruiting is seen by some volunteers, notably those from families traditionally connected with philanthropic activity, as detrimental to those values such as "service", "responsibility" and "duty" which they associate with this activity. It is because campaign office gives the incumbent little direct authority that he relies upon this type of pressure which stems from his authoritative position in another context, and which is recognized by other campaign volunteers, for enforcing his orders. These orders, however, are not personal demands as such, but definitions of the situation which have for the most part been laid down by the staff executive, who realizes the necessity for organizing campaign activity and upon whom the chairman and vice-chairmen depend for a definition of their respective roles. The staff executive therefore, depends upon the authority which the volunteer functionaries bring to their respective offices to get campaign activity organized.

From the point of view of the individual volunteer, conformity to the "orders" of those in authority in the campaign may

be, in part, the result not only of the threat of indirect sanctions, but also of "unintended penalization (such as guilt feelings, loss of prestige, etc.) the anticipation of which may motivate the individual to conform." 18. This was expressed by one female volunteer in this way:

"You have to help because you can't refuse the person who asks you. I know that personally I find it very difficult to refuse. I would feel guilty that I was passing the buck as it is so hard to get people to work for you." 19.

It should be emphasized here that in our society, individuals who have been successful in their particular occupation and who are of high social status are expected to participate in campaign activity. As Hughes says:

"The interlocking of the directorates of educational, charitable, and other philanthropic agencies is due perhaps not so much to a cabal as to the very fact that they are philanthropic. Philanthropy, as we know it, implies economic success; it comes late in a career. It may come only in the second generation of success. But when it does come, it is quite as much a matter of assuming certain prerogatives and responsibilities in the control of philanthropic institutions as of giving money. These prerogatives and responsibilities form part of the successful man's conception of himself and part of the world's expectation of him." 20.

Although Hughes speaks only of the expectations with respect to the assumption of office in philanthropic institutions this also applies to participation in campaign activity. "Successful"

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18. Goldhamer and Shils, Op. Cit.

19. Interview No. 38.

20. Hughes, Everett C., Op. Cit., p. 411.

men, and women, of high social status are expected to participate in these campaigns by society. A conscious refusal to accept these responsibilities, which for the majority, entails conformity to the definition of the campaign situation by those in authority, may result in the "guilt feelings" mentioned in the above interview.

The factor of prestige was mentioned by another female volunteer:

"Some women want to work in it for prestige. They are angling to be put on a campaign committee, but are not the type. You have to create jobs for them in the campaign; put them in a safe backwater, because it would upset the organization if you let them run anything. You don't want to hurt their feelings, but if it isn't their cup of tea, they should get out." 21.

The campaign situation is seen by the majority of volunteer canvassers, both male and female, and in some cases by those holding authoritative positions in the campaign, as a competitive milieu in which there is competition between individuals on the same teams and between different teams. This competition is for the prestige which accrues to the individuals, teams or divisions which raise the greatest amount of money. Although there is a realization that some divisions, notably the "special names", are in a far better position than others in this respect, a competitive spirit prevails nonetheless. This is evident from the following interview

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with a successful lawyer who began participating in these campaigns as a volunteer canvasser when he first began practicing his profession and who since held the positions of vice-chairman and chairman of a variety of campaigns:

"Yes, it seems that a man starts at the bottom and gradually works up as he rises in his profession and business. In these campaigns, you start at the bottom by being just a canvasser, - the fellow who goes around knocking on doors. They call it the territorial division. I can remember being asked to do this years ago for Welfare Federation. There were about a dozen of us in our team and we had a map of our district. We got the names of everyone in that district and started canvassing. I can remember getting my first \$100. donation and running the whole length of St. James Street to tell the boys. I was quite excited. There's a lot of competition between the various teams and I got quite a kick out of it. They have charts and model thermometers to make you do your best. I think it's competition with the others that makes you go out and knock on people's doors." 22.

The competitive spirit also prevails in the women's division as is evident from the following interview with a married woman:

"Most people work from a sense of duty, or they get talked into it and there is no way out, but that isn't all. Some actually enjoy collecting money. Down at headquarters you should see some of those eager beavers; they are really keen. They have a goal and they are going to make it. Boy, of boy! I guess I am not a very good person to collect as I don't bother whether I or another person gets the money as it all goes to the same ultimate cause. But some women are very particular about it. They get quite upset if the money they collect is credited to the wrong team." 23.

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22. Interview No. 6.

23. Interview No. 27.

The prestige which is gained by participation in the competitive situation is instrumental in the individual's acceptance of the orders of those in authority. The chairman and vice-chairman define the situation for the volunteer, and in some cases for themselves, as competitive. They are helped in this respect through the use of symbols such as "progress charts", and "model thermometers", which have a competitive meaning for the participants. Volunteers thus seek to outdo each other in collecting donations, thereby unconsciously accepting the situation as it is defined by those in authority, and in so doing, conforming to orders.

There are factors in the campaign situation besides pressure, prestige, and subjective guilt feelings which motivate the volunteer participants to obey the orders of those in authority. These are norms of conduct such as "community spirit", "responsibility to the less fortunate", "sense of duty", "self-sacrifice", and "generosity". These factors are evident in the following interviews:

"There is a very simple answer to that question; training. Those of us who have been brought up with security feel we have a responsibility to those less fortunate than us....You would be amazed at the generosity and acceptance of responsibility among the wealthy in Montreal. I have no doubt whatsoever that they are doing a marvellous job of facing up to their duty." 24.

"People are public spirited; partly it's duty but some are fascinated by it." 25

"Why, they do it because they have decent feelings, there isn't any other reason. They are thinking only of what they can give; not what they can get out of it. It would never occur to me that they could do it for any other reason. Certainly all my friends and the people I know do it because it is a duty and an obligation. Heaven knows they don't get any fun out of it, but they do it." 26.

In summary, the pressure which stems from a form of indirect sanctions, prestige, subjective guilt feelings, society's expectations, and norms of conduct are factors which motivate participants to conform to the orders of those in authority.

#### The Locus of Responsibility and Control.

In carrying out their duties campaign participants are following orders which according to organization charts and formal organization procedures originate in the decision of the campaign chairman who, if he has held this particular position in previous campaigns, may be able to do this with comparatively little help from the staff executive. As a rule, however, he relies upon the latter individual to tell him what he must do. In this respect the paid organizer is indispensable to the campaign chairman since the latter may come into this situation with little or no knowledge

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of what is expected of him. Before he can give orders to his subordinates, the organizational pattern of the campaign must be explained to him by the paid organizer. The chairman then uses his authority to see that this pattern is followed by his subordinates. It should be pointed out that this particular relationship between the chairman and the paid organizer may not be fully recognized by the volunteer participants. When the vice-chairmen, team captains, and volunteer canvassers carry out their particular roles, they see themselves as acting under the authority of the chairman.

It is the paid organizer whose role it is to improve the campaign's organizational pattern from year to year. To this end he is constantly rearranging his lists of past and potential donors and lists of canvassers. He is in touch with those satellite philanthropic institutions whose financial needs are served by the money raised during the campaign. He is, therefore, able to estimate their needs. He is also in a position to estimate, within limits, the potential response of the community to the next campaign, and the type of propaganda which will appeal to the various individuals and groups whose financial support he seeks. It is this individual, in the person of the executive-secretary of the money raising institution, who is of vital importance to the maintenance of the organized campaign. It is this staff executive and the staff administration, drawn from the trained administrative personnel of the money raising



institution, who set the campaign machinery in motion year after year.

A glance at Figure 3 serves to indicate the importance of the staff executive to the campaign's authority structure. The chairman sponsored by an honorary chairman, relies upon his authority in an outside occupational or social milieu to gain the obedience of those in a subordinate position to him in the campaign. Furthermore, the fact that he is sponsored by a well known, and highly successful individual in the community helps to legitimate him in the eyes of the campaign members and the potential donors. When it comes to organizing the campaign, however, he cannot succeed without the help of the paid organizer. Although the chairman may have a great many business and social acquaintances whom he could recruit for the campaign, these would be insufficient and untrained. The staff executive, on the other hand, has lists of trained volunteers whose services he can call upon. The chairman may decide of his own accord those who are to be his vice-chairmen, but if he is unable to supply a sufficient number, the source from which the remainder can be drawn will be indicated by the staff executive. Every aspect of campaign organization is known to staff executive and his staff administration so that the chairman can turn in this direction for advice. Many of his decisions are reached only after consultation with the staff executive. These are then passed on in the form of orders to those in subordinate positions.

For the observer, the campaign can be viewed as a problem in organization. If he sees it from the point of view of the chairman, it appears as a problem in the organization of the activity of a group of volunteers for the purpose of raising a specific amount of money. If the purpose is to be fulfilled, the volunteers must be given certain roles to perform with a reasonable expectation that they will perform them. There are, therefore, two functional prerequisites which can be logically deduced from this; the first is a standardized pattern of organized activity containing a variety of roles which, when performed, will bring about the desired purpose, other things being equal; and the second is a pattern of authority relationships which is necessary in order to direct activity in the desired direction. From the foregoing analysis it is evident that the first of these prerequisites is supplied by the staff executive. His role within the context of the money-raising philanthropic institution is to maintain an efficient pattern of organization which is a continuous, year-round activity. In the context of the campaign, his role is to advise the chairman as to the organization of all aspects of campaign activity. The second prerequisite is supplied by the chairman who brings his authority in other contexts into the office of campaign chairman.

