1

National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, tests publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, S.R.C. 1970, c. C-30.

VOLUNTEER PARTICIPATION AT THE OTTAWA
RAPE CRISIS CENTRE

by

JANET HENEY, B.A., B.Ed.

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Social Work

School of Social Work

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

August 21, 1987

© Copyright

1987, Janet Heney

Permission has been granted to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author (copyright owner) has reserved other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her written permission.

L'autorisation a été accordée à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur (titulaire du droit d'auteur) se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation écrite.

ISBN 0-315-39373-4

The undersigned recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
and Research acceptance of the thesis

"VOLUNTEER PARTICIPATION AT THE OTTAWA
RAPE CRISIS CENTRE"

submitted by Janet Heney, B.A. Honours, B.Ed.
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Social Work

Thesis Supervisor

Director, School of Social Work

Carleton University

September 18, 1987

Date

Abstract

A study was conducted to investigate differences between past and active rape crisis centre volunteers in an attempt to isolate factors responsible for volunteer attrition. Each of 15 active and 15 past members completed a questionnaire designed to elicit responses on method of entry, motivations for joining, and perceptions of the volunteer experience. In addition, the analysis included responses to a screening questionnaire administered by the Ottawa Rape Crisis Centre to 29 of the 30 respondents prior to membership at the Centre. It was found that past and active members were similar in terms of entry, and in their motivation for joining. In addition, there were no notable group differences in the work experience as measured by number of shifts, number and type of legitimate calls, number of face to face counselling sessions, number of accompaniments to hospitals, police station and courts, and the number of crank callers. The two groups were, however, differentiated by their perceptions of this experience. Past members reported twice as many calls as being disturbing ($\bar{M}=22.6\%$) as did active members ($\bar{M}=11.8\%$) and overestimated the number of crank calls ($\bar{M}=35\%$) to a greater extent than did active members ($\bar{M}=27\%$). Of the

areas investigated in this study, the responses to questions about counselling most significantly and consistently differentiated past and active members. Only 7% of the past members reported feeling adequately prepared to counsel clients when they first started answering the crisis line as compared to 60% of the active members. Forty percent of the past members reported they had never felt comfortable counselling. None of the active members responded this way. In addition, differences were found between the two groups in terms of their perceptions of what they accomplished when dealing with clients. Only 6.7% of the past members reported believing they had always done a good job as compared to 46.7% of the active members. One in five past members stated they had always helped others as compared to three in five among active members. Past members also believed they helped fewer of their clients ($\bar{M}=54\%$) than did active members ($\bar{M}=77\%$).

Acknowledgements

The writer would like to thank the women at the O.R.C.C. for their time, their insights, and their willingness to assist in any way to make this project a success. The academic guidance of Gillian Walker and Warren Thorngate was also greatly appreciated. In addition, the writer is grateful for the support provided by Christine Wilson and the Friars family. Christine's insight into the issue of sexual assault counselling combined with her excellent research skills made her an invaluable resource. Her productive conversations and constructive criticisms always sprinkled with her delightful sense of humour, were of tremendous benefit. The Friars provided constant moral support and nurturance.

Finally, special thanks to Keith Foster who throughout this process constantly reminded me that the challenge of a thesis pales in comparison to the challenges and struggles women confront in their everyday lives. Knowledge of this spurred me on when my motivation was low.

Table of Contents

	<u>Page</u>
Preface	1
Chapter 1: Volunteerism	3
Chapter 2: Literature Review	13
Chapter 3: The Ottawa Rape Crisis Centre: An Overview	42
Chapter 4: The Study	50
Chapter 5: Results	56
Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusion	138
Chapter 7: Recommendations for Future Direction	164
Reference Note:	168
References:	169
Appendix A: Study Questionnaire	173
Appendix B: Screening Questionnaire	191

List of Tables

<u>Table</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Page</u>
1	Breakdown of Source Through Which Respondents Initially Heard of the O.R.C.C.	61
2	Percentage of Screening Questionnaire Motivation Responses	69
3	Overall Percentage of Motivation Responses	73
4	Mean Rating for Motivation Items in Order of Rated Importance	75
5	Percentage of Availability Restrictions	92
6	Mean Number of Legitimate Calls Per Month	94
7	When Comfortable Counselling by Membership Status	104
8	Responses to "I was doing a good job"	110
9	Counselling Collectives Attended	114
10	Enjoyed Spending Time with Other Members	115
11	Responses to "I Felt Like I Really Belonged to the Group"	117
12	Enough Say in Decision-Making	119
13	Description of Self	127
14	Negative Aspects of Membership	131
15	Suggested Improvements	133

Preface

During the 1970s, the feminist movement resulted in the identification of gaps in the delivery of social services to women. Issues such as sexual assault, incest, and wife battering were at best ignored by traditional agencies; at worst these issues were treated as personal pathology. In response to this situation, many volunteer agencies were created to provide services more in keeping with the reality of women's oppression and/or victimization in a patriarchal society.

One such agency, the Ottawa Rape Crisis Centre (O.R.C.C.), began in 1974. Since then, this organization despite chronic funding problems has struggled to meet the needs of sexual assault and incest victims.

A volunteer membership is largely responsible for provision of services. This means that the O.R.C.C. must constantly strive to have an adequate number of volunteers to meet the demand for services. In recent years, high volunteer attrition has at times forced the Centre to temporarily cut back on services.

As a long time member of the O.R.C.C., the impact of volunteer attrition on the provision of services is very much a personal concern. A review of the research literature offered little direction in facilitating member

retention. The present study, therefore, was conceptualized and implemented in an attempt to isolate the factors involved in volunteer attrition. It was hoped that the data gathered would provide the O.R.C.C. with information that could be utilized to promote volunteer retention.

Volunteerism

Chapter 1: Volunteerism

Voluntary organizations have a long tradition of being in the vanguard identifying gaps in social service delivery and then mobilizing to develop and provide programmes to fill these gaps. During the 19th century, the prevailing ideologies of Social Darwinism and meritocracy "assured voluntary organizations of a virtual monopoly on provision of the personal social services because of a lack of sanction for, and the incapability of government to undertake, such responsibilities" (Kramer, 1981, p. 173). Thus, the voluntary sector pioneered in the development of a myriad of social welfare functions. In addition, voluntary agencies paved the way for these services to be adopted by governmental bodies. Since the 19th century, there has been a consistent flow from "private invention to public adoption" (p. 174).

Despite the important impact the voluntary sector has had on social services, it is only recently that researchers have begun to study this sector. In the past, if this sector was acknowledged at all, it was hailed for the contributions it made to a democratic society: given a perfunctory pat on the head before being sent back to obscurity.

Since the early 1970s, interest in the importance of volunteerism has escalated and the voluntary sector has become increasingly topical. In June 1974, the Canadian

Committee on Volunteerism was formally constituted at a national conference on voluntary action. The objectives of this Committee included developing strong regional associations, serving as a liaison between regional associations and the federal government, conducting research and exchanging information, and establishing communication with other national organizations (Chapin, 1977, p. 4). In June 1975, the Canadian Council on Social Development published a report by Carter entitled, "Volunteers: The Untapped Potential." This report attempted to address the paucity of data on Canadian volunteers. Two years later, the National Advisory Council on Voluntary Action submitted a report entitled, "People in Action" to the then Secretary of State, John Roberts. This Committee had been created three years earlier by the Secretary of State to examine the voluntary sector and to recommend policy on government relations with and support of the voluntary sector.

The reasons for the sudden interest in the voluntary sector can be seen as threefold. First, the 1960s and the 1970s was a time of radical action and change. Existing institutions, the prevalent ideology, and the status quo in general were challenged at every level. During this period, the voluntary sector flourished as individuals attempted to create alternative agencies more in keeping with the zeitgeist of social justice. The vocality of these new

groups in demanding government action and change served to attract both government and public attention.

A second reason for the increasing interest in the voluntary sector revolved around issues of fiscal restraint. There was growing recognition that during periods of government fiscal restraint, the voluntary sector assured the community a measure of service that might not otherwise exist (Statistics Canada, 1981, p. 9). Government recognition of the potential of the voluntary sector to serve as a future tool of fiscal restraint resulted in a flurry of activities and reports centered on the voluntary sector. The government examined not only the existing voluntary sector but also the potential for expansion of this sector as evidenced by the report, "Volunteers: The Untapped Potential" (Carter, 1975). Despite the benefits accrued to the voluntary sector by this sudden government interest, negative effects were also evident. Increased government attention resulted in an increased willingness on the part of the government to fund voluntary agencies which in turn resulted to some degree in co-optation. Agencies dependent on public funding for their financial survival became less able to speak out against government policy. The price for government recognition and funding was often temperance (Valentich & Gripton, 1982, p. 23).

A third reason for increased attention being focused on the voluntary sector can be traced to the attempts by women's groups to promote recognition of the importance and value of unpaid community work (Statistics Canada, 1981, p. 4). These groups protested that the majority of volunteer labour was provided by women and further, that this unpaid work had, for the most part, been ignored and devalued. Much public attention became focused on the fact that it was time that society accorded the recognition due for the tremendous benefits acquired from women's unpaid labour. It was argued that for too long, the size of a pay cheque had been used as the yardstick by which to measure the value and importance of labour. The acceptance of this formula ignored many of the valuable contributions women made to society. Thus, "the importance, relevance and value of unpaid community work" (Statistics Canada, 1981, p. 9) not only merited but, demanded recognition.

At the same time, as women's contributions to society via the voluntary sector became increasingly considered, the value of these efforts to women themselves became called into question. Some argued that for over 100 years, volunteer work had provided women with an avenue to realize and expand their potential. Kaminer (1984) states that volunteerism gave women "public lives, ended their domestic isolation, and gave rise to organizations of women dedicated

to institutional reform" (p. 24). When sexist practices served to exclude women from desirable paid occupations, volunteerism provided an outlet for creative talent and political activity. Voluntary action was often a viable career choice for women in that it provided the flexibility necessary for women who had to plan their outside activities around the constraints of child-care.

More recently, volunteer work has enabled many women to make the transition from working exclusively inside the home to working in the paid labour force. Through volunteerism women can sharpen or expand marketable skills. Further, Kaminer (1984) argues that "volunteering has always offered women something they will rarely find in the most prestigious paying jobs - freedom and flexibility and the chance to do the work of their choice" (p. xvi).

Not all women, however, see volunteerism in such a positive light. Critics point out that the structure of many volunteer agencies reflects a sexist division of labour in which "policy-making offices and board memberships are still held mostly by men, even in agencies where women do virtually all of the work" (Loeser, 1974, p. 26). By shunting women into low prestige, low power positions, volunteer structures both promote and perpetuate the inferior position of women in society. In addition, Loeser states that "voluntary agencies have been a convenient

safety valve for women's energies, giving an illusion of participation but no real power" (p. 26). Women who feel fulfilled by volunteer work will be less inclined to struggle to enter the paid labour market. Thus, volunteerism works to keep many competent women safely out of the labour force.

Volunteerism has also been targeted by some feminists as representing a tradition of "public housewifery" (Kaminer, 1984, p. 4). These critics argue that women have been expected to provide caretaking and nurturing not only within the home but within the community as well. By fulfilling this role, women have supplied society with many cost-free social services. It is argued that as long as women continue to do this, programmes will never be adequately funded by the government. Thus, the claim is made that voluntary services provided by women allow the state to shirk its responsibility.