There is one group lying below the chairman in the formal authority structure, over which in reality he may have little

or no authority or control. This is the "special names" group of vice-chairmen and canvassers. It has been shown already that the organization of the "special names" division differs from that of other divisions. The "special names" donors are individuals or firms who are able to give much larger donations than those in other divisions.<sup>27.</sup> These individuals are, in general, equal to or of higher occupational or social status with respect to the campaign chairman. Those that were of lower social status and could still afford large donations, in some cases, insisted that their names be placed on the "special names" list.

The size of the donation which is required to place a firm on the "special names" list may vary from campaign to campaign,<sup>28.</sup> and upon the total objective of any campaign. In many

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27. During the course of a \$1,700,000. campaign in 1928, and prior to its conclusion, the "special names" division was given an objective of \$700,000. to be solicited from 18 individuals, of which \$420,000. had been donated by 10 individuals or firms, giving an average of \$42,000. per person or firm. The remainder of the \$1,000,000. total objective was divided amongst 10,005 individuals or firms. Of this total \$652,893. had been donated by 4,970 individuals or firms, giving an average of \$131.36 per person or firm. From records in the possession of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, McGill University.
28. In some campaigns, "special names" comprise only individual donations while "special corporations" consist of donations by firms. In both cases the donations must be at least equal to a specific sum. Depending on the campaign and its total objective, this may vary between \$1,000. and \$5,000. for firms. In one Y.M.C.A. campaign in 1928, the lowest "special names" (consisting of individuals and firms) donation was \$5,000. and the highest \$100,000.

cases both the firm and its higher functionaries may donate. The "special names" canvasser may approach the same individual for two donations; one from the institution as such, and one from the individual approached as one who is occupationally successful and who can afford a "special names" donation.

Over this group of "special names" canvassers and their vice-chairman, the chairman is able to exert little if any authority. Since he brings authority to the office of chairman from his status in the work world, and the group mentioned is at least of equal status in the latter milieu, the chairman cannot give them "orders" as he can the volunteer canvasser in other divisions. This brings with it the necessity of a higher degree of cooperation and similarity of purpose with respect to the campaign between the chairman and the volunteer members of the "special names" division. He must treat individuals of this group as his equals, and seek other means of gaining their conformity to his definitions of the situation, should this become necessary. Although there is no evidence in the data gathered for this thesis that this necessity ever arose in the campaigns under study, the assumption may be made that if such a situation did arise he could seek the assistance of the honorary chairman who could bring pressure to bear upon the recalcitrant.

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Donations from this same division in subsequent campaigns have exceeded this latter figure. Ibid.

Some of the "special names" donors which lie outside the campaign structure may be in a position to influence the decisions of the chairman. Since some of them have a higher occupational or social status than he, and since they are the largest donors, their demands or wishes with respect to campaign organization must be met to a certain degree.<sup>29.</sup> In some cases, before he makes a decision, the chairman or his representative may approach a number of these wealthy donors to obtain their advice concerning the decision. For example, before finally deciding upon the campaign objective, the chairman may approach individuals of this group for their reactions. Since they will be expected to provide a large proportion of the total objective it is important for the chairman to gain their cooperation in this way.

In appealing for financial support through newspapers, radio, pamphlets and other propaganda outlets, the chairman must take into consideration the values prevailing within the "special names" group of donors. Since many of the individuals in this group are "successful" business men whose self-conceptions are expressed in terms of "initiative", "hard work", and similar values prevailing in the work

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29. For example, in a recent Welfare Federation campaign a publicity picture in a local newspaper showed a group of young female volunteers forming a "chorus line". They were part of an entertainment group whose purpose was to attract interest in and support for the campaign. A number of "special names" donors objected to the "informal" attire of the chorus, and claimed that they would not in the future support this campaign unless more "suitable" entertainment was offered.

world, the campaign chairman is careful to see that these values are not opposed in the campaign publicity. Since the chairman is a relatively successful business man himself, he is conscious of these values, and understands their importance to the business world.

From the foregoing it is evident that the authority relationship between the chairman and the staff executive and the chairman and the "special names" volunteers is not the formal super-ordinate-subordinate relationship which the observer obtains from a study of the campaign's formal organization. In reality the chairman brings authority to his office of campaign chairman but he must rely upon the superior knowledge of the staff executive with respect to campaign organization. Also, since the chairman sees himself as one of this group of "special names" volunteers outside the campaign, sharing their interests and values and since they are, in general, at least, of equal status to him in his occupational milieu, he is unable to use the authority that he brings from this milieu to his campaign office to make these individuals obey his orders.

If the pattern of authority relationships is seen from the points of view of the vice-chairmen of the remaining divisions, it is evident that their formal subordinate authority relationships with the campaign chairman do not indicate the actual existing relationship. Since some of the vice-chairmen wield a degree of authority in a milieu outside the campaign equal to that used by the chairman in the same context, they do not, in general, conform to his definition of the campaign situation for the same reasons as the ordinary canvasser.

These vice-chairmen see the campaign chairman as a friend or business acquaintance who has been called upon to perform a role which may bring him a great deal of prestige and publicity. They are therefore willing to help him by assuming the offices of vice-chairmen of particular divisions, thereby placing him under an obligation, which they may be able to use to advantage later on. The chairman realizes that by asking these individuals to assume office he may be called upon to help them in the future, and not necessarily in campaign activity. He therefore endeavors to work in cooperation with them by discussing possibilities rather than giving direct orders. This is made possible by the staff executive who is tacitly recognized as the real organizer of the campaign by the chairman and vice-chairmen, and who outlines to them the steps necessary for efficient organization. The chairman and the vice-chairmen then discuss and decide the responsibilities of the latter.

Seen from the point of view of the remainder of the male volunteers at the administrative and canvassing level, the campaign authority pattern is a "one way" process. In general these volunteers are of lower occupational and social status than those holding authoritative positions above them, and, therefore, are unable to safely refuse orders. They may hope to gain favourable attention from the vice-chairman or chairman, who may be their employer, but unlike the vice-chairmen, they have not an occupational status high

enough to place a premium upon their services. They may hope for recognition, but cannot expect this as their due.

In the women's division, the vice-chairman is chosen for her campaign office through the suggestions of the board of governors of the money-raising institution, the executive secretary, and the campaign chairman. Her social status, and, if married, her husband's occupational status equals that of the chairman. Positions of authority in this division appear to be the prerogatives of a group of women of superior social position. These offices are passed around amongst this group in an informal rotating basis. Offices in the women's division entail a great deal of work, often requiring the incumbent's full attention during the day. Not only must the incumbent be able to perform the duties required by the office, but she must also be able to afford the time required by such work. Many women who are eligible for these positions refuse to take them on the grounds that they entail too much work, thus leaving them open for the more ambitious women. There exists an informal arrangement in this division whereby the individual begins as an ordinary canvasser or office worker and gradually works her way up to the more important positions.

The foregoing factors are illustrated in the following interview with a female volunteer who was a vice-chairman of the women's division in a Welfare Federation Campaign:



"The vice-chairman would need to have the free time. Welfare Federation must be her first consideration once she takes on the job; she can't leave the organization in the lurch. For this reason you will find the position goes to older women; usually their families are grown and they have servants to allow them leisure....

You start as a canvasser and so on up. They try you out to test your mettle. They have a pretty good idea of what you can do. They would drop anybody who botched the job. In this way you get insight into what the work is like and they get insight into your ability....

The Board of Governors decides on who the vice-chairman shall be. Of course, I was suggested by those who knew me. The past chairmen voted on it; they aren't an official nominating committee, but I think they amount to one. They usually get somebody who is president of one of the agencies, who has been a team captain or a canvasser.

They try to shift the offices around; you don't go up in a steady way. You might be a district chairman one year and drop back to canvasser the next year. It is too much responsibility to want year after year. When you have been a team captain for a few years you feel you have done your share, and are quite willing to have somebody else take it over...." 30.

Those women who have held responsible positions are willing to give their responsibilities and authority of office to others when their term office has expired. Others refuse to accept these offices because of the responsibilities involved. From these facts it appears that there is more authority as part of the office in the women's division than is evident in similar offices in divisions controlled by men. The above interview is representative of the women's acceptance of authority of the office as such. It is

claimed by some female respondents, however, that by asking her friends to volunteer to help in a campaign in which she holds office the vice-chairman is placing herself under an obligation to them should they require help in a similar situation in the future. This does not appear to affect their obedience to orders of the vice-chairman. There is some evidence of rivalry and attitudes of jealousy in this division with respect to the vice-chairman, but this does not appear to affect obedience to authority.

In comparison with the authority pattern as viewed from other levels there appears to be fewer strains upon it from the women's division. The major strains within the campaign appear to come from the "special names" division and its donors, and the staff executive who, although he possesses the knowledge necessary to organize the campaign, has no direct authority. There exists, therefore, an informal arrangement whereby he tells the campaign chairman what is necessary for the effective organization of the campaign, and the chairman uses his authority to see that it is done.

#### Summary.

Campaign organization mobilizes volunteers into a particular structure of relationships which appear to reflect their relationships in an occupational or social milieu. For these volunteers to be able to perform their roles it is logically necessary for some individual or individuals to give them orders. This involves

the use of authority which is part of the office which the individual assumes.

However, campaign office gives a minimum of authority to the incumbent. Authority is brought to it by virtue of the incumbent's status in a particular social or occupational milieu. Influence in fields outside the campaign is used to gain campaign members. This form of "manipulation" is used by those holding high office in the campaign, and the ordinary canvasser finds it difficult to resist.

Pressure which an individual is able to use in an occupational or social milieu is used within the campaign situation in the form of indirect sanctions by those in authority to enforce obedience to their orders. Subjective attitudes, society's expectations, and norms of conduct with respect to this type of activity are other factors which motivate volunteers to conform to the orders of those in authority. The campaign situation is seen by some participants as a competitive milieu in which they can gain prestige by raising more money than others. The struggle for prestige is instrumental in the individual's acceptance of the orders of those in authority.

There is a division of authority on sex lines within the campaign which decreases the likelihood of competitive comparison between husband and wife. Positions of authority in the women's division are held by women of high social status. This authority stems

from their husband's high occupational status. Therefore, when husband and wife both participate in the campaign, the former may hold a higher office than the latter, thus reducing the possibility of invidious comparison between them. Furthermore, women generally begin as canvassers regardless of their social status, whereas their husbands, having high occupational status, may be given important and authoritative offices which further reduces the possibility of comparison between them.

The authority of the staff executive stems from his office which demands that he perform a particularly vital function within the campaign structure. His knowledge of campaign organization, in all its varied aspects, is essential to the successful performance of the roles of those in more important offices..

The campaign chairman is under certain pressures from the vice-chairmen, and, more especially, the vice-chairman of the "special names" division, its members and donors, which prevent him from issuing direct orders to them. Between these levels of authority there is a greater degree of cooperation than authoritative direction. Furthermore, the chairman must take into account the wishes of the honorary chairman above him, and the specialized knowledge of the staff executive without whom he could not organize and direct activity effectively.

In the women's division there is evidence that offices have more authority than is present in similar offices in other divisions. There appear to be fewer pressures upon the authority structure as such from this division.

## Chapter VII

### The Framework of Values

The preceding chapter indicated that the campaign volunteer brings to his position within the campaign organization certain aspects of his status in a social or occupational sphere.

In the analysis which follows, the values which prevail in the campaign situation will be outlined.<sup>1.</sup> This analysis will indicate the two types of values which prevail in this situation, those which are endemic to it, and those which are brought to it from other situations where different values prevail. That is, certain "humanitarian" values are traditional to all fields of philanthropic activity, but many campaign participants bring to it other and more secular values. The volunteer does not participate because of the values which are endemic to this situation alone; he participates as a whole individual, bringing with him elements from his roles

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1. Each participant in the campaign has a role to perform. When these individuals verbalize this activity they indicate to the observer that for them it has a certain meaning. They give reasons why they perform this activity, and in doing so they indicate certain values. These values are "evaluations" or "value judgements" to which the individual becomes attached. He learns these values by virtue of his contact with other individuals and his membership in certain groups. These values may be standardized throughout the group and may form standardized attitudes. It is these values which the individual internalizes, thereby affecting his likes and dislikes. Sherif, Muzafer. The Psychology of Social Norms, New York, Harper Bros., 1936. p. 125.

in other situations. This has consequences for campaign organization.<sup>2.</sup>

The previous chapter indicated that certain individuals were recruited to fill the leadership and policy determining statuses in the campaign organization and that this process of cooperation<sup>3.</sup> had implications for the campaign value system. "Success" in the business world is a factor in the selection of these individuals. The order which prevails in the business world is of a rational type; that is, action in the business world is, in the case of the individual, "determined by the exploitation of the opportunities of his situation in the self-interest of the actor."<sup>4.</sup> This self-interest entails taking account of the action of others in the same milieu. The recruiting of individuals into the campaign organization who are oriented in this fashion means that certain values which these business men have internalized as part of their role in the occupational milieu are likely to "spill over" into their roles as honorary chairman, chairman or vice-chairman. They may define the campaign situation both for themselves and for others according

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2. Selznick, Op. Cit., p. 26.

Since this study is an analysis of campaign organization as such, the focus of this chapter centers upon the values which are held by people working within the organization and not upon the values which are part of the organization's appeal to donors.

3. See above, p. 99.

4. Weber, Op. Cit., p. 121.

to the values endemic to the situation plus those which as business men, they bring into their campaign status with them. On the surface it would appear that these two sets of values, the "humanitarian " and "rational" would conflict, when expressed within the framework of the campaign situation. In fact, this particular arrangement has certain dysfunctional implications, as will be shown later, but it also has a function with respect to certain elements within the organization and certain groups of donors.

It should be born in mind that the higher functionaries within the campaign organization are not the sole participants who bring non-campaign values into this situation. This phenomena is evident throughout the remaining substructures for which volunteers are recruited.

In order to ascertain the functional or dysfunctional implications of non-campaign values in the campaign situation two steps are necessary. First, to determine the values which are endemic to the situation and second, to determine those which are brought to it from other sources. Having proceeded thus far, the next step is to determine their functional or dysfunctional implications.

#### Traditional Philanthropic Values.

For many volunteers, in all substructures within the campaign organization, this appeared as a traditional type of activity. These volunteers had been trained in families where campaign activity, but more especially activity in certain specific campaigns, was looked



upon as part of the family's expectations. These families were of high status in the community, and philanthropic responsibility was seen as part of the community's expectations of the members of these families. Some volunteers appeared to have a sentimental attachment to certain campaigns, because their family name had become attached to, and synonymous with, a particular campaign for generations. This was expressed by a female respondent who has been a volunteer in numerous campaigns.

"Families like the P\_\_\_'s and Q\_\_\_'s are known for their participation in certain campaigns. They have been doing it for generations. You can count on them." 5.

This respondent used these family names in connection with particular campaigns. Another female respondent indicates how particular philanthropies became the special interest of a family.

"....everybody has some special interest. Mine is the Montreal General Hospital. I am probably biased in my views because of that.... My father was on the Board of the General and it was a natural sequence for me to take on his interest. It is the oldest English speaking hospital in the Province. Quite often you find the interest carried on in families in this same way." 6.

Philanthropy is seen as a traditional sphere of volunteer activity by many participants. For them it has a particular

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5. Interview No. 52.

6. Interview No. 49.

meaning, and in expressing their attitude towards it they invariably mention certain values which are traditionally linked with philanthropic activity. "Responsibility", "self-sacrifice", "duty" and "generosity", are the main values which appear to predominate in this type of situation.<sup>7</sup> During interviews with volunteers, these terms invariably appeared, as is evident in the following:

"Participation comes from a sense of duty and responsibility as a citizen. People have a desire to share with those less fortunate. What you learn at home has a lot to do with it. I cannot forget that training." <sup>8</sup>.

The definition of the situation for volunteers in terms of the values involved is made by the campaign functionaries. Since the volunteers have different social and occupational backgrounds, the values which are stressed by these functionaries are those which all can accept. These definitions stress those traditional values mentioned above of "responsibility", "self-sacrifice", "duty" and "generosity". These definitions of the situation imply that volunteers ought to participate, not only because it is the traditional responsibility of the fortunate for the less fortunate, but, in addition, because it is the responsibility of the Protestant-English-speaking group in Montreal if it is to persist. In Montreal

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7. See above, p. 107.

8. Interview No. 52.

with its three groupings of French, English and Jews, the definition of philanthropic activity is expressed in terms of the individual's responsibility to his particular group.<sup>9.</sup>

This group responsibility for its less fortunate members has implications for the recruitment of volunteers. There appears to be a tacit agreement among the three groups mentioned above that volunteer participants for these annual campaigns will not be sought outside their own group. Since these three groups are divided upon the basis of religious and ethnic factors, the administrative staffs of the philanthropic institutions involved endeavor to maintain lists of their own volunteers whom they know have the appropriate religious and ethnic background. However, there are occasions when certain groups may combine in a campaign to support an institution which serves more than one group. This was evident in the recent McGill University Fund Campaign in which the English and Jewish groups combined, and campaign workers were drawn from both groups. Group membership was, however, a selective factor in choosing volunteers to canvass a particular person.