In response to these criticisms, the U.S. National Organization of Women issued a resolution in 1971 stating that women should refrain from delivering social services within a voluntary context.¹ Volunteerism was deemed acceptable only to the extent that women's efforts were directed toward effecting social change (p. 4). Feminists did, however, acknowledge that service work involving such

things as safe houses for battered women and rape crisis centres must continue.

The seeming contradiction in this provision points to the problems inherent in the current use of volunteerism as a concept. Volunteerism as a generic term covers a myriad of activities. The specific activities have a particular relevance at the level of individual experience. Indeed the definition of volunteerism at the individual level may vary by activity. Thus, an individual whose volunteer activity consists of coaching a sports team undoubtedly will define both the experience and the expected consequences of this activity much differently than someone who does volunteer work within a women's organization founded on political as well as humanistic tenets.

Although traditional volunteer agencies and feminist volunteer agencies are similar in that most labour is unpaid, the similarities may end there. Women working in feminist volunteer organizations want not only to provide assistance to women whose needs they believe are not adequately recognized or served by existing institutions, they want to challenge existing social structures. The political aspect of these groups is evidenced by the collective organizational structure most often used within these organizations. "Attempts to create organizational structures by and for women within a non-hierarchical

distribution of power and authority represented the basic political tenets of the feminist movement" (Wilson, 1981, p. 23). A second way in which politics are integrated into the delivery of social services is through the counselling model used. Traditional models are rejected in favour of a feminist model in which the primary objective is the empowerment of women. Finally, political goals are evident in the activities these groups undertake. Not only do they provide social services, they also engage in public education and in lobbying for change. Therefore, volunteer activities in the feminist movement through the way in which the women work together, through the way in which services are provided, and through the activities undertaken inherently involve political activism.

Traditional thought on volunteerism has not acknowledged the political elements involved in much of women's unpaid labour. By focusing solely on the effects of volunteerism and ignoring the process, a true understanding of women's volunteer activities has been forfeited. This, in turn, has given rise to the contradictions often evident in feminist discussions on unpaid labour. Volunteerism used in a way which, in order to subsume all forms of volunteer activities focuses strictly on the end product, points to a system in which women's unpaid labour serves oppressive ends. By contrast, the actual work women do in

organizations such as rape crisis centres may serve political and, thus, non-oppressive ends. The resolution of the contradictions, therefore, necessarily entails examination of the process through which women's unpaid political labour becomes trivialized and misunderstood.

Volunteerism

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In the current research literature on volunteerism, there is a lack of clear definitions operationalizing what is being discussed. Volunteerism in the broadest sense refers to any freely chosen unpaid activity. This definition allows some basis for discussion much as the term fruit provides some basis for discussing apples and oranges. However, just as a discussion of fruit limits the information provided about apples and oranges as discrete entities, a discussion of volunteerism in the broad sense limits the information provided about discrete volunteer activities. Thus, discussions which equate all volunteer activities based on it being unpaid labour obscure the true nature of that very labour. Current usage of the term volunteerism represents a concept that imposes strict parameters on the knowledge that can be generated on the activities it serves to describe.

It is also important to note that despite claims to scientific objectivity, concepts such as volunteerism are value laden. Volunteerism as a concept conjures up images of Lady Bountiful; upper and middle-class female do-gooders who extend their role of caring for their families to caring for the community as well. Through this trivialization, women's labour in the voluntary sector is depoliticized. Today, this image is being challenged, but research delving into the subject of volunteerism has not succeeded in

providing a clear picture of today's volunteers. The research literature contains many contradictory findings. As such, it is reported here as much with the intent to show how volunteerism as a concept has worked to impede understanding as to show what is known. /

Participation Rates

Until recently, there has been an absence of qualitative data on the number of volunteers in Canada and on the volume of work that these volunteers' efforts represent. The first major piece of Canadian research including information on volunteer participation rates was Carter's 1975 study. Her national survey found that "slightly more than half of Canada's people are involved in some form of volunteer activity or charitable giving" (p. xix). In 1980, Statistics Canada conducted a survey on volunteerism with one third of the February 1980 Labour Force Survey sample (1981, p. 9). This survey found that during the reference year of February 1979 to February 1980, 2.7 million individuals were engaged in volunteer activities (p. 10). This represented 15.2% of the working age population. These results do not match those found by Carter. The smaller number of volunteers identified in the Statistics Canada survey can be attributed to their use of a narrower definition of volunteerism. Activities such as

charitable giving which were included in Carter's study were not included in the Statistics Canada survey.

Although the research on volunteer participation rates has not yielded consistent results, it is clear that volunteer activity in Canada is a widespread phenomenon. Statistics Canada suggest that during the reference year, February 1979 to February 1980, individuals engaged in approximately 374 million hours of volunteer work. This, they state, represents the equivalent of "about 212,000 persons working a 40-hour week for a full year" (p. 14). This fact, given the narrow definition of volunteerism used by Statistics Canada underscores the magnitude and importance of volunteer work to Canadian society.

Sex Distribution of Volunteers

Stereotype has portrayed women as the primary volunteers. The research literature contains inconsistent findings on this point. Anderson and Moore found in their 1974 national study of Canadian volunteers that over three quarters of the volunteers represented in their study were women. This finding was replicated in Pratt's 1980 study of Vancouver volunteers. However, a 1975 study by Carter and a 1981 study by Statistics Canada found that there was a fairly even distribution of male and female volunteers.

These contradictory results are again, primarily due to the use of inconsistent definitions of volunteerism.

Whereas the Anderson and Moore study and the Pratt study examined volunteers affiliated with organizations, Carter used a broader definition of volunteerism which included individual acts such as giving blood or donating money. Although Statistics Canada limited its study to formal systems of volunteer work, they included a wide spectrum of leisure activity organizations (p. 72). The fact that men were twice as likely as women to participate in leisure activity organizations was pointed to by Statistics Canada as likely being "a major factor contributing to the unexpected high overall participation of males in volunteer work" (p. 18).

It is apparent that varying the definition of volunteerism produces different findings regarding female/male participation rates. This suggests the obvious conclusion that the sex distribution of participation rates is activity specific.

Age Distribution

The research findings on the age distribution of volunteers has produced slightly more consistent findings than the research on sex distribution. Both Carter and Statistics Canada found that the majority of volunteers surveyed were between 25 and 44 years of age (Tucker & Devlin, 1984, p. 35). This is consistent with Pratt's (1980) findings that 75% of the volunteers in his study were

under age 40. Anderson and Moore's (1974) findings are not totally in accord with those of the previously mentioned research. These authors state that "although Canadian volunteers are predominantly 40 to 60 year old females, the second largest group are those women under 30" (p. 17).

As with other aspects of research on volunteerism, the results on the age distribution of volunteers are not unanimous. The majority of the research findings, however, point to the age range of 25 to 44 years. Further, all researchers have been quick to point out that although one age group may have a higher frequency of volunteer participation, individuals of all ages are involved in the voluntary sector.

Education Levels

Volunteers have been largely portrayed as being highly educated individuals. Research has borne this out only in part. Statistics Canada (1981) found that individuals with some high school education account for the highest proportion of volunteers (p. 12). These researchers note, however, that this finding is not surprising given the fact that this group represents the largest proportion of the working-age population. Of greater interest is the finding that individuals holding a university degree or a post-secondary certificate have a substantially higher representation among the volunteer group than would be

expected based on their numbers in the labour force (pp. 12, 13). Thus, in the Statistics Canada study, although the majority of volunteers were not university educated, individuals with degrees were proportionately overrepresented.

The high representation of university educated individuals has also been found in other studies on volunteerism. Anderson and Moore (1974) found that compared to the Canadian labour force, volunteers were four times more likely to have some university training (p. 9). Although university educated individuals seem more likely to engage in volunteer work, the distinction between composition and participation rates must be kept in mind. Carter (1975) argues that "the proportion of volunteers who do not hold university degrees tends to indicate there is far more involvement of all levels of Canadian society than has been believed" (p. 19). The overrepresentation of highly educated individuals in the voluntary sector does not minimize the fact that in terms of the composition of the voluntary sector, a large number of volunteers do not hold university degrees.

Family Status

In terms of the family status of volunteers, the research literature indicates that the majority of volunteers are married. For example, Carter (1975) found

that 72.1% of the volunteers in her study were married. Statistics Canada (1981) found that 74.5% of the volunteers were married. Although Anderson and Moore (1974) reported a lower percentage (63%) of married individuals than did the previously mentioned studies, their findings still confirm that the majority of volunteers are married. This is hardly a surprising finding given that the majority of working-age individuals in Canada have this status (Statistics Canada, 1981, p. 32).

In addition to information on marital status, Anderson and Moore (1974) also reported that of those volunteers who were married, 62% had at least one child (p. 8). Although little research has been conducted on the impact of child-rearing on the propensity or ability to volunteer, Hillman (1967) argues that individuals with children below age 14 are less likely to volunteer than those with either no children or with children older than 14 years (p. 8).

Occupation and Socio-economic Status

The research on the occupation and socio-economic status of volunteers is difficult to compare due to the fact that the studies are not consistent in the way the findings are reported. Some studies report the findings in terms of the composition of the volunteer sample population while other studies report the findings in terms of the participation rates of particular groups. It must be kept

in mind that finding a particular group has the highest participation rate does not necessarily mean that this group represents the majority of the volunteer force.

Anderson and Moore (1974) found that 79% of the volunteers in their study were middle-class individuals employed in white collar occupations. This supports the stereotypical view that the majority of volunteers are middle-class. The Statistics Canada study (1981) and Carter's study (1975) support a more democratic socio-economic distribution of volunteers. However, these latter studies did find that the highest participation rates were among those with at least middle-class status. At first glance, it would seem therefore, that volunteerism is in fact a middle-class endeavour, at least in terms of this group's propensity to volunteer if not in terms of their sheer numbers in the voluntary sector.

Discrepancies in the findings regarding the socio-economic composition of the voluntary sector may reflect differences in the segments of the sector under study. Payne, Payne, and Reddy (1972) argue that volunteer participation varies by socio-economic status with lower-class and blue collar individuals dominating church, union, lodge, and athletic clubs. These authors state that by contrast, middle and upper-class individuals dominate general interest, career-related, and issue advocacy and

direct service community oriented organizations (p. 218). This would explain why Anderson and Moore (1974), who examined direct service exclusively, found a more middle-class volunteer composition than did Carter and Statistics Canada who both examined a broader segment of the voluntary sector.

The one stereotype unanimously put to rest by these studies is that of the bored housewife volunteering because she has too much time on her hands (Tucker & Devlin, 1984, p. 9). By far the majority of volunteers work at full-time occupations outside the home and do volunteer work in their spare time. Darvill and Munday (1984) state, "it is interesting to note that it is those in paid employment, and who may therefore be presumed to have less spare time than others, who undertake more voluntary work and are more likely to have previous voluntary work experience than those who are not in employment" (p. 46).

Motivation

Researchers studying volunteerism have also concerned themselves with the reasons individuals have for engaging in volunteer work. In the past, volunteers were often portrayed as responding for purely altruistic reasons, but the research literature indicates that non-altruistic factors may also play an important role in motivating volunteers.

Carter (1975)⁶ found that when respondents were asked to identify two factors involved in their decision to volunteer, although altruistic reasons were cited most frequently this was often in combination with instrumental reasons such as self-development or career enhancement (p. 27). Pratt (1980) found that instrumental reasons were most frequently cited by volunteers. In his study, only 25% of the respondents cited altruistic reasons as the motivating factor for volunteering.