For the volunteer canvassers in the campaign under study, a distinction between their role as canvasser in soliciting donations, as opposed to "begging" appeared important. They interpreted

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9. This also appears when the individual gives money to philanthropy. It is a question of "Who's poor?" i.e., people will give money for their own poor, but not for the poor of other groups. This fact was mentioned in a conversation with Professor E.C. Hughes, of the University of Chicago.

their activity as seeking help for the "needy", and not as begging. Implicit in this attitude was their interpretation of begging as seeking to satisfy one's own needs. This attitude is evident in the following remarks of a female volunteer of high social status.

"Most people hate to canvass. I don't, - not that I like it, - but I am not violently against it. They say, "I hate to beg," but it isn't begging when you are asking for somebody else's need. I can't see that there is anything degrading in canvassing and have done many years of it." 10.

It is important to campaign canvassers that their activity does not detract from their own prestige and self-conception. By stressing traditional values volunteers are enabled to see the situation in a manner which is acceptable to them and is not harmful to their self-esteem.

For female volunteers philanthropy is a traditional sphere of activity, particularly in those fields which, according to Parsons, "traditionally tie up with women's relation to children, to sickness and so on." 11. Women's interests are seen to lie in this field and those with sufficient time and financial means are expected to participate in this type of philanthropic activity. Since the division of labour in our society does not in general allow women to compete with men in the occupational spheres, there exist only limited fields of interest in which women are expected to participate .

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10. Interview No. 38.

11. Parsons, Op. Cit., p. 225.

Humanitarian pursuits, such as philanthropy, is one of the areas in which women's interests can be given expression. It is in this type of situation that the participants express attitudes which reflect such values as "responsibility" and "self-sacrifice".

The preceding analysis has attempted, in part, to indicate the objective elements within the campaign organization which give a partial interpretation of the action involved. These are those traditional values, expressed by participants, which are seen as endemic to this type of situation which is structured around a particular phase of philanthropic activity.

#### The Volunteer and His Values.

In the analysis of the value framework of the campaigns under study certain values appeared which are not traditionally associated with philanthropic activity. These were values which were brought into the campaign situation by the participants, and to some extent by the executive and administrative staff of the philanthropic money-raising institution.

To identify all these values which are transferred from one situation to another is a task which is beyond the compass of the present study. That this would be a highly complex analytical task cannot be doubted..Nevertheless, a certain uniformity in the attitudes of a majority of participants is evident. In the expression of these attitudes certain values are evident which are the analytical focus of what follows.

The desire for prestige is evident in many interviews. Some may not willingly recognize it in themselves, but they see it in others. Prestige, as a value, is brought into the campaign situation and other types of philanthropic activity because:

"Philanthropy is one of the most important fields in which prestige is to be gained, and also a means of meeting and associating with other people of wealth and position. It gives the opportunity both of tangibly expressing one's wealth, and also of acquiring the name of being a civic and philanthropic leader. "Doing good" makes the individual feel important, and fulfills one's desire for recognition. It puts one in the superordinate position as over against the one helped who is put in a subordinate position." 12.

Many recruits in these campaigns under study volunteered to participate partly because they saw the campaign as a means of gaining prestige. 13. Although they were conscious of the traditional values involved in the situation, the prestige which they hoped to gain was an important factor in their volunteering. They were interested in the stated purpose of the campaign, but in volunteering to help in the pursuit of that purpose they brought with them a desire to win prestige by associating with those of higher

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12. Ross, A.D., The French and English Social Elites of Montreal. M.A. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1941, p. 23. As quoted from Gabriel "Plutocracy and Politics in New York City". Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1938. p. 282.

13. See above pp. 81-85.

social and occupational status.

For the campaign organizers, the chairman, vice-chairmen, and the staff executive, the campaign is based on rational rather than traditional principles of organization. The business institutions in which the voluntary organizers hold a high status are oriented to a rational order. In this type of corporate structure a rational orientation is considered the basis of organizational efficiency. To these individuals, this is an important value which is transferred to the campaign situation and is expressed in their demand for an efficient organization. This demand is evident in the initial stages of the campaign organization when the objective is assessed. Business accounting methods are used to determine the objective according to the financial requirements of the satellite philanthropic institutions which depend upon the campaign for the major source of their funds. The emphasis upon efficient organization is evident in the rational matching of the canvasser's social characteristics such as his social and occupational status, with those of the prospective donor. The division of labour within the organization reflects the belief of the organizers in the efficient and full use of the "labour" at their command.

This rational and impersonal type of organization is a reflection of the belief in the utility of efficient organization which prevails in our society. It is a value which is evident throughout the commercial and industrial world, and which is transferred

by the campaign organizers to the campaign situation.<sup>14.</sup>

This particular value of an efficient organization oriented to a rational and impersonal order conflicts with the traditional values held by some volunteers who see their canvassing activities as a personal appeal to the prospective donor. Many of the female volunteers who were interviewed complained that because these campaigns had become so highly organized, they had lost the "personal touch" which they considered a necessary part of their activity. This is expressed in the following remarks by a female volunteer:

"I think there is a definite trend these days away from the personal touch in philanthropy. In the old days you saw someone appealing to someone else as an individual to help out on some project. People liked being approached in this way, and they gave a lot of money, but then along came the first campaign which was a completely new thing....Now the personal touch is missing. Such a lot of money comes from the big corporations that it isn't necessary to spend so much time with the individual subscriber....You will have noticed that Welfare Federation did not go over the top; that is because they have lost the personal touch." 15.

Although the impersonal values of efficient organization conflict with the traditional values in which philanthropic activity is seen as the personal approach of one individual to

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14. See above pp. 38-40.

15. Interview No. 25.



another for help, they appear to serve an important function with respect to the representatives of large corporations. These individuals belong to corporate bodies oriented to an impersonal, rational order, and they can appreciate a similar type or orientation in another type of organization. Thus, the values which the business man brings into the campaign, although they must conflict with certain traditional values held by other volunteers, serve to attract the support of large corporations.

For many business men who participate in these campaigns and who occupy a variety of statuses from chairman to volunteer canvasser, campaign activity is seen as a "selling" activity. In the business world these individuals are engaged in selling a variety of goods and services to the public. In doing so they use techniques based upon the rational norms of the business world. As campaign volunteers they tend to see the duties allotted to them in the same perspective. They consider the campaign appeal as something which has to be "sold" to the donor, thus indicating that the values which they have internalized as part of their role in the occupational sphere are brought by them into the campaign situation. This is not to suggest that they are not conscious of the traditional values involved. During interviews with this group of participants they expressed those values which may be considered "appropriate" for this type of activity, but many of them also interpreted their particular role in the campaign in terms of business

values. The values which the individual holds as part of his occupational role tend to overlap into his role of campaign volunteer.

The following remarks by a business leader of the community who has been chairman of a number of campaigns illustrate these points:

"The world needs more good salesmen. That is what is needed in these campaigns, good salesmen. If you get someone who can really explain the matter to a person he will come back with a donation. People work hard for their money; it represents their energy and labour, and they are not going to part with it without good reason. That is where the salesman comes in...." 16.

A small business man indicated the appeal of efficient organization to the business world:

"It is really a selling job getting people to give to these various philanthropies, and it is not easy sometimes. I think most people realize the importance of the work they are doing, especially the business men. The business men like to know that the job is being handled in a business-like manner. That appeals to them." 17.

While the writer acted as a participant observer in a recent Y.M.C.A. campaign the male canvassers reiterated this value of "salesmanship" in their discussions with one another. One volunteer claimed that whenever he canvassed another business man he described the campaign as a "business proposition" which, in his

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16. Interview No. 17.

17. Interview No. 22.

case, appeared successful from the point of view of donations collected.

The Dual Value Orientation and its Consequences.

These business values of "organizational efficiency" and "salesmanship" which the volunteer brings into the campaign situation exist beside the traditional values of "responsibility", "self-sacrifice", "duty", and "generosity". There is thus a dual value orientation at work here which may be called "secular" and "traditional". For the majority of the women and some of the older male volunteers the traditional values predominate. The secular values, however, are the dominant values orienting the activity of many of the remaining male volunteers.

The emphasis on secular values by many of the male volunteers has implications for recruitment. This was shown by some participants in their anxiety over the loss of the traditional orientation. They expressed the fear that the younger generation was not receiving the "proper" training at home for campaign activity, and that through their subsequent experiences in the work world they would lose the traditional values which would result in their not participating at all, or for the "wrong" reasons. That their anxiety has some foundation in fact is evident since many of the young business men who volunteer do so for the "wrong" reasons. Theirs is a more secular orientation which they have learned in the occupational milieu, and which the more traditionally oriented resist.

This is most evident in the women's division. At times a degree of conflict is evident between the secular and traditionally oriented groups. This is more evident in the case of female volunteers who declaimed against the secularization of philanthropy. The male volunteers, with a more secular orientation, did not, however, appear to be conscious of any conflict in values. They frequently expressed the traditional in the same breath as they expressed the secular values.

The emphasis upon secular values serves to make campaign activity meaningful to the male recruit. It is meaningful in terms of the values prevailing in his occupational milieu. Although he unconsciously accepts the traditional values, he is alert to the implications of philanthropic activity in terms of values such as "salesmanship".