The findings of both studies indicate that instrumental factors are more often involved in the decision to volunteer than was previously believed. However, these two studies present contradictory findings on the prevalence of altruistic motivations. Carter's finding that altruistic reasons for volunteering are cited most frequently, albeit often in combination with instrumental reasons, stands in contrast to Pratt's finding that altruistic factors are cited 25% of the time. Differences in questioning procedures, in the operational definition of volunteerism, and in the sex distribution of the samples in these two studies may be responsible for the contradictory findings. The possible ramifications of each of these methodological differences will be discussed in turn.

One methodological difference in these two studies relates to how respondents were questioned about what

motivated them to volunteer. Pratt's respondents were asked to state one factor involved in their decision to volunteer. The response given was presumably the primary motivation for volunteering. However, it is possible that respondents who were attracted to volunteer work for instrumental reasons may also have been motivated by secondary altruistic factors. By contrast, Carter's respondents were asked to state two factors involved in their decision to volunteer. A large number of those who cited altruistic reasons did so in combination with instrumental reasons. The lack of differentiation between primary and secondary motives presents the possibility that had just one response been allowed, instrumental motives may have won out over altruistic motives in those respondents who cited both. The fact that the difference in questioning procedures resulted in contradictory findings may indicate, therefore, that both studies have obscured the true nature of the motivations involved in volunteering.

These two studies also differ in the way in which volunteerism is operationally defined. The inclusion in Carter's study of acts or promises giving blood, eyes, or human tissue, and the donation of money may be responsible for the higher incidence of altruistic responses. It is conceivable that there are less instrumental gains inherent in these activities than there are in agency-affiliated

volunteer activities. Thus, in light of the differences in the volunteer activities surveyed in these two studies, the discrepant results may indicate that volunteer motivation is activity specific.

Finally, Carter and Pratt's studies differ in the sex distribution of the two sample populations. Whereas Carter's study involved a fairly even distribution of female and male respondents, over three quarters of Pratt's respondents were female. Henderson found in her 1983 study that in terms of volunteer motivation, "men were more likely to be altruistic than were women". (p. 23). As Carter's study involved a higher proportion of male respondents than did Pratt's study, the increased frequency of altruistic responses may reflect the greater tendency of males to give altruistic responses. Despite the contradictions in the findings of these two studies, it is clear that the motives for volunteering are not always as purely altruistic as was once believed. Instrumental motives serve at least a secondary if not a primary role in bringing many to the volunteer sector. In addition, the amount of altruism involved in volunteering may be dependent on the volunteer activity in which an individual is engaged. Finally, the frequency with which altruistic motives are cited as factors involved in the decision to volunteer may vary according to sex.

Entry

One aspect of volunteerism that is of special concern to those involved in the recruitment of volunteers is the volunteer's method of entry into the voluntary sector. For the most part, the research on volunteer entry points to the importance of personal invitation.

Payne, Payne, and Reddy (1972) report that in most cases individuals become involved in voluntary action "because they are personally asked and encouraged to do so" (p. 228). These authors suggest that although media requests to join a voluntary organization are not as effective as personal requests, the media may be effective in setting a "responsive attitudinal background which can then be triggered by a personal request" (p. 228).

Sills (1957) examined the role relationship between the recruiter and the recruited as an indication of the role obligation utilized. He found that interpersonal relationships such as friendships accounted for 58% of the volunteers' entry into voluntary action (p. 111). Community relationships which entail appeals to an individual's sense of duty to her/his community were found to be operative in 22% of the cases. Finally, organizational relationships which involve individuals being asked to volunteer through their place of employment or through an organization to which they belong accounted for the remaining 20% of the

cases (p. 112). This supports Carter's (1975) finding that personal referral is "at present the most commonly used and apparently the most effective method of getting new volunteers" (p. 86).

Aves (1969) suggests the fact that most individuals enter the voluntary sector through personal invitation may "perpetuate recruitment from one particular type of background" (p. 190). This may explain why many volunteer activities have been found to be dominated by a particular socio-economic group or sex.

Satisfaction

Volunteer satisfaction is an extremely important aspect of volunteerism given the fact that volunteer participation varies directly with volunteer satisfaction (Mulford & Klonglan, 1972, p. 255). As Francies (1983) notes, volunteers do not receive the pay incentive that employees do to tolerate dissatisfaction. "Volunteers, without wages, simply quit" (p. 18). Thus, volunteer satisfaction has a direct effect on the size of the voluntary sector, and/or on the amount of volunteer turnover within voluntary organizations.

Hillman (1967) found that having someone to turn to for advice, developing new skills, utilizing existing skills, receiving help from professional staff, and receiving recognition for volunteer work were all positively

correlated with volunteer satisfaction. When Aves (1969) examined volunteer satisfaction, she found that the frustrations and difficulties volunteers faced fell into one of three categories: 1) relationships with professionals or other full-time staff, 2) relationships with clients, and 3) work related problems. The last category included the underutilization of volunteers and/or their skills, and being confronted with problems which were beyond the volunteer's ability to handle (p. 45). Aves suggests that volunteer satisfaction is enhanced by assigning tasks with a clear purpose, and by encouraging results that are identifiable and are appreciated by clients (p. 82). Finally, Aves states that volunteers should receive assurances that they are making a positive and significant contribution, especially when they undertake arduous and regular duties (p. 91).

Overall, it appears, at least to some extent, that existing conditions in the voluntary sector are conducive to volunteer satisfaction. Hillman (1967) found that over two thirds of the respondents in her study enjoyed their volunteer experience. Carter (1975) states "volunteering is a truly satisfying activity; an indirect proof is the fact that almost 80 per cent of all volunteers stay with this work for more than three years, and more than half for over seven years" (p. 29).

Retention

Pratt (1980) looked specifically at the issue of volunteer retention. Contrary to Carter's (1975) findings that 80% of volunteers stay with their work for more than three years, and more than half for over seven years (p. 29), Pratt found that most volunteers stayed no more than six months (p. 5). These discrepant results may be due to Carter's broader definition of volunteerism discussed earlier.

In terms of the length of time individuals stay in the voluntary sector, Pratt (1980) found no difference between females and males. Carter (1975) also found no significant difference in the number of female and male past volunteers. When motivation was examined in relation to retention, Pratt found no difference in retention regardless of volunteer motivation (p. 10). Carter found that illness or poor health, and increased job and family responsibilities appear to be the major causes of volunteer attrition (p. 33).

One group that had a heavy drop-out rate in Carter's 1975 study were those between the ages of 19 and 36 years of age. Carter suggests that the higher attrition among this group may be related to career establishment and child rearing responsibilities (p. 30). It was also found in this study that more past volunteers than present volunteers

identified too much control by professionals, not enough recognition, and too much control by high status volunteers as being problematic aspects of volunteerism. Regardless of these criticisms, however, almost 90% of those who gave reasons for leaving volunteer work stated that "they would become re-involved if the obstacles to giving were removed" (p. 35).

Methodological Problems

The distinction between volunteer participation rates and volunteer composition has important implications in the comparison and analysis of studies on volunteerism. Volunteer participation rates refer to the proportion of a particular group that volunteer. Composition refers to the proportion of the voluntary sector represented by a particular group. "The relationship between the participation rate of a given demographic group and that group's share of the total volunteers in turn depends on the group's share of the working age population" (Statistics Canada, 1981, p. 12). If all groups participated equally in the voluntary sector, the volunteer composition would duplicate the composition of the population. For example, if a particular group comprised 15% of the population, then this group would account for 15% of the voluntary sector. However, studies on volunteerism indicate that there is considerable variation in the participation rates of

particular groups. This means that a group with a very high participation rate will account for a larger share of the volunteer group than would be expected given that group's share of the population. In addition, if a group accounts for a small percentage of the population, even if that group has a very high participation rate, it may not make up a very large share of the volunteer work force. When comparing studies on volunteerism, therefore, it is important to determine whether the researcher is reporting her/his findings in terms of participation rates or in terms of composition. When discussing the overall voluntary sector, although participation rates are important in their own right, they may distort the picture that is presented.

As suggested earlier, a more major methodological problem centres on the use of volunteerism as a concept. In everyday conversation, the word volunteer or volunteerism is non-problematic. Our understanding of the essence of the word allows for relatively clear communication. Research on volunteerism has made it clear, however, that while the essence of volunteerism is easily understood, the spectrum of the word is not. Operational definitions of volunteerism have not been consistent and this has limited the comparability and generalizability of research findings (Tucker & Devlin, 1984, p. 3). In some studies, volunteerism refers to unpaid work carried out under the

auspices of a formal organization. Other studies have broadened the definition to include individual acts such as giving blood and donating money. Although each study offers some insight into the particular activity(ies) under study, the use of inconsistent operational definitions of volunteerism has resulted in "a noncumulative approach to the development of knowledge and curtailment of theoretical understanding and insights" (p. 3).

Tucker and Devlin's comparison of two Canadian studies on voluntary action with two similar studies conducted in Great Britain illustrates the problems which can arise when definitions of volunteerism are not constant. One study from each country limited the examination of volunteerism to unpaid work performed through organizations. These studies produced almost identical results (p. 6). By contrast, the second study from each country used a broader definition of volunteerism including both unpaid work performed through organizations and more informal individual acts. These studies produced more dissimilar results (p. 7). Tucker and Devlin suggest "these findings may indicate a paradox" (p. 7). They argue that research findings based on the study of volunteer activities solely within formal organizations will result in underestimations of the extent and scope of voluntary activity whereas findings based on a broader definition will result in unstable results (p. 7).

Varying definitions of volunteerism may also create problems with the construct validity of some studies. Despite the fact that researchers may be clear about what concept of volunteerism is being used in the particular study, respondents may not be as sure. For example, Kaminer (1984) argues that while white upper-income women may call themselves volunteers, others may consider themselves activists or community organizers (p. 18). As one of Kaminer's respondents states, "If someone said, what are you doing now, I wouldn't say I'm a volunteer . . . that's not a description of what you do, that's a description of how you . . . or somebody else values what you do" (p. 177).

Scheier (1980) also notes the problems that can arise when researchers assume that all individuals engaged in volunteer activities call themselves volunteers. This author cites the example of two U.S. studies, one of which found that there were significantly more white than non-white volunteers. Scheier contends the fact that the second study produced opposite results illustrates that the term volunteer is not universally accepted by respondents. The study that found greater white participation used the word volunteer frequently in its questions and cited examples that referred largely to visible organized programmes. In the second survey, the researchers refrained from using either the word volunteer or the word programme

although the activities described were similar forms of volunteerism (p. 21). The different results produced by these studies suggest that discrete portions of the population may define volunteerism in very different ways. It is apparent that researchers must take into account the fact that not all individuals engaged in the voluntary sector will identify themselves as volunteers. Thus, it is clear that volunteerism as a concept obscures more than it clarifies. Rendering disparate activities as being somehow equivalent based solely on the unpaid nature of the labour results in both research and discussion in which the true nature of the activity may be ignored in favour of a more generic approach to the subject. By subsuming such things as leisure activities, social service work and alternative agencies under the wide umbrella of volunteerism many crucial differences are lost. This process serves to both depoliticize and trivialize much of women's unpaid labour. This in turn leads to confusion and contradictions within the women's movement when the judiciousness of voluntary action is discussed.

From strictly a service delivery point of view, volunteer labour may indeed be exploitative in that it allows government to shirk its responsibility for the provision of many social services. Beyond this, however, depending on the agency, volunteerism may provide a forum

for engaging in political activism through the services provided, through the way in which services are provided, and/or through the structure of the organization. It is important that the political elements of much voluntary action be recognized and distinguished from more apolitical unpaid labour.

By not distinguishing between particular types of volunteer activities social science researchers have little to offer particular volunteer organizations in terms of information with practical applicability. Although much research exists on the profile of the volunteer, the data are far too general and contradictory to have great relevance to a specific volunteer agency. Volunteer profiles, in the absence of knowing whether specific activities attract specific types of individuals serve little useful purpose. The findings on volunteer motivation, entry, satisfaction, and retention do little for volunteer organizations interested in creating working conditions more conducive to meeting their volunteers' needs and/or expectations. Again, this type of data may vary by activity.

The present study is an attempt to not only add more concrete information to the research literature but to produce data that will have practical applications for the

voluntary agency involved. In order to do this, there will be an exclusive focus on one group of volunteers.

Rape crisis centre volunteers were the group selected for study. This particular volunteer group was selected for a number of reasons. First, rape crisis centres began as a political response to a social problem. As such, the volunteers attracted to this alternative organization may be qualitatively different than those attracted to more traditional agencies. It is important that not all research focus on traditional agencies. Secondly, this group of volunteers is engaged in crisis intervention work. This is a volunteer activity that has received relatively little attention from social science researchers. Finally, because this group of volunteers is exclusively female, the sex confound that has arisen in a number of studies will be avoided.

Despite the fact that rape crisis centre volunteers engage in demanding and often emotionally charged work, relatively little attention is accorded them in the social science literature. One of the few studies conducted in this area involved the comparison of volunteers at two rape crisis centres (Eliuk, 1976). Eliuk found that volunteers at both centres tended to be well-educated and middle-class. This confirms the findings of studies on volunteers in more traditional agencies (Payne, Payne, & Reddy, 1972). These

latter studies also suggest that the majority of volunteers are married. By contrast, Eliuk found that the majority of volunteers at one of the rape crisis centres under study reported being single. However, a number of these women also reported that they were living with a partner. Thus, any differences in marital status between volunteers in traditional agencies and volunteers in alternative agencies may be superficial. Overall, Eliuk's study indicates that in terms of demographic variables, volunteers in rape crisis centres appear similar to volunteers who work in more traditional agencies.

Eliuk also looked at the volunteers' motivation for becoming rape crisis counsellors. She reports that "it is evident that the majority of the workers were motivated by their concern for the victims of rape and their desire to offer support" (p. 89). Studies of volunteers in more traditional agencies found that although there were elements of altruism present in most statements of motivation, "there was also very general recognition of what the volunteer himself [sic] was getting from his [sic] work" (Aves, 1969, p. 4). It is not known whether this difference is indicative of a qualitative difference between rape crisis centre volunteers and volunteers in more traditional agencies or whether it merely reflects methodological differences.

In terms of volunteer retention, Eliuk (1976) reports that at the two rape crisis centres under study, "the average length of stay is six months" (p. 205). This rapid volunteer attrition requires that rape crisis centres engage in on-going volunteer training programmes to ensure the volunteer roster is sufficient to provide services. In addition to the financial burden these training programmes incur, they also involve already overworked agency personnel committing extensive time to training new volunteers.

The new volunteers also spend much time and effort acquiring skills needed to work with victims of sexual assault. The high volunteer attrition may mean, therefore, that the volunteer is not provided with very high returns for the time she has spent in training.

Finally, it can also be argued that the user of service is adversely affected by high volunteer attrition. If one has been sexually assaulted, the most desirable counsellor to contact would be one who was highly trained, highly skilled, and highly experienced. The attrition rate of rape crisis centre counsellors reduces the odds that users of service will be dealing with a highly experienced counsellor. As skills increase with experience, the high attrition rate also reduces the odds that the victim will be assisted by a counsellor who is highly skilled at dealing with sexual assault victims. Thus, a high volunteer

attrition rate has major implications for the provision of services.

The rape crisis centre, the crisis centre volunteer, and users of rape crisis centre services are all adversely affected by high volunteer attrition rates. It is prudent, therefore, to examine the factors responsible for volunteer attrition. If the cause(s) of this attrition can be determined, it is possible that steps can be taken to reduce its occurrence. As Naylor (1967) states: "There are far too many ex-volunteers, able and conscientious people who have withdrawn from being personally involved, because of negative feelings about volunteer work. Some feel they were not appreciated, some that they were not making an important contribution, some that they cannot manage responsibilities that conflict with other interests and obligations" (p. 9). It is important that the specific volunteer concerns be identified and addressed. As the U.S. President's Commission on the Status of Women argues, "if volunteers are to be retained, intelligent planning is required to meet their needs both as workers and as people" (p. 173).

The present study will focus on the issue of volunteer retention. A comparison will be made of past rape crisis centre volunteers and active rape crisis centre volunteers to determine whether differences between these two groups postdict volunteer attrition. This examination should shed

some light on the conditions that facilitate or impede volunteer participation. It is hoped that this in turn will suggest reforms that can be implemented by the agency involved to reduce high volunteer attrition. In addition, it is hoped that the data produced will be relevant to other alternative volunteer agencies if only by suggesting areas that should be examined within their organizations.

Most studies on the volunteer profile have centered on providing a picture of the voluntary sector. The effects of demographic variables on volunteer participation within a discrete volunteer group have received relatively little attention. It is possible that expectations and perceptions of the volunteer experience vary by certain demographic variables such as age or socio-economic status. This may in turn affect volunteer attrition patterns producing a tendency toward overall group homogeneity. The present study will address this possibility.

Studies on volunteer entry have shown that personal referral is the most effective method of recruitment. It is not known, however, what effects having a personal connection to another member in the volunteer group has on perceptions of the volunteer experience. It is possible that volunteers who have no personal connections within the volunteer group may be more critical of the volunteer experience, unfettered as they are by any loyalty bonds

imposed through personal connections. By contrast, having a personal connection with another volunteer member may enhance the overall volunteer experience. This study will attempt to determine whether these differences do in fact exist.

Although many studies have been conducted on volunteer motivation, the dynamic interplay between motivation, satisfaction, and retention is not well understood. The present study hopes to shed some light on the motivation/satisfaction/retention relationship. To this end, this study will first look at the volunteers' motivations for engaging in rape crisis work. Secondly, an analysis will be made of the extent to which the volunteer experience is compatible with volunteer motivation. The volunteer experience will include working conditions, the work itself, and the social milieu. Finally, an attempt will be made to determine whether volunteer motivation and satisfaction, either alone or in combination, affect volunteer retention.

The present study represents an attempt to move beyond a descriptive analysis of volunteers. It is hoped that the examination of the dynamics of the volunteer experience with respect to volunteer attrition will produce information with practical applications and at the same time increase understanding of the volunteer process.

**Chapter 3: The Ottawa Rape Crisis Centre:
An Overview**

The Agency

The Ottawa Rape Crisis Centre evolved from consciousness-raising sessions held at the Ottawa Women's Centre in the early 1970s. Through these sessions, it was discovered that a large number of women at this centre had been victims of sexual assault. Many who had not been actual victims spoke of having been in potential sexual assault situations (Eliuk, 1976, p. 16). These discussions also led to the realization that victims of sexual assault had nowhere to turn to for help. There were no agencies in Ottawa equipped with personnel trained to provide assistance to victims of sexual assault. In June, 1974 a number of the women who had taken part in these discussions resolved to open a rape crisis centre. This plan was realized when the Ottawa Rape Crisis Centre (O.R.C.C.) opened on December 15, 1974.

As with most alternative organizations, funding was tight and volunteers were used as the mainstay of the Centre. In 12 years of operation, although much has changed both in the internal dynamics of the O.R.C.C. and in terms of the community's reaction to the Centre, funding is still tight and volunteers are still responsible for providing the overwhelming majority of the Centre's services.

At present, the O.R.C.C. is staffed by three full-time paid workers and a fluctuating number of volunteers. A

horizontal organizational structure provides that each individual has an equal voice in the functioning of the Centre. A Steering Collective, at present comprised of six members including staff, serves as the policy and decision-making body. This collective is accountable to the General Membership. Ideally, nine members would serve on this collective, however, two factors have worked against full occupancy. First, to sit on the steering collective a volunteer must have been a member of the O.R.C.C. for a minimum of nine months. High volunteer attrition has severely limited the number of eligible members. Secondly, among those eligible, there seems to be a reluctance to extend their commitment beyond a counselling role.

This organization uses a feminist perspective to guide the analysis of sexual assault, and it is this perspective upon which objectives of the O.R.C.C. are based. Thus, the O.R.C.C.'s primary objective of aiding victims of sexual assault is based on the following interpretation of the issue:

- a) that sexual assault is a social issue; a product of our social, political, and economic environment, rather than an isolated personal experience.
- b) that sexual assault is a personal issue requiring crisis intervention and an ongoing network of support for its victims.

- c) that sexual assault is one expression of the exploitation of women in our society (or of the larger issue of the status of women).
- d) that institutions (health, regulatory, law enforcement, welfare, etc.), because they have historically misunderstood or ignored sexual assault as well as women's experience in society, are not capable, at this time, of responding to this specific problem experienced by women.
- e) that institutions require support and encouragement to examine their traditional assumptions and to actively participate in a resolution of this social issue.

Based on this understanding of sexual assault, the O.R.C.C. supports victims of sexual assault, liaisons between these victims and other agencies the victim contacts as a result of the assault, and advocates on behalf of victims where necessary. In addition, the O.R.C.C. attempts to increase public awareness of the issue of sexual assault.

To these ends, the O.R.C.C. operates a 24 hour crisis line that a sexual assault victim or someone on her behalf can call to receive immediate access to procedural information, emotional support, or general information. In addition, the service provides sexual assault counselling on

a para-professional level, appropriate referrals to professionals in the community, and accompaniment to hospitals, police stations, and courts. This service ensures confidentiality, the right to support and self-determination, the maintenance of free services, and the eradication of myths that perpetuate sexual assault. It is believed that by offering victims of sexual assault information and counselling, they will be better equipped to make decisions, to express and come to terms with such feelings as guilt, shame, anger, and fear, and to reintegrate themselves into their normal life. Finally, the O.R.C.C. gives lectures to community groups and professional organizations, participates in media events on sexual assault such as talk shows, and gives presentations on sexual assault to students in schools, colleges, and universities. The purpose of these activities is to educate the public on the realities of sexual assault and to dispel commonly accepted myths about its occurrence.

The services offered by the O.R.C.C. are provided by paid staff from 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., Monday through Friday. At all other times, volunteers are responsible for provision of services.

Volunteers

When a woman contacts the O.R.C.C. expressing interest in becoming a member of the Centre she is invited to attend

an interview. During this interview, the potential member is given information on the Centre and on the Centre's volunteer activities. In addition, the individual is asked to complete a questionnaire which attempts to elicit information on the individual's attitudes toward issues inherent in dealing with victims of sexual assault. This interview and questionnaire are used as a basis for screening out individuals whose attitudes are not compatible with the O.R.C.C.'s philosophy of non-directive counselling. For example, a woman who advocates an anti-choice position on abortion may have trouble remaining non-directive when discussing options relating to pregnancy. If the potential member meets the O.R.C.C.'s requirements she will be admitted to the training programme. This programme involves 24 training hours which are divided into eight three hour sessions. Each session involves the presentation of different aspects of sexual assault counselling.