The secular values are consciously manipulated by the campaign organizers to attract large donations from wealthy corporations. Since this is one of the most important sources of funds the organizers try to approach the representative of these corporations and explain the meaning of the campaign in terms which are meaningful to them. This means that such values as "organizational efficiency" will be stressed.

For those campaign volunteers who are oriented to the traditional values, however, the encroachment of secular values appears to cause a degree of conflict in that they consider those

individuals with a secular orientation too "money minded", and the organization too impersonal. They consider philanthropic activity as a "personal sacrifice", a "responsibility" and a "duty". To them it is a "service" whereas secularization indicates that some individuals participate for "selfish" reasons.<sup>18.</sup>

Further evidence of the secularization of philanthropy in these campaigns comes from observations made by the writer during "Report Luncheons" which are held periodically during a campaign. The stated purpose of these gatherings is to determine the amount so far collected by the various teams and divisions. In fact it serves to emphasize the competition for prestige which accrues to the divisions, teams and individuals who reach their objective in the shortest possible time. There appears to be a conscious manipulation by the campaign organizers of prestige symbols. The captains of the teams and the individuals who have collected the greatest amount of money to date are given presents and congratulated by the chairman or honorary chairman. The manipulation of prestige symbols serves to heighten competition between

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18. This suggests a generalization which may provide a fruitful orientation for further research. Whereas the doctor, the social worker, and certain classes of other professionals are considered as oriented to the ideal of "service", this is not so for the business man who is seen as oriented to "selfish" ends. But by participating in philanthropy they place themselves in the same category as those who are seeking to serve others. By so doing, they may gain the good will necessary for their continued operation as business men.

teams and individuals in order to motivate them to greater efforts. 19.

One female volunteer had this to say about "Report Luncheons":

"I think these campaign dinners are frightful things. The team captains all jump up and tell what per cent of the objective they have made. They are awful. They do too much thanking.... saying how wonderful so and so is to have taken on the job, and that they are splendid to do it. That isn't what charity means. Personally, I dislike it all intensely but I have to admit the competitive spirit, and the excitement may make some people more willing to volunteer. The speeches, which are often very good, do stimulate your interest. You feel disgraced when you have to get up and say by how much your team missed their objective." 20.

This competitive spirit appears to affect all recruits in varying degrees. It is the result of the conscious manipulation of prestige symbols by campaign organizers and is another indication that this activity is becoming secularized.

This process of secularization appears to have dysfunctional implications for some recruits. Through the lack of emphasis in some families upon the traditional values connected with philanthropy, the individual may not see it as part of the expectations of his social status. For him it is not a "duty" or a "responsibility", and therefore he turns his efforts in other

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19. See above pp. 105-108 for a discussion of the function of prestige with respect to authority.

20. Interview No. 50.

directions. This causes a lack of recruits for the campaign organization which was mentioned by many respondents. The following remarks by a female volunteer indicate that the individual's lack of orientation to traditional values makes it difficult to recruit her for campaigning activity:

"It isn't easy to get workers to canvass. I know there is no use asking some of my friends, they don't see things my way, and even if I talked them into it with a "pep talk" the first day at work they would have a headache, and after that something else. They just don't have the same sense of responsibility. It doesn't mean that they are any less fine people; they are still my friends, but I know it is no use trying to get their help. It is a real waste of time." 21.

On the other hand, individuals who have been taught the traditional values in the home provide recruits for the organization. This is evident in the following remarks by a female volunteer who is active in philanthropic work:

"You need to be brought up to it. Now in my family I have four married children. They have been trained to realize that as they had enough food and clothes, and a roof over their heads - though few luxuries - they owed it to others. All of them have taken active parts in various campaigns. I probably got it from my father; he was very public spirited. He was chairman of the hospital, chairman of park, et cetera. All these things were discussed at the table; you soon learned about them....I think the home is most important. They must get it there. Sad to say, I don't think the young people now are getting the training they used to." 22.

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21. Interview No. 52.

22. Interview No. 51.

Summary.

The foregoing analysis indicates that there exists a dual value orientation in the campaigns under study. Two types of values are evident; those which are endemic and traditional to philanthropy and the more rational and secular which are brought into the campaign situation by some participants. The former stem from the expectations with respect to this activity which are learned in the home, and the latter from an occupational milieu in which a rational orientation is necessary.

This dual orientation appears to have certain dysfunctional implications with respect to the campaign organization. A certain amount of strain is apparent between those recruits oriented to traditional values and those oriented to rational values. On the other hand, the rational order of the organization appears to appeal to the representatives of large corporations which are a major source of donations. More important perhaps, than the strain which is apparent between the two differently oriented groups is the result of the secularization of philanthropy with respect to recruits. From the data at hand it appears that this process does not give some individuals the necessary incentives to participate.



## PART IV

### Conclusion

## Chapter VIII

### Summary of the Main Findings of this Thesis

This thesis is a report of a sociological study of the organization of three philanthropic financial campaigns in Montreal. In order to provide perspective for an analysis of three aspects of the informal organization of these financial campaigns, three initial steps were undertaken. The first of these was a brief statement of the growth of philanthropic activity within a cultural setting in order to give some indication of the development and present day significance of fund raising with particular reference to its institutionalized aspects in Montreal. The next step discussed the different types of philanthropic institutions, and outlined the formal structure of the money-raising institution.

The money-raising institutions have a formal structural framework comprising six substructures, or strata, each containing one or more offices. These substructures are the advisory board, the board of governors, the board of directors, the executive secretary, the administrative and professional staff, and donors. The board of governors, and the board of directors formulate policy which is implemented by the executive secretary and the staff. The advisory board appears to have no active role within the institution. The donors are related to the institution through its financial campaign which is initiated by the executive secretary and the administrative staff.

The third step comprised an outline of the stages in the organization and operation of a campaign emphasizing its formal structure as taken from organization charts and procedures. The campaigns under study were seen as a function or observed pattern of activity of a particular type of philanthropic institution. This activity was organized into a hierarchy of six substructures consisting of honorary chairman, chairman, vice-chairmen, staff executive, staff and volunteer administration, and canvassers. Of the individuals in each of these strata, the activity of all but the staff executive and the staff administration is voluntary and intermittent. For these two exceptions it is continuous and part of their role within the money-raising institution. For the majority of female volunteers it appears to be a leisure time activity.

The campaign objective is decided by functionaries of the money-raising institution and the campaign chairman on the basis of the institution's financial requirements; those of its satellites; and the probable degree of response to the campaign appeal.

The majority of donors are formally allocated to the various divisions such as the "territorial", "industrial", "financial", "special names", "women's", and "services and professions", on the basis of their occupation, occupational and social status, wealth and residence. These factors may be of more or less importance for each division.

The campaign's propaganda appeal is expressed through channels such as press, radio, posters and movie shorts, and the "personal approach" of the canvasser to prospective donors. Canvassers are given instructions concerning their activities. The campaign organizers endeavor to stimulate competition between teams and individuals for the highest possible quota by periodically presenting prizes to those who are most successful in this respect.

The campaign formally ends with a banquet during which a report is read indicating the amounts collected, and presentations are made to successful canvassers, teams and divisions for individual and collective effort.

The foregoing provided a setting for the main thesis problem which was an analysis of the informal organization of the financial campaign. This was attempted by using the sociological concepts of status, authority, and values in order to delineate the action structure underlying the formal organization for work. The actual pattern of organized activity which emerged from this analysis appeared to be related at some levels to certain substructures within the institution. Furthermore, the position which the volunteer held in the campaign appeared to vary in relation to his status in a social or occupational milieu. In short, the individual's status outside the organization appeared to affect his status within it. These status interrelationships of the various volunteers were followed

up in order that some of their more obvious effects in the organization could be seen. This analytical approach was curtailed to some extent by the limitations of the interviews which provided the main source of data.

It was seen that the honorary chairman, chairman, vice-chairmen, and volunteers in the "special names" division had a degree of prestige which stemmed from their position outside the campaign. When they volunteered for campaign activity they brought this component of their status outside the campaign, plus certain functionally specific elements of their occupational role with them into the campaign situation. There are indications that some participants used the obligations which others owed to them to gain these individuals as recruits. It was seen that both the functionally specific elements and the obligations could be dysfunctional for the organization. The first with respect to donors, and the second with respect to recruits.

According to statements of respondents the majority of the female volunteers are of superior social status. They had enough leisure time to permit them to participate in philanthropic activity, and had received a certain amount of training for it in associations such as the Junior League. It appeared that some men and women of high social status received a certain amount of training for this type of activity within the home.

In many interviews prestige, or the opportunity to gain it, was mentioned as a factor which served as a reward to those who volunteered. The chairman gained prestige by being chosen to lead the campaign. For some participants in lower statuses the campaign was a means of gaining prestige through associating with those of higher social or occupational status. For others, it was seen as a means of making contacts with the hope, so it was claimed, of increasing their status mobility. Participation in this activity was a factor enabling the individual to rise on an evaluative scale in the eyes of others. For some women with sufficient leisure time and superior social position it appeared to serve as a career.

In the analysis of campaign authority relationships it became evident that in general the degree of authority which was wielded by an individual as a person of superior status in an occupational or social milieu, was brought by him to his position in the campaign. This appeared to be necessary since campaign office gave a minimum of authority to its incumbent. The term "manipulation" was used to indicate the manner in which influence stemming from a position of authority in a particular milieu was used, consciously or unconsciously, to influence the behavior of individuals in another milieu. It was observed that high functionaries in the campaign used their influence in this manner to gain recruits. The volunteer claimed that this was difficult to resist.

It was observed that the authority of the staff executive originated in his particular office whereas those offices with volunteer incumbents gave a minimum of authority. The staff executive had a superior knowledge of all aspects of campaign organization which was necessary for the effective performance of the roles of those in authoritative offices.

There was some indication of a division of authority on sex lines. It was assumed that this decreased the likelihood of competition and comparison between husband and wife. Positions of authority in the women's division as a rule were held by women of high social status.

High campaign functionaries appeared to use indirect sanctions - the covert threat of the use of authority in a social or occupational milieu - in order to bring about conformity to their orders. Many interviews indicated that subjective attitudes, expectations, and norms of conduct with respect to this type of activity were important factors in the motivation of volunteers to conform to the orders of those in authority. Prestige was another factor which appeared to be instrumental in the volunteer's acceptance of orders.

The campaign chairman was seen to be under pressure from the various vice-chairmen, and more especially from the vice-chairman and canvassers of the "special names" division which prevented him from issuing direct orders to them. It was observed



that there was more cooperation than authoritative direction between these levels. The wishes of the honorary chairman, and the specialized knowledge of the staff executive were other factors which the chairman had to take into account before issuing orders. Within the women's division there appeared to be fewer pressures upon those in authority.

In the analysis of the campaign's framework of values it was seen that although some respondents emphasized values traditional to philanthropy, such as "duty", "responsibility", and "self-sacrifice" others stressed more secular values which could be traced to the rational orientation in an occupational milieu. This was evidence of a dual value orientation in these campaigns which had consequences for organization. Many women, and members of families long associated with philanthropy, emphasized a traditional orientation which is endemic to this type of activity, whereas some business men and representatives of large corporations stressed a more rational orientation. Between these two groups a certain amount of strain was evident. In some cases the apparent encroachment of secular values into philanthropic activity appeared to weaken the desire of some individuals to participate.

## Chapter IX

### Suggestions for Further Research

The focus of this study has been upon the process of organizing philanthropic fund-raising using a structural-functional approach. This focus serves to indicate the directions which further research in philanthropy may take.

The first of these could concentrate upon the institutional organization of philanthropy in Montreal keeping in mind the ethnic and religious factors which provide the major axes along which philanthropic activity in this area is organized. The problem can be further clarified by differentiating between those institutions which are supported by financial campaigns which are initially organized by particular functionaries within the institution, as is the case in the present study, and institutions which are supported by annual campaigns whose organization and operation is the career of a certain type of promoter.

There are, therefore, four differentiating factors which may guide future research in the direction of institutionalized philanthropy in Montreal. This study having concentrated upon the organization of the campaign has only briefly outlined the institutional structure from which it springs. It is suggested that a structural-functional analysis of the money-raising institution, in order to gain a better understanding of the activity of the institutionalized promoter and his staff, should be the first step in further research. This study could also investigate the activity of the philanthropic group who serve as members of the

advisory board, board of governors, and board of directors of this type of institution. This could be followed by a study of the same group within the structure of the satellite institutions previously referred to in this study. These studies would provide some understanding of the institutional framework of a particular type of philanthropy in Montreal.

In these studies particular attention should be paid to the social characteristics of the group mentioned above. Hypotheses could be formulated on the basis of the present study concerning the function which this type of activity within these institutions serves for the different types of participants, these participants having been differentiated according to their social characteristics. Three such hypotheses are suggested here. The first states that the lack of sufficient leisure time for philanthropic activity on the part of many married women with children stems not from a lack of domestic help, but from the demands of new methods<sup>1.</sup> of child rearing which keep the mother at home. The second hypothesis concerns those women who are actively and almost continuously engaged in this type of activity. It may be formulated thus; for those women who are actively and continuously engaged in philanthropy it serves as a career. The third hypothesis refers to the male participants who are business men striving to improve their social and

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1. See pp. 107-108.

occupational status, and it states that for the young business man organized philanthropy serves as a structure, parallel to his business organization, in which it is possible for him to gain the recognition and prestige which he lacks in the work world.

Further studies could focus upon those institutions such as hospitals and universities which rely upon philanthropic financial campaigns for a large part of their financial needs. These studies could be integrated with those now being undertaken in the field of hospital organization, both at McGill University<sup>2</sup> and elsewhere. Having investigated the organization of this type of institution, the next step would be an investigation of the manner in which the financial campaign is organized to meet their financial needs. This investigation would focus upon the activity of the "promoter" who is hired by the institution to organize the campaign. There are two directions which such a study could take; the first concentrating upon the manner in which the institution under the direction of the promoter mobilizes its resources for the campaign, and the second concentrating upon the pattern of activities of the promoter as such. The latter would be, in effect, the study of a particular type of individual and his career.

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2. See Smith, Harvey L. The Sociological Study of Hospitals. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1949.

The foregoing studies would be directed to the investigation of institutional aspects of philanthropy in Montreal. Further studies could focus upon the manner in which philanthropy is interrelated with the total social organization.

Points at which this type of activity is interrelated with other groups and institutions have been indicated throughout this study. The campaign tries to mobilize the sentiments of prospective donors in its favour. A study could be made of the effect of the campaign appeal, through various forms of propaganda, upon those to whom it is directed. This could be approached by classifying the types of propaganda used, and the groups to which it is directed. It appears from data gathered thus far that the type of propaganda differs according to the group for which it is organized. The propaganda appeal is one aspect of the campaign in process; further studies could investigate the dynamics of this on-going process in order to further determine its manifest and latent functions with respect to the participants and donors.

One important aspect of philanthropy is that it appears to clearly differentiate between two groups; those who donate either time or money, or both, and the recipients of philanthropic funds. An analysis could be made of the functional implications of this differentiation with respect to the individuals involved and the social organization. It is important in this respect to ascertain the way in which philanthropic funds are put into use. This would lead into the study of social work as a profession.

Private and volunteer philanthropy receives a certain amount of financial support from government. In some cases the government has taken over areas of philanthropy previously organized under private auspices. Studies could be undertaken to determine attitudes towards this "new" philanthropy. This government "intervention" may have had functional implication for those who had been active in these areas. Investigations could be undertaken to determine the results of this trend upon the activities of those individuals previously engaged in these areas.

There are many "minor" philanthropic campaigns called "tag days" which are sporadic and short lived. The organization and functional implications of these social phenomena would provide problems for study.

It is suggested here that future studies of philanthropy should follow a consistent and uniform theoretical approach. This would serve two purposes; firstly the student would be provided with a systematic theoretical orientation, and secondly, in following this type of orientation its feasibility for these particular studies, and for sociological research in general could be tested.

## A P P E N D I X



TABLE 1

CHARITABLE DONATIONS BY INDIVIDUALS, COMPANIES & ESTATES  
CANADA & REGIONS - 1946. 1.

Region	Donations by Individuals		Donations by Corporations		Donations by Estates	
	Amount (000)	% Taxable Income	Amount (000)	% Taxable Income	Amount (000)	%Value of Estate
Maritimes.....	\$ 3,719	% 1.25	\$ 521	% 1.02	\$ 790	% 3.51
Quebec.....	27,551	2.42	3,305	0.71	1,858	2.23
Ontario.....	20,883	1.02	4,943	0.81	3,982	2.17
Prairies.....	6,491	0.91	965	0.80	909	1.76
British Columbia.....	2,712	0.52	815	0.58	347	1.02
Canada.....	61,400	1.30	10,549	0.76	7,886	2.10

Note: Information re estates is for fiscal year 1946-47; other figures refer to taxation year 1946

1. Josie, Gordon and Svanhuit. Charitable Donations in Canada. Ottawa, The Canadian Welfare Council, 1949, p.8.

TABLE 2

APPROXIMATE ESTIMATE OF THE AMOUNT & PERCENTAGE OF CANADIAN CHARITABLE  
DONATIONS FOR INDIVIDUALS, PROFIT COMPANIES AND ESTATES. 1.

Contributions by individuals, 1946.....	\$ 61,400,000	% 77
Contributions by profit companies.....	10,549,000	13
Charitable bequests by estates..... (fiscal year 1946-47)	7,886,000	10
Total.....	79,835,000	100

1. Ibid p.8.

TABLE 3

RELATIONSHIP OF CHARITABLE DONATIONS BY INDIVIDUALS TO TAXABLE INCOME  
CANADA AND PROVINCES - 1946 TAXATION YEAR. 1.