Upon completion of the training programme, each potential member is evaluated to ensure they have acquired sufficient skills to counsel sexual assault victims. The applicant will either be rejected, accepted, or conditionally accepted. In the latter case, the individual will be allowed to join the Centre when she demonstrates, through a second evaluation, that she has improved in the area(s) in which the first evaluation indicated she was weak.

Once an applicant has successfully completed the training programme and evaluation, she is accepted as a member of the O.R.C.C. This membership entails working two front-line and two back-up shifts per month. Theoretically, front-line duty involves answering the telephone crisis line from the time the paid staff leave the office at 5:00 p.m. until they return at 8:30 the next morning. A call forwarding system allows these calls to be taken in the volunteer's home. However, as volunteers' schedules often preclude picking up the crisis line exactly at 5:00 p.m. and keeping it until 8:30 the next morning, a more usual situation would entail the volunteer covering the crisis line from approximately 6:00 p.m. to 7:00 a.m.. An answering service responds to calls during the transition period between staff coverage of the crisis line and volunteer coverage. If the answering service receives a crisis call during the interim period, the operator calls each member on the volunteer roster until she finds a volunteer available to take the call. Saturday and Sunday both involve a daytime shift in addition to the regular night shift.

A back-up shift involves a volunteer being available to assume front-line coverage should the volunteer answering the calls need to leave to accompany a victim to the hospital and/or police station. The individual on back-up duty must also be prepared to be promoted to front-line duty

should the front-line worker be unable to take the shift for any reason, or in the event that no one signs up for front-line coverage.

Ensuring full line coverage is a constant concern for the Centre. High volunteer attrition often produces a situation where volunteers must work extra shifts if full line coverage is to be maintained. In an attempt to deal with the chronic problem of inadequate numbers of volunteers, the Centre has recently decided to increase the number of yearly training programmes from two to three.

Chapter 4: The Study

Method

Respondents

The respondent pool consisted of all individuals whose involvement with the O.R.C.C. began after the implementation of the volunteer screening questionnaire presently in use at the Centre. This eliminated for study those members who joined the Centre prior to October, 1984. At the time of the interviews, 41 individuals completing the screening questionnaire had been accepted as members. Of these individuals, 23 are currently active members and 18 have left the Centre. The participation of 15 of the active members and 15 of the past members was solicited by the researcher on a first contacted first included basis. All of the individuals whom the researcher was able to contact agreed to take part in the study.

Of the respondents in the active members group, the average length of participation at the Centre was 10.2 months. In the past members group, the average length of participation was 8.1 months. The length of time elapsed since respondents in the past members' group had left the Centre varied from a maximum of 17 months to a minimum of one month prior to the study. The average length of time that had elapsed was 8.9 months.

At present, the O.R.C.C. does not accept men as members of the Centre. This restriction is based on the belief that, at best, sexual assault victims are more comfortable dealing with a woman after an assault and, at worst, having a man answer the crisis line may serve to further traumatize or intimidate victims. Although some thought has been given to allowing men to join the Centre to serve in capacities other than crisis line counsellors, to date, the policy of an all women Centre has been retained. Thus, in the present study all respondents were female.

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire used consisted of a number of questions designed to elicit responses on a number of issues related to volunteerism (see Appendix A). Questions related to demographic data were included to provide information on the volunteer profile of both groups. A second section was designed to gather information on both the primary and secondary motivations involved in volunteering at the O.R.C.C. Questions on volunteer entry into this agency were included to provide data on the usual method of recruitment for each group. Finally, a section of the questionnaire focused on the perceptions of the volunteer experience in terms of working conditions, the work itself, and the social milieu.

The specific questions included were based on existing information on volunteerism as reported in the research literature, on information gathered through informal discussions with volunteers, and on personal experience in the voluntary sector.

Screening Questionnaire

As was mentioned earlier, all potential members of the O.R.C.C. must complete a screening questionnaire. This questionnaire is designed to elicit information on an individual's reasons for wanting to become a rape crisis counsellor, and on her attitudes toward issues inherent in dealing with victims of sexual assault (see Appendix B). The respondents' answers to the initial screening questionnaire were included in this study in an effort to determine whether volunteers' motivations and attitudes change as a result of the volunteer experience. Thus, in some respects, the screening questionnaire served as a pretest.

Screening questionnaire information existed for 14 of the 15 respondents in the active members' group and for all respondents in the past members' group.

Procedure

An interview appointment was arranged with each respondent at her convenience. The interview began by the researcher briefly outlining the reasons for this particular

study. Specifically, the respondent was told that the researcher was interested in looking at the factors involved in facilitating or impeding volunteer participation at the O.R.C.C. Each respondent was assured that her responses would be kept confidential. In addition, each respondent was asked for permission to tape the interview to allow the researcher the opportunity to ensure responses were analyzed in the proper context should any questions arise. All respondents agreed to this request.

The interview procedure itself entailed the researcher questioning the respondent on various aspects of her volunteer experience at the O.R.C.C. as outlined in Appendix A. The questionnaire format was strictly adhered to in order to ensure interview uniformity. Responses to each question were documented by the interviewer at the time given.

The interviews involved from $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour to an hour of the respondents' time depending on the extensiveness of the answers given. Upon completion of the interview, the respondent was provided an opportunity to discuss the study and/or the questionnaire format. The respondent was then thanked for her participation and informed that she would have access to the completed study if she so desired.

The results of this study will, for the most part, be reported in percentages. Rather than redefining continuous

variables into discrete categories, means were used to derive group statistics. These will be reported where appropriate.

Chapter 5: Results

Demographic Characteristics

A primary concern of this study was determining the type of woman who volunteers as a rape crisis counsellor. Based on the demographic information provided by the respondents, it was found that this volunteer work seems to attract women who range in age from their early 20's to their late 30's. At the time of joining the Centre, the youngest respondent was age 20 and the oldest age 39. The mean age was 27.3 years. It is interesting to note that almost 50% (N=14) of the respondents were between 24-27 years of age when they joined the Centre. No meaningful differences were found between the past and active members in terms of age at the time of joining.

The information provided by the respondents on education levels indicates that the membership of the O.R.C.C. is comprised of highly educated individuals. Thirty percent of the respondents have completed a college programme or have some university training. Sixty percent of the respondents hold at least an undergraduate university degree. One in four have graduate training. Past and active members were found to have similar education profiles.

Respondents were also questioned on their participation in the paid labour force. It was found that 67% of the respondents work outside the home. Thirty percent of the

respondents hold managerial/professional jobs, 27% work in the clerical/sales sector, and 10% are involved in other occupations such as film production or research. Another 20% of the respondents identified themselves as full time students. The remaining 13% were equally split between homemakers and unemployed individuals actively looking for work. Thus, for the most part, the work at the O.R.C.C. is done by women who are engaged in full time outside activities, either as paid workers or as students. There were no significant differences in occupational status between past and active members.

Marital status was examined to determine whether spousal commitments affect membership patterns either in the type of volunteer attracted to the Centre or in terms of volunteer retention. The data revealed that 40% of the respondents were living with a mate either in a marital (23%) or in a co-habitational (17%) relationship, 47% were single, 3% were separated, and 10% were divorced. The fairly close split between members who have a mate and those who do not indicates that spousal commitments do not stand as an impediment in attracting volunteers to the Centre. In addition, no differences were found in marital status between past and active members. Thus, the presence or absence of a mate does not appear to have any bearing on member attrition.

A second aspect of family status that could effect volunteer entry and/or continued volunteer participation is children. By far the overwhelming number of respondents (83%) do not have children. Of the five respondents who do have children, three have one child, the remainder have two. In addition, four of the five respondents who have children, are past members. Although this finding was not statistically significant, it does suggest that child rearing responsibilities may have some effect on continued membership.

Entry

One aspect of the study particularly of interest to the agency concerned is the volunteers' method of entry into the organization. Knowledge of this process can be used to ensure more efficient and successful recruitment of members. It was hypothesized that personal referral would be the most commonly used and effective method of recruitment. This was not the case. An overwhelming 73% of the respondents reported that prior to becoming members, they had not known anyone who worked or had worked at the Centre. Thus, personal recruitment does not account for a significant portion of volunteer entry into the O.R.C.C. In addition, of those respondents who did have an interpersonal relationship with someone in the Centre prior to membership, there were no noticeable differences in terms of retention.

When personal recruitment is used, therefore, it has no discernible impact on how long the member will stay with the Centre.

Recruitment was also examined in terms of where members had first heard of the O.R.C.C.. As shown in Table 1, 37% of the respondents first heard of the O.R.C.C. through some form of media exposure. The remaining respondents reported first hearing of the O.R.C.C. either through friends at school, or through the Ottawa Central Volunteer Bureau which is an agency specifically set up to provide information on volunteer opportunities. Interestingly, one in three respondents reported they always knew about the O.R.C.C. and were unable to cite specific sources for that information.

Overall, it appears that individuals hear about the O.R.C.C. and are recruited through a wide variety of sources. It is possible that this broad exposure accounts for the large percent of respondents who report always having known of the O.R.C.C.

In terms of past and active members, no meaningful differences were found with respect to recruitment. Thus, method of recruitment does not appear to have an impact on member retention.

Other Volunteer Affiliations

Consistent with the research literature, it was hypothesized that members of the O.R.C.C. would have a

Table 1

Breakdown of Source Through Which Respondents
Initially Heard of the O.R.C.C.

Source	Percent	Cummulative Percent
Radio	16.7 (5) ^a	16.7 (5)
Newspaper	13.3 (4)	30.0 (9)
Television	6.7 (2)	36.7 (11)
School	13.3 (4)	50.0 (15)
Friends	13.3 (4)	63.3 (19)
Central Volunteer Bureau	3.3 (1)	66.6 (20)
Always Knew	33.4 (10)	100.0 (30)

^aNumber of respondents in parentheses.

history of volunteering. This was not the case. For 40% of the respondents, the O.R.C.C. represents their first volunteer encounter. Another 40% have been members of only one other volunteer agency in the past. For the most part, therefore, members of the O.R.C.C. appear to be relative neophyte volunteers. No significant differences were found between active and past members. The data indicate that past volunteer experience or lack of same does not appear to have an effect on volunteer retention.

When concurrent volunteer affiliations were analyzed, it was found that 73% of the respondents limited their volunteer activities solely to the O.R.C.C.. Another 23% were involved in one other volunteer activity. This is consistent with the finding that O.R.C.C. members do not have a broad volunteer profile. Once again, no differences were found between past and active members.

Motivation for Joining

Working as a rape crisis counsellor is a demanding, emotionally-taxing job. Thus, it was hypothesized that individuals undertaking this work would have a personal stake in ensuring the provision of services. It was expected, therefore, that the majority of respondents would have been personally affected in some way by a sexual assault. To determine this, respondents were asked whether they had ever been a victim of sexual assault and/or whether

any of their family, friends, or acquaintances had been a victim of sexual assault.

Twenty-nine of the thirty respondents answered the first question. The one respondent who refused to answer stated that this was a question that rape crisis counsellors are often asked and that it was based on the stereotype that only sexual assault victims would be interested in doing rape crisis intervention. Further, this respondent stated that she found the question offensive in that it obscured the reality that the threat of sexual assault exists for all women. This respondent's position is summed up in her comment "whether or not a woman has been sexually assaulted, she is personally affected by the limitations and restrictions she is forced to place on her life to reduce the risk of sexual assault."