Province	Taxable Income (000)	Charitable Donations (000)	Donations as % of Income
P.E.I.....	\$ 10,801	\$ 239	2.21
N.S.....	173,439	2,002	1.15
N.B.....	112,140	1,478	1.32
Que.....	1,137,306	27,551	2.42
Ont.....	2,035,877	20,883	1.03
Man.....	274,901	2,622	0.95
Sask.....	179,077	1,745	0.97
Alta.....	256,937	2,124	0.83
B.C.....	526,507	2,712	0.52
Canada 2. ....	4,720,833	61,400	1.30

1. Ibid p.10

2. Includes Yukon and non-residents.

TABLE 4

CHARITABLE DONATIONS OF INDIVIDUALS BY INCOME CLASS  
CANADA - 1946 TAXATION YEAR. 1.

Income Class	Taxable Income (000)	Charitable Donations (000)	Donations as % of Income
Under \$1,000.....	\$ 266,689	\$ 2,167	0.81
1,000-2,000.....	1,849,365	18,970	1.03
2,000-3,000.....	1,245,760	15,028	1.21
3,000-4,000.....	413,624	5,796	1.40
4,000-5,000.....	199,415	3,147	1.58
5,000-10,000.....	390,765	7,080	1.81
10,000-25,000.....	250,089	5,356	2.14
Over 25,000.....	105,500	3,826	3.63
Total.....	4,720,833 <sup>2.</sup>	61,400 <sup>3.</sup>	1.30

1. Ibid p.10

2. Total does not include \$375,000 net loss income

3. Total includes \$30,000 from net loss income.

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME AND DONATIONS BY INCOME GROUP  
TAXABLE INCOME AND CHARITABLE DONATIONS OF INDIVIDUALS  
CANADA - 1946 TAXATION YEAR. 1.

Income Group	% of Taxable Income Received	% of Donations Made
Under \$3,000.....	71.21	58.90
3,000-5,000.....	12.99	14.57
5,000-10,000.....	8.28	11.53
10,000-25,000.....	5.30	8.72
Over 25,000.....	2.23	6.23
Total.....	100.01 <sup>2.</sup>	99.95 <sup>3.</sup>

1. Ibid p.10

2. See footnote table 4

3. See footnote table 4

TABLE 6  
CHARITABLE DONATIONS OF INDIVIDUALS BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASS  
CANADA - 1946 TAXATION YEAR 1.

Occupation	Taxable Income (000)	Charitable Donations (000)	Donations as % of Income
Farmers.....	\$ 83,546	\$ 1,356	% 1.62
Forestry Operators.....	2,975	21	0.71
Fishermen.....	10,110	26	0.26
Hunters, Trappers & Guides.....	221	-	-
Medical Doctors & Surgeons.....	46,081	1,184	2.57
Dentists.....	15,431	331	2.15
Lawyers.....	24,067	567	2.36
Engineers & Architects.....	6,602	108	1.64
Authors & Writers.....	529	7	1.32
Entertainers.....	2,139	16	0.75
Osteopaths, Chiropractors Etc..	1,872	52	2.78
Nurses.....	3,178	38	1.20
Other Professionals.....	5,991	158	2.64
Employees:			
Agricultural Enterprises.....	3,752	12	0.32
Business Enterprises.....	3,181,829	33,671	1.06
Institutions.....	64,858	1,247	1.92
Educational Institutions.....	106,534	1,666	1.56
British & Foreign Gov'ts.....	3,727	20	0.54
Dominion Government.....	208,026	2,746	1.32
Provincial Governments.....	89,605	1,648	1.84
Municipal & Smaller Gov'ts...	105,582	1,321	1.25
Employees of Private Individuals.....	5,289	74	1.40
Armed Services.....	28,548	171	0.60
Unclassified Employees.....	2,586	36	1.39
Salesmen.....	71,282	1,257	1.76
Business Proprietors.....	427,154	6,344	1.49
Investment Income			
Predominates.....	195,978	6,729	3.43
Pension Income Predominates....	19,257	542	2.81
Estates.....	1,434	2	0.14
Unclassified.....	2,650	50	1.89
Total.....	4,720,833	61,400	1.30

TABLE 7

DONATION RATE OF COMPANIES BY INCOME CLASS  
CHARITABLE DONATIONS PER \$1,000 OF NET TAXABLE INCOME BY INCOME CLASS  
CANADA AND PROVINCES - 1946 TAXATION YEAR <sup>1.</sup>

Income Class	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.	Can.
\$ Less than 1,000.....	\$ -	\$ 37.04	\$ 32.26	\$ 45.98	\$ 35.05	\$ 45.98	\$ 36.36	\$ 25.00	\$ 28.67	\$ 36.39
1,000-2,000.....	-	20.13	32.61	21.12	29.85	39.47	15.63	10.26	16.36	23.72
2,000-3,000.....	66.67	12.82	28.04	25.08	17.42	15.38	28.78	14.39	10.14	18.37
3,000-4,000.....	47.62	24.69	1.82	18.41	17.44	21.02	20.51	12.82	12.05	17.26
4,000-5,000.....	-	9.39	7.25	26.54	14.36	13.89	8.13	13.26	11.16	16.04
5,000-10,000.....	22.47	19.73	14.84	19.74	15.00	20.80	18.24	11.94	10.47	15.93
10,000-15,000.....	25.97	14.77	12.36	17.73	16.95	20.27	11.00	12.77	9.90	15.68
15,000-20,000.....	16.39	10.60	13.92	16.52	13.85	22.10	15.54	14.45	7.50	14.06
20,000-25,000.....	50.72	10.86	8.39	16.78	12.11	20.24	14.08	12.52	8.62	13.52
25,000-50,000.....	16.83	9.93	13.90	13.75	11.06	16.35	9.80	10.02	7.56	11.63
50,000-100,000.....	18.25	12.41	11.79	9.83	9.70	10.90	7.78	7.92	7.58	9.68
100,000-250,000.....	)	11.02	11.66	7.82	8.77	7.78	13.58	6.43	6.00	8.35
250,000-500,000.....	)	5.86	11.69	5.84	6.53	7.61	)	2.35	5.64	6.33
500,000-1,000,000.....	)	)	)	6.53	6.27	8.11	)	5.07	5.61	6.26
1,000,000-5,000,000....	8.62	)	)	5.07	6.81	3.30	)	6.00	4.33	5.87
Over 5,000,000	)	8.00	5.35	5.39	7.59	)	)	)	)	5.93
Total.....	15.16	10.05	9.63	7.08	8.11	7.90	10.27	7.46	5.78	7.60

Note: Data are for 23,166 companies reporting a profit.  
1. Ibid. p.14

TABLE 8

RELATIONSHIP OF DONATIONS TO INCOME FOR HIGH INCOME COMPANIES  
(DONATIONS AND INCOMES FOR COMPANIES WITH INCOME OF \$100,000 OR HIGHER  
EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL FOR ALL COMPANIES)  
CANADA AND PROVINCES - 1946 TAXATION YEAR. 1.

Province	Donations		Income	
	\$(000)	%	\$(000)	%
P.E.I.....	16	28.07	1,857	49.90
N.S.....	124	48.44	15,127	59.38
N.B.....	106	50.96	13,838	64.07
Que.....	2,241	67.81	391,821	84.10
Ont.....	3,585	72.53	496,546	81.50
Man.....	275	50.55	52,693	76.53
Sask.....	52	37.68	6,457	48.04
Alta.....	123	43.46	22,980	60.59
B.C.....	506	62.09	106,078	75.19
Canada.....	7,028	66.62	1,107,397	79.82

Note: Data are for 23,166 Companies reporting a profit.  
1. Ibid. p.12

TABLE 9

YEARLY CAMPAIGN RECEIPTS WELFARE FEDERATION OF MONTREAL 1923-1948 1.