Of the 29 respondents who answered the first question, 38% had been victims of sexual assault. This is higher than would be expected based on the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women's (1985) finding that one in five females will be sexual assault victims. The slightly higher finding may be due to the rape crisis counsellor's increased awareness of what actually constitutes a sexual assault. Three of the 11 respondents (27%) who reported being sexually assaulted added that at the time, they did not consider it sexual assault. In these cases, the assault

involved emotional rather than physical coercion, or the force used was rationalized by the assailant and the victim at the time of the assault as being excusable due to stereotypical views of male/female sexual relationships. For these women, such excuses and/or the lack of physical force no longer were enough to deny that an assault had occurred. In 82% of the cases where the respondent reported being a sexual assault victim, the assault took place more than 4 years previous. No significant differences were found between the active and past group in their victim status. Thus, direct personal experience with sexual assault does not appear to effect volunteer retention.

All of the respondents agreed to answer the question concerning whether or not they knew a victim of sexual assault. Of the 30 respondents, 10% reported that a family member had been sexually assaulted, 33% reported that a friend had been sexually assaulted, and 3% reported that an acquaintance had been sexually assaulted. In two cases, the respondent reported knowledge of sexual assaults in more than one category. Because the interest here was with the personal impact of sexual assault, in these two cases the response assumed to have the most impact was the one coded. It was assumed that a sexual assault of a family member would have more impact than that of a friend, and a sexual

assault of a friend would have more impact than that of an acquaintance.

Interestingly, 55% of the respondents reported knowing of no one in their social circle who had been a victim of sexual assault. Given the Status of Women's (1985) finding that one in five females are victims of sexual assault, it seems likely that this finding should be interpreted as a lack of disclosure to these respondents as opposed to evidence that no one in these social circles has been sexually assaulted. Support for this view was found when the responses to this question were examined in combination with the responses to the question concerning which respondents had been victims of sexual assault. Of those respondents who had been sexual assault victims, 73% reported that someone in their social circle had also been sexually assaulted. Of those who reported never having been sexually assaulted, only 28% reported that a family member, friend, or acquaintance had been sexually assaulted. Thus, it appears that there is a strong correlation between being a sexual assault victim and having knowledge of other sexual assaults among one's social circle.

Because the majority of work done by members of the O.R.C.C. involves counselling, it was hypothesized that the majority of the respondents would be individuals who had considered counselling as a paid career. This appears to be

the case. Of the 30 respondents, 63% (19) expressed interest in entering a paid counselling profession. Hence, the counselling aspect of working at the O.R.C.C. may attract a large number of members who would like to work as paid counsellors but for whatever reason satisfy at least part of this desire by engaging in volunteer counselling activities.

Although the desire to pursue a counselling career may be involved in individuals' motivation to join the O.R.C.C., this desire does not predict volunteer retention. There were no significant differences between the active and past members in terms of consideration of counselling as a paid career. The data indicate that the desire to enter a paid counselling profession does not appear to effect whether or not a member will stay with the Centre.

In order to examine further the motivations involved in joining the O.R.C.C., three groups of responses were analyzed. The first involved the respondents' answers to the screening questionnaire item "Why are you interested in the Rape Crisis Centre?". This allowed an analysis of motivations prior to the respondents being involved with the Centre. The second analysis involved the respondents' answers to the study questionnaire item, "What was your main reason for joining the O.R.C.C.?". This provided an examination of the retrospective motivations respondents

listed after having worked at the Centre. Finally, to tease out the extent to which secondary motivations are involved in joining the O.R.C.C., an analysis was done on a group of items which respondents were asked to rate on a scale from 0 to 9 (see Appendix A, question #5, a-m). These items involved possible reasons women might have for joining the O.R.C.C.

Six categories were used for coding the responses to the open ended questions on volunteer motivation included in both the screening questionnaire and the study questionnaire. A group empowerment category included those responses involving statements such as "I wanted to be involved in the anti-sexual assault movement," or "The issue of sexual assault concerns all women and I wanted to be involved at the crisis level." A personal empowerment category was used to code statements such as "I wanted to conquer my feeling of helplessness" and "I wanted to gain personal insight into sexual assault." Statements regarding gaining counselling experience or using volunteer experience at the O.R.C.C. as a stepping stone to paid employment were coded as career reasons. Social reasons included all responses related to things such as meeting others or networking with other women. Responses that reflected a concern for helping others were coded as altruistic motivations. Finally, responses that focused on the

structure of the Centre such as a desire to work within a collective organization were coded as structural/functional reasons.

On the study questionnaire, after the initial question was asked concerning the main motivation for joining the O.R.C.C., respondents were prompted twice for additional reasons. It is not known how this was handled with the screening questionnaire but in the 29 cases where screening questionnaire data was available, there was a minimum of one response per case and a maximum of 3 responses.

As can be seen in Table 2, prior to acceptance as members of the O.R.C.C., the majority of respondents (55%) cited group empowerment reasons as the primary motivation for wanting to join the Centre. Many of these responses included references to sexual assault as a woman's issue that evoked anger from them. The prevalent theme was one of wishing to join with the collectivity of women to combat or at least confront the effect of sexual assault. The remainder of the responses (45%) were scattered among the other five categories. It is interesting to note that altruistic motivations as a first cited reason for wanting to join the Centre were found in only two of the 29 cases (7%).

Only one of the 29 respondents on whom screening data was available did not cite a second reason for wanting to

Table 2

Percentage of Screening Questionnaire
Motivation Responses

Motivation	1st Response	2nd Response	3rd Response	Cummulative
Group Empowerment	55.2 (16) ^a	25.0 (7)	35.3 (6)	39.2 (29)
Personal Empowerment	13.8 (4)	35.7 (10)	23.5 (4)	24.3 (18)
Career	13.8 (4)	10.7 (3)	11.8 (2)	12.2 (9)
Social	6.9 (2)	10.7 (3)	5.9 (1)	8.1 (6)
Altruism	6.9 (2)	17.9 (5)	23.5 (4)	14.9 (11)
Structural/Functional	3.4 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1.3 (1)

^aNumber of respondents in parentheses.

join the Centre. As shown in Table 2, although personal empowerment reasons for wanting to join the O.R.C.C. held the largest share of the second responses (36%), group empowerment reasons were still cited in one quarter of the cases.

Seventeen of the 29 respondents (59%) gave a third reason for wanting to become a member of the O.R.C.C. In these responses, group empowerment regained the largest share of the responses.

In total, 74 reasons for joining the O.R.C.C. were given by the 29 respondents. As shown in Table 2, the majority of responses involved either group or personal empowerment. Interestingly, although only 7% of the first responses involved altruistic statements, there was a proportional increase in this category in the second and third response (18% and 23% respectively). Overall, altruistic reasons accounted for 15% of the 74 responses.

The data indicate that prior to membership, group empowerment or personal empowerment are most often cited as the reason for wanting to become a member of the O.R.C.C. Although altruistic reasons are not often given as a primary response they are increasingly cited as a second or third response. This suggests that altruism is more often a secondary rather than a primary motivation.

No significant differences were found between the past and active members with respect to the motivations for joining listed on the screening questionnaires. Thus, initially stated motivation does not appear to predict volunteer retention.

A question on motivation was also included in the study questionnaire. Although there were no drastic differences between the first responses cited on the screening questionnaire and those cited on the study questionnaire, some slight shifts were evident. Group empowerment reasons retained the largest share of first responses on the study questionnaire. However, the percentage of these responses dropped from 53% prior to membership to 37% after membership. Notably, 70% of those respondents who had reported always knowing about the existence of the O.R.C.C., as opposed to learning of its existence through the media or other sources, cited group empowerment as their first reason for joining the Centre. Those who reported first hearing about the O.R.C.C. through the media were more evenly distributed throughout the categories.

Personal empowerment reasons were cited with about the same frequency, before and after membership with this category accounting for 13% of the screening responses and 17% of the posttest responses. Career related reasons increased somewhat in frequency from 13% of the pretest

responses to 20% of the posttest responses. Altruistic reasons were cited with identical frequency (7%) in both the screening and the study questionnaire, as were structural/functional responses (3%). By contrast, social reasons which accounted for 7% of the pretest responses accounted for 17% of the posttest responses.

Interestingly, the total number of responses decreased from 74 out of a possible 87 responses on the screening questionnaire to a mere 54 out of a possible 90 responses on the study questionnaire. Thus, it would seem that secondary motivations are not as easily elicited after the fact.

As can be seen in Table 3, group empowerment responses were cited proportionally more often than were other types of responses both prior to and after membership. Personal empowerment responses and altruistic responses were cited proportionately more frequently prior to membership while career related and social reasons for joining the Centre were cited with a greater proportional frequency after membership. No meaningful differences were found between the active and past members in terms of original or retrospective motivation. Thus, motivational factors do not appear to predict volunteer attrition.

In an attempt to clarify further the motivation behind volunteering at the O.R.C.C., respondents were asked to rate a number of items pertaining to motivation on a scale from 0

Table 3

Overall Percentage of
Motivation Responses

Motivation	Screening Questionnaire	Study Questionnaire
Group Empowerment	39.2 (29) ^a	33.3 (18)
Personal Empowerment	24.3 (18)	11.1 (6)
Career	12.2 (9)	22.2 (12)
Social	8.1 (6)	20.4 (11)
Altruism	14.9 (11)	9.3 (5)
Structural/Functional	1.3 (1)	3.7 (2)

^aNumber of respondents in parentheses.

to 9 with 0 meaning the item did not apply at all and 9 meaning the particular item strongly applied.

As shown in Table 4, the item receiving the strongest rating was the statement "I joined the O.R.C.C. because I wanted to help others." The active and past group rated this item very similarly.

The second highest rated item was the statement "I joined the O.R.C.C. so I could take part in social action." Past and active members differed slightly on this measure with past members rating this item as being more involved in their decision to join the O.R.C.C. than did active members.

The third highest rated item was the statement "I joined the O.R.C.C. because I wanted to put something back into my community." Past and active members rated this item similarly. Close behind this item in terms of overall rating was the statement "I joined the O.R.C.C. because I wanted to gain counselling experience." However, gaining counselling experience was rated as being slightly more important for the active members than for the past members. This trend was also evident in the next highest rated item "I joined the O.R.C.C. because I wanted to broaden my work experience."

The past and active groups also differed slightly on the next item, "I joined the O.R.C.C. because I wanted to put my personal experience to work helping other women." On

Table 4

Mean Rating for Motivation Items
in Order of Rated Importance

I joined the O.R.C.C....	Entire Sample	Active	Past
to help others	8.17 (30) ^a	8.2 (15)	8.13 (15)
to take part in social action	6.33 (30)	5.60 (15)	7.07 (15)
to put something back into my community	5.87 (30)	5.73 (15)	6.00 (15)
to gain counselling experience	5.77 (30)	6.60 (15)	4.93 (15)
to broaden my work experience	5.30 (30)	6.20 (15)	4.40 (15)
to use my personal experience to help others	5.20 (30)	5.87 (15)	4.53 (15)
to meet like-minded people	4.27 (30)	4.13 (15)	4.40 (15)
to increase my feminist understanding	3.7 (30)	3.0 (15)	4.4 (15)
to list counselling experience on my resumé	2.87 (30)	3.87 (15)	1.87 (15)
because my paid work was not fulfilling enough	2.87 (30)	2.60 (15)	3.13 (15)
to become part of the feminist community	2.63 (30)	2.67 (15)	2.60 (15)
to broaden my circle of friends	1.87 (30)	1.93 (15)	1.80 (15)

^aNumber of respondents in parentheses.

this item, the mean rating for the active group was slightly higher than that of the past group. The item "I joined the O.R.C.C. to meet like-minded women" was rated similarly by the past and active groups.