Year	Campaign Receipts
	\$
1923.....	406,902
1924.....	437,573
1925.....	475,069
1926.....	491,499
1927.....	531,929
1928.....	582,358
1929.....	649,785
1930.....	659,661
1931.....	673,882
1932.....	757,195
1933.....	741,678
1934.....	717,000
1935.....	700,042
1936.....	689,400
1937.....	734,075
1938.....	758,978
1939.....	752,044
1940.....	757,108
1941.....	752,324
1942.....	751,817
1943.....	734,476
1944.....	880,150
1945.....	939,097
1946.....	919,363
1947.....	1,030,950
1948.....	1,079,427
Total.....	12,603,792

1. These figures were obtained from Mr. Charles Young, Executive Secretary, Welfare Federation of Montreal.

FIGURE 1

Organization Chart of Money-Raising Philanthropic Institution

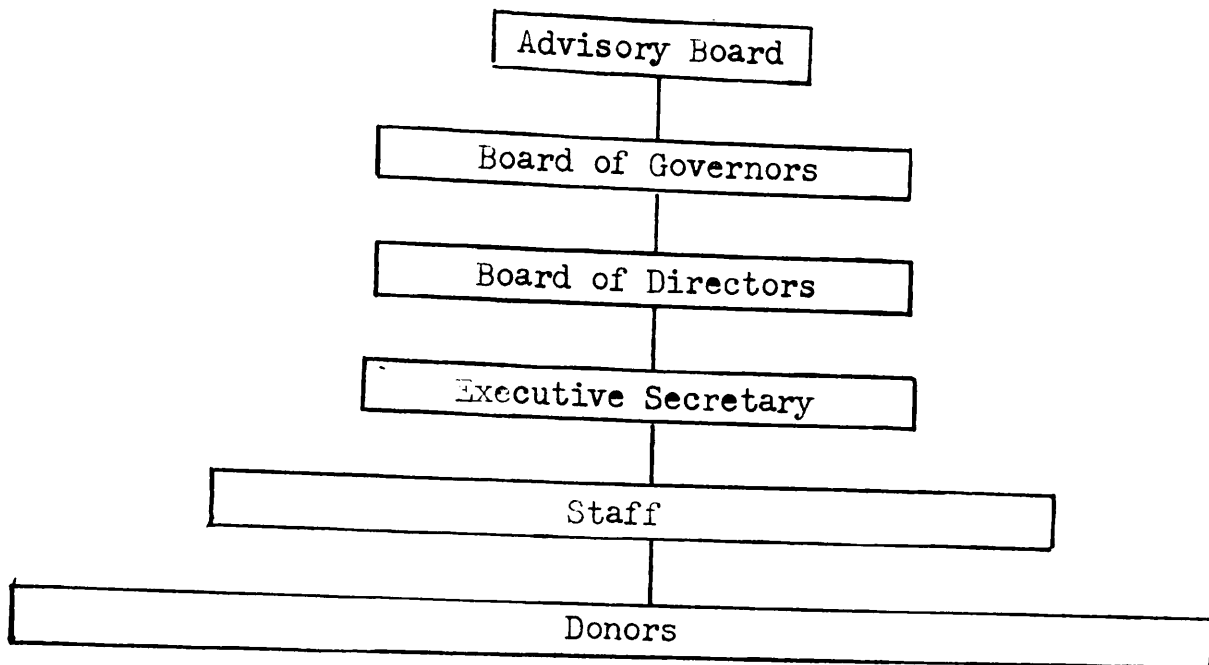


FIGURE 2

Organization Chart of Satellite Philanthropic Institution

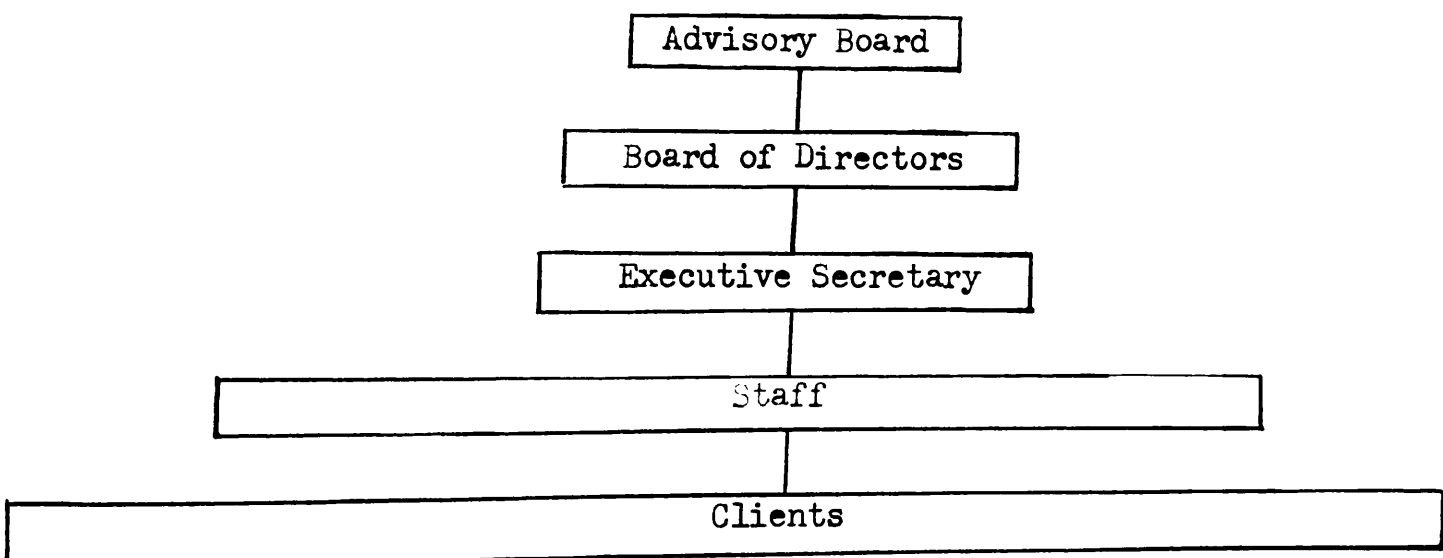
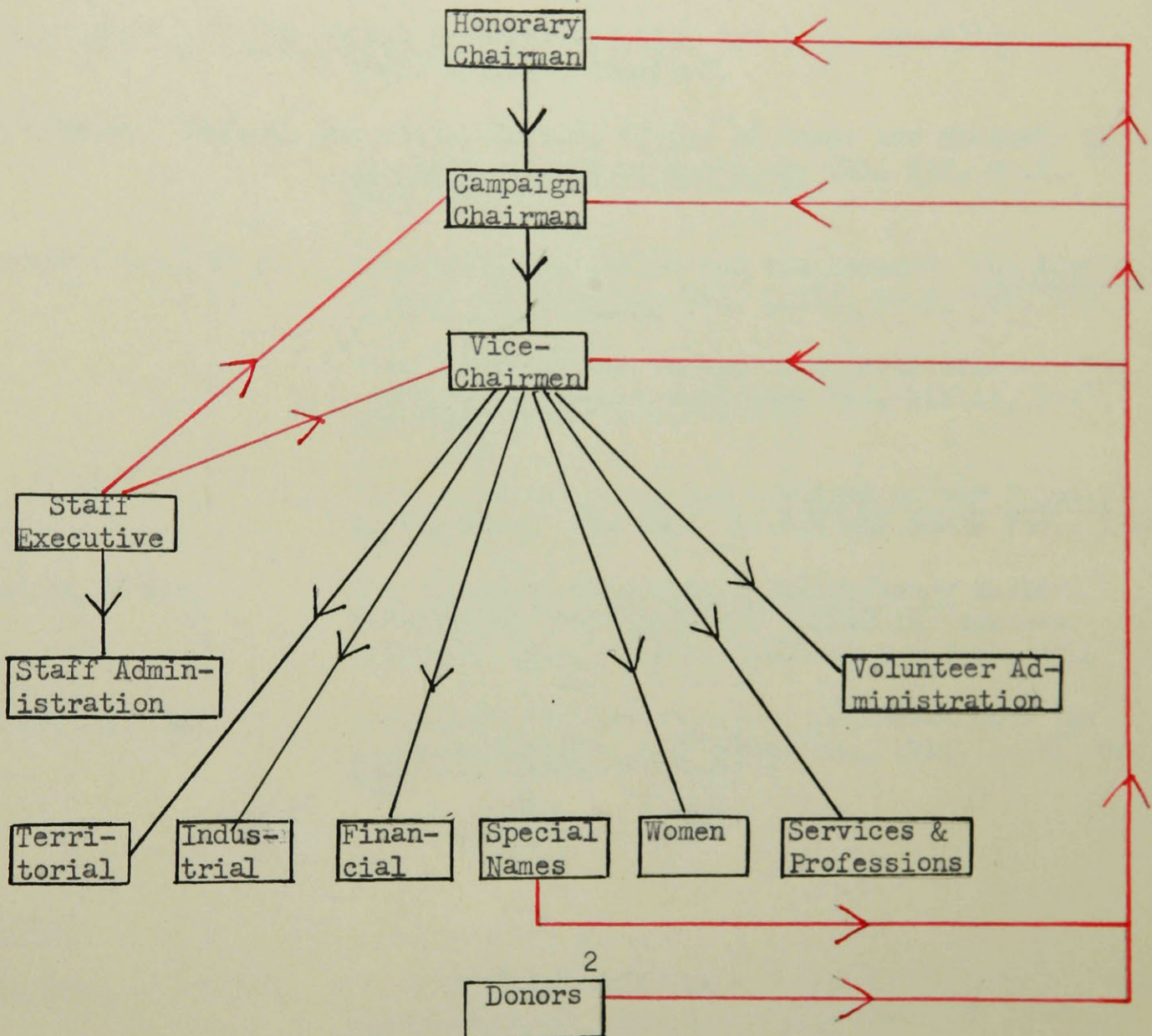




FIGURE 3

Campaign Authority Pattern and Status Hierarchy.<sup>1</sup>



1. Spatial arrangement of the various substructures indicates the status hierarchy.

2. Donors do not appear on the campaign organization chart. They are included here since some exert an informal control which cannot be disregarded by those functionaries in authoritative positions.

indicates the direction of formal authority.

indicates the direction of informal influences and pressures.

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