The next highest rated item, "I joined the O.R.C.C. to increase my feminist understanding," was rated by past members as being somewhat more involved in their decision to join the Centre than it was for active members.

The statement "I joined the O.R.C.C. because I wanted to be able to list counselling experience on my resumé", received quite a low overall rating. It is interesting to note, however, that it was on this item that the active and past groups were the farthest apart, with the active members having a mean rating of 3.9 and the past members having a mean rating of 1.9.

On the three lowest rated items, "I joined the O.R.C.C. because my paid work was not fulfilling enough", "I joined the O.R.C.C. in order to become part of the feminist community", and "I joined the O.R.C.C. to broaden my circle of friends", the active and past groups gave similar ratings.

Overall, there were no significant differences in the ratings of the active and past groups. However, two interesting trends were apparent. First, on the items that were related to career reasons for joining the Centre (see

Appendix B, question 5, items c, g, and j) the active members consistently gave higher ratings than did past members. Secondly, on the items related to political motivation (see Appendix B, question 5, items b and f) past members gave higher ratings than did active members. Although these differences were not significant, they do suggest that different motivational patterns may be involved in volunteer retention.

The Volunteers' Experience at the O.R.C.C.

Attitudes

It was hypothesized that members' attitudes would affect their decisions to stay with or to leave the Centre. Two sets of attitudes were assumed to be of importance; first, the members' attitude towards victims of sexual assault, and secondly, the members' attitude towards the Centre itself. The screening done by the O.R.C.C. is designed to eliminate those individuals whose attitudes are not compatible with the overall philosophy of the Centre. Thus, it was expected that all respondents would begin membership with very pro-victim attitudes. In addition, it was assumed that the desire to work at the Centre indicated a positive attitude if not toward the Centre itself, at least toward the work done by Centre members. Therefore, in order for attitudes to affect volunteer attrition, some

negative attitudinal change toward either sexual assault victims or the O.R.C.C. would have to occur.

To explore the respondents' attitudes toward victims of sexual assault the responses to three questions were examined: Why do you think sexual assault happens? What do you believe could be done about prevention from an individual woman's point of view and from a social/political point of view? and What percentage of people whom you speak/spoke to on the crisis line seem/seemed interested in helping themselves? As the first two questions were asked both on the screening questionnaire and the study questionnaire it was possible to look for shifts from pro-victim attitudes to more victim blaming stances. The third question, included only in the study questionnaire, examined victim-blaming responses in a more subtle way. The O.R.C.C.'s philosophy of self-determination assumes that sexual assault victims have both the ability and the right to decide what actions are in their best interest. A counsellor who accepts this philosophy would accept all clients' responses as being appropriate to the situation. The statement that a client is not interested in helping herself runs contrary to this philosophy by its implied assumption that the client is not behaving in a manner consistent with that counsellor's standards of productive behaviour. Thus, responses maintaining that a large number

of clients are not interested in helping themselves would suggest frustration with the way women cope with sexual assault. Finally, respondents were asked whether their attitudes or beliefs about sexual assault and/or the Centre changed as a result of their experiences as members. The responses to each of these questions will be discussed in turn.

The responses to the question "Why do you think sexual assault happens?" were coded into one of four categories. Socialization responses were those that identified such things as stereotypical female/male roles, or power differentials between women and men as setting the stage for sexual assault. A power/control/violence category included all responses that referred to sexual assault as a crime of violence in which a rapist uses sexual contact to exert power or control over his victim(s). Responses identifying individual traits of the rapist such as his background or disposition were coded in the individual rapist category. The final category, victim-blaming, was used to code responses that suggested women were in any way responsible for a sexual assault occurring. Each respondent was allowed three responses.

Prior to membership at the O.R.C.C., 45% of the 29 respondents on whom screening data were available cited power/control/violence reasons as their first response to why

sexual assault occurs. This stayed consistent after membership with 47% of the 30 respondents citing these reasons in response to the study questionnaire. The socialization category accounted for the second largest number of first responses both before and after membership (37%). Individual rapist responses were cited by 21% of the respondents on the screening questionnaire and 13% of the respondents on the study questionnaire. Although no respondents cited victim blaming reasons as a first response on the screening questionnaire, one respondent did so on the study questionnaire stating that sexual assault happened to women who presented themselves as targets.

Of the 29 individuals on whom screening data were available, 27 cited at least two reasons why sexual assault occurred, and 20 cited 3 reasons. In total, there were 76 out of a possible 87 responses. As before, the study questionnaire did not evoke as many responses. Only 20% of the respondents gave more than two responses. In total, the study questionnaire produced only 55 of a possible 90 responses.

When the combined responses were compared, some shifts were evident. Although the power/control/violence category accounted for a similar number of responses before and after membership (42% and 46% respectively), the individual rapist category which accounted for 34% of the screening

questionnaire responses accounted for only 20% of the study questionnaire responses. By contrast, socialization responses increased from 22% of the screening questionnaire responses to 33% of the posttest responses. Victim blaming responses did not differ significantly accounting for 1% of the screening questionnaire responses and 2% of the study questionnaire responses. Thus, it appears that membership at the O.R.C.C. has some affect on attributions concerning the occurrence of sexual assault. Although power/control/violence reasons do not alter significantly, the prevalence of the belief that personal factors of the rapist are responsible for sexual assault decreases, while there is an increase in the prevalence of the belief that socialization factors set the stage for sexual assault.

Recall that it was hypothesized that attitudinal differences would distinguish past and active members. Although past and active members responded similarly on the screening questionnaire, on the study questionnaire differences arose. Sixty percent of the past members stated that sexual assault was a crime of power/control/violence as compared to only 33% of the active members. By contrast, 47% of the active members identified female/male socialization as a major factor in sexual assault as compared to only 27% of the past members. Thirteen percent of both groups identified individual traits of the rapist.

Interestingly, the sole victim blaming response was given by an active member.

The second question focusing on attitudes toward sexual assault asked "What do you think can be done about prevention from an individual woman's point of view and from a societal point of view?" This question was asked on both the screening questionnaire and the study questionnaire and in both cases was included as a check on victim blaming responses. Responses such as, "a woman can prevent sexual assault by not wearing seductive clothing," or "by not leading men on," were not expected in the screening data as individuals giving such responses would not be accepted for membership.

The answers to both the screening question and the study question were coded into five response categories. Awareness responses included answers stating that women must acknowledge that they are potential victims and be aware of the possibility of attack at all times. An example of such a response is "women should train themselves to be aware of their surroundings." A second category included all answers admonishing women to be careful in practical ways. Home security, locking car doors, and not going out alone at night are examples of responses that were coded in this way. Self defence responses were those that suggested women learn to physically protect themselves. The fourth category

was comprised of answers indicating that it was impossible on an individual level for women to protect themselves against sexual assault. As with the other questions, respondents were allowed three replies.

Of the first responses to the screening question, 44.8% fell into the awareness category. This rose to 53.3% on the study questionnaire. The be careful category, which accounted for 41.4% of the first screening question responses fell to 26.7% on the posttest. Responses that advocated self defence decreased slightly from 10.3% prior to membership to 6.7% after membership. Although on the screening questionnaire only 3.3% of the respondents cited that it was impossible to personally prevent sexual assault, 10% stated this as a first response on the study questionnaire. As expected, there were no victim blaming responses to the screening question. In the study questionnaire data, 3% of the initial responses were accounted for by this category.

In total, the screening questionnaire data consisted of 66 responses out of a possible 87 responses had all 29 individuals for whom screening data existed given three answers. The study questionnaire data consisted of 73 out of a possible 90 responses. When the combined responses were analyzed, some shifts in attitudes were apparent.

Prior to membership, responses advocating that women should be careful accounted for 44% of the responses. This dropped slightly to 36% after membership. Self defence responses decreased from 23% on the screening questionnaire to 8% on the study questionnaire. By contrast, awareness responses rose from 32% prior to membership to 41% after membership. In addition, responses indicating that it was impossible to personally prevent sexual assault rose from 2% to 14%. Victim blaming responses accounted for the final 1% of the posttest responses.

Overall, it appears that experience with the O.R.C.C. has some effect on attitudes concerning the personal prevention of sexual assault. The prevalence of the belief that women must constantly be aware of the possibility of sexual assault increases as does the belief that it is impossible to protect oneself fully against this crime. In addition, the frequency of responses maintaining that personal prevention can be achieved through being careful or through learning self defence decreases after membership.

No significant differences were found between past and active members on this measure. It is noteworthy, however, that the sole individual giving a victim-blaming response is a past member.

The second part of this question concerned societal prevention of sexual assault. On both the screening and the

study questionnaire, the responses fell into one of three categories. The law category included responses pertaining to changing or modifying the judicial system. The education category was used to code responses that suggested increasing public education on the reality of sexual assault. Finally, responses proposing changes in stereotypical female/male roles or in traditional child-rearing were included in the socialization category. Although a fourth category, victim-blaming, was originally included, no responses fell into this category. As before, respondents were allowed three responses.

The analysis of the first responses to this question showed similar response patterns prior to and after membership. Public education, which accounted for 55% of the screening responses accounted for 53% of the responses to the study question. Changes in the judicial system were suggested by 31% of the respondents prior to membership and 37% of the respondents after membership. Changes in socialization practices were cited by 14% of the respondents in answer to the screening question and by 10% of the respondents in answer to the study question.

Many of the respondents provided more than one answer to the question. In total, 70 responses were given to the screening question and 77 responses were given to the study question. When the combined responses were analyzed, some

shifts were evident. Overall, 43% of the screening questionnaire responses suggested changes should be made in the legal system. This dropped to 29% in response to the study question. Public education which accounted for 41% of the screening questionnaire responses accounted for 48% of the study questionnaire responses. Responses suggesting changes in socialization practices were more frequent after membership accounting for 23% of the study questionnaire responses and 16% of the screening questionnaire responses.

Experience with the O.R.C.C. does seem to have a slight effect on beliefs about the societal changes that would prevent sexual assault from occurring. Judicial changes are cited less frequently as an avenue to societal prevention, while public education and changes in socialization practices are cited with slightly greater frequency. None of the respondents gave answers that in any way suggested a victim-blaming attitude. In addition, no significant differences were found between past and active members. This measure, therefore, was not a predictor of volunteer attrition.

Respondents were also asked "What percentage of people whom you speak/spoke to on the crisis line seem/seemed interested in helping themselves?" This question was included to determine whether past and active members view client responses differently. It was hypothesized that

active members would have a more positive view of client behaviour and, thus, would rate a higher percentage as being interested in helping themselves than would past members. This was the case. The mean percent given by active members was 77% while the mean percent given by past members was 59%. Hence, active members do seem to view sexual assault victims' behaviour as being productive more of the time than do past members.

Finally, respondents were asked whether their attitudes or beliefs regarding either sexual assault or the Centre changed as a result of their experience as members. An equal number of past and active members (47% in each group) stated that their experience as a member had not changed their attitudes or beliefs about sexual assault. Forty percent of the active group and 47% of the past group stated they had gained knowledge about the reality of sexual assault through their work at the Centre. The remaining 13% of the active members and 7% of the past members reported that being a rape crisis counsellor had given them an increased awareness that the victim was in no way responsible for her assault. Overall, past and active members did not differ significantly on this measure.

In response to the question "Did your attitudes or beliefs about the O.R.C.C. change as a result of your experience as a member?", 60% of the active members reported

no change as compared to only 27% of the past members. Twenty percent of the active members stated that the O.R.C.C. had proven to be a more professional organization than they had previously believed in terms of such things as the qualifications of members and the training given at the Centre. This observation was also reported by 13% of the past members. An equal number of active and past members (13%) commented they had been disappointed by the lack of political activities at the O.R.C.C. The remaining 7% of the active members stated that experience with the Centre had led to an increased awareness of the diversity of functions the O.R.C.C. undertook. This observation was shared by 33% of the past members. Finally, 13% of the past members stated that the number of crank callers received by the Centre had negatively affected their attitude. One past member stated "Although I still believe we need it [the O.R.C.C.], the extent to which I believe they do good work has diminished." None of the active members responded in this manner. Overall, fewer past members than active reported no change in attitude toward the O.R.C.C. and the past members more often reported negative attitudinal changes.

Crisis Line Data

Being a crisis counsellor involves a great deal of stress. Crisis calls, accompaniments and face to face

2

MicroD

counselling sessions can be very emotionally draining and a counsellor never knows what she will be dealing with next. It was believed that the stress factor may, at least in part, explain volunteer attrition. Thus, it was hypothesized that past members experienced greater stress than did active members. The stress factor was analyzed in terms of the number and type of shifts per month, the number and type of legitimate calls per month, the number of accompaniments per month, and the number of face to face counselling sessions per month.

Counsellors at the O.R.C.C. are expected to work two front-line and two back-up shifts every month for a total of four shifts. Front-line shifts involve answering the crisis line. Back-up shifts involve being available to answer the crisis line should the front-line worker be unable to do so for any reason. Thus, line coverage is assured in the event that the front-line worker must leave to accompany a victim to the hospital or police station or in the event that the front-line worker becomes ill. In addition, the back-up system provides a buffer against there being no front-line worker either through scheduling difficulties or through a worker forgetting she had signed up for a particular shift.

The data indicate that counsellors at the O.R.C.C. are not living up to the Centre's expectations. Overall, the respondents worked an average of 2.7 shifts per month. The

active and past members did not differ significantly on this measure with the mean for the active group being 2.8 shifts per month and the mean for the past group being 2.6 shifts per month. The past and active members also showed similar patterns in terms of how the shifts were divided. Active members worked a mean of 1.7 front-line shifts and 1.1 back-up shifts per month. Past members worked a mean of 1.6 front-line and 1.0 back-up shifts per month.

Given that neither the past nor the active members fulfilled the Centre's expectations of taking four shifts per month it is reasonable to assume that members of the O.R.C.C. believe that too much time is expected of them. This was the case. When respondents were asked if their work at the Centre took up more time than they thought it would, 60% replied always or sometimes. Only 13% of the respondents replied that this was never the case. However, as there were no significant differences between the active and past members' responses to this measure, the perception that too much time is expected of members appears to be a general complaint rather than a predictor of volunteer attrition.

Despite the fact that the time commitment involved in membership does not itself predict volunteer attrition, this factor may be involved when looked at in combination with other outside commitments. Potential members are asked on

the screening questionnaire to indicate their work availability. An analysis of this data found significant differences between the past and active group. As can be seen in Table 5, past members more often noted restrictions than did active members. When active members did state restrictions, these were most often regular restrictions such as day time work hours. In contrast, almost half of the past members indicated they had several restrictions on their availability. Thus, members who began their association with the Centre on the premise that the time they had to offer was limited were more likely to leave the Centre than were those who noted fewer or no time restrictions.

Number and Type of Legitimate Calls

The number of calls that each respondent dealt with was analyzed by tallying the calls recorded for each counsellor in the crisis call book. It should be noted that, at times, a record of a seemingly legitimate call would be followed by a staff notation that the caller was a crank. Often, crank calls are not as obvious as one would expect, and unless one is familiar with the scenarios used by particular service abusers, these calls are easily mistaken as being legitimate. As the interest here was with counsellor stress as opposed to the actual legitimacy of the call, calls were coded in terms of the counsellor's assessment at the time of

Table 5

Percentage of Availability Restrictions

Restrictions	Active	Past
No Restrictions	21.5 (3)a	0.0 (0)
Regular Restrictions	71.4 (10)	53.3 (8)
Several Restrictions	7.1 (1)	46.7 (7)

^aNumber of respondents in parentheses.

the call rather than in terms of after the fact information that identified or suggested the call may have been a crank. This coding system is not meant in any way to minimize the stress that can arise when dealing with crank callers. Service abusers can be aggravating at best and frightening or anger provoking at worst. This type of stress, qualitatively different from the stress involved in dealing with a legitimate call, will be dealt with separately.

The legitimate calls were made up primarily of incest calls, suicide calls, recent sexual assaults and less recent sexual assaults. Other legitimate calls not falling into these categories were made up mostly of information calls and referral calls.

In terms of the total number of legitimate calls, the respondents dealt with an average of 2.4 calls per month. As can be seen in Table 6, past and active members did not differ significantly on this measure. Active and past members also showed similar patterns in the number of incest, suicide, and recent sexual assault calls. The latter category involved sexual assaults that had occurred within 24 hours of the call.

There were some small differences between the two groups in the number of calls received regarding less recent sexual assaults. Active members received more of this type

Table 6

Mean Number of Legitimate Calls Per Month

	Entire Sample	Active	Past
total number of legitimate calls	2.41 (30) ^a	2.7 (15)	2.1 (15)
Incest calls	.16 (30)	.14 (15)	.18 (15)
Suicide calls	.10 (30)	.12 (15)	.08 (15)
Recent Sexual assaults	.20 (30)	.22 (15)	.18 (15)
Other Sexual assaults	.61 (30)	.77 (15)	.45 (15)
Other	1.34 (30)	1.45 (15)	1.22 (15)

^aNumber of respondents in parentheses.

of call per month than did past members. The remainder of the non-crank calls involved such things as information requests and referrals. Past and active members did not differ significantly on this measure.

Overall, past and active members were not distinguishable either in terms of the number of legitimate calls received per month or in terms of the types of non-crank calls received with the exception that past members dealt with slightly less calls concerning past sexual assaults.

Although past and active members were not differentiated in terms of their experiences on the crisis line, there were differences between those two groups in their interpretation of the experience. When asked what percent of calls were disturbing, past members reported almost twice as many disturbing calls ($M=22.6\%$) as did active members ($M=11.8\%$). Differences also existed between the two groups in the types of calls reported as being disturbing. These responses fell into one of four categories: calls concerning a sexual assault which had just occurred, calls concerning incest, calls concerning suicidal individuals, and finally, calls concerning clients whom the counsellor felt powerless to help in any way. Interestingly, the majority of the active members (60%) stated that suicide calls were the most disturbing whereas

the majority of past members (60%) reported that calls that made them feel powerless as a counsellor were the most disturbing.

Face to Face Counselling and Accompaniments

Often, the only contact a counsellor will have with a client will be over the phone. However, in some cases, where the victim requires more on-going or regular support, face to face counselling sessions are arranged. Some counsellors choose not to fit this additional time commitment into their schedules. These counsellors refer clients requesting face to face sessions to other counsellors. Thus, some counsellors seldom engage in face to face counselling sessions while others do so on a regular basis.

In terms of the overall pattern, past and active members did not differ significantly with respect to face to face counselling. Both active and past members engaged in an average of 0.11 sessions per month.

O.R.C.C. counsellors are also expected, on request, to accompany sexual assault victims to the hospital, police station, and/or court. This role involves not only counselling and supporting the sexual assault victim but also liaisons between the victim and the professionals with whom she is dealing. If the professionals involved are not sympathetic to or aware of the trauma caused by a sexual

assault, the counsellor must play a particularly difficult and stressful role. Not only must she support and counsel the victim, she must advocate on the victim's behalf in such a way that the situation is diffused rather than aggravated. Thus, accompaniments can be very demanding and emotionally draining.

The respondents performed an average of .07 accompaniments per month. Past and active members were similar on this measure with the active group averaging .05 accompaniments per month and the past group averaging .08 accompaniments per month.

Overall, the stress factor as defined by the number and type of shifts, the number and type of legitimate calls, the number of face to face counselling sessions, and the number of accompaniments per month did not significantly differentiate past and active members. Both groups were similar in terms of the number and types of shifts they covered, both the number and types of non-crank calls they received, the number of face to face counselling sessions they engaged in, and the number of accompaniments in which they were involved. The one exception was that active members dealt with slightly more less recent sexual assaults than did past members.

Aggravation Factors

In addition to the stress inherent in being a rape crisis counsellor there are also some aspects of the job

that can be very aggravating. When scheduling difficulties arise, a number of situations may occur. As mentioned earlier, a front-line worker supposedly has a back-up to whom the lines can be transferred should the front-line counsellor become ill, need to go out, or not be able to cover the lines for any other reason. In addition, the back-up is available for advice and/or support. Not having a back-up can, therefore, be very aggravating. Scheduling difficulties may also create situations where an individual who has signed up as back-up gets bumped to the front-line position because no one has signed up for this shift. It can be quite upsetting to be prepared to play a more secondary role on a shift and then be forced to assume the front-line role.

Finally, scheduling difficulties also lead to situations where a counsellor who has not signed up for either a front or a back-up shift receives a call from the answering service requesting that she respond to a call. This can happen when no one signs up for a particular shift, or when a front-line worker who does not have a back-up gets called to accompany. A counsellor may also receive a call from the answering service during the transition between the office staff handing the lines to the service and the front line worker picking up the lines. Regardless of the circumstances, it can be unnerving to respond to calls unprepared.

In addition to the aggravation arising from scheduling problems, counsellors must also deal with the aggravation of crank callers. These calls can be disturbing for a number of reasons. First, a counsellor may spend a great deal of time talking to a crank caller before discovering that the call is not legitimate. If there is any doubt, the counsellor must respond as she would to a serious caller. Secondly, cranks often call during the night. Although counsellors are prepared to have their sleep interrupted to help someone in crisis, it can be very annoying to be awakened by a crank. Finally, many service abusers are obnoxious and irritating.

In large part, the aggravation factor inherent in being a rape crisis counsellor cannot be avoided. Counsellors must learn to live with this aspect of the job. An individual's ability to cope with this aspect may determine whether or not she remains as a rape crisis counsellor. Individual coping abilities are difficult to determine. However, it is possible to examine the extent to which the number of aggravating experiences with which members had to cope differed. It was hypothesized that past members would have more frequently confronted aggravating situations than would active members.

In terms of aggravating situations arising from scheduling difficulties, there were no significant

differences between the active and past group. The active members were put in a position of answering the crisis line with no back-up an average of once every three months. The past members were put in this position an average of once every four months. Active members were bumped from back-up to front line an average of once every six and $\frac{1}{2}$ months. Past members confronted this an average of once every seven months. The active members received off shift calls from the answering service an average of once every seven months. The past members had similar experiences averaging once every eight months. Thus, with respect to the aggravation factor arising due to scheduling difficulties, past and active members had very similar experiences.

When the aggravation factor was examined with respect to the number of crank calls received per month, the past and active members again had similar experiences. The active members dealt with an average of 1.9 crank callers per month. The past members dealt with an average of 2.1 crank callers per month.

Despite the fact that active and past members dealt with a similar number of crank callers, their perceptions differed. When asked to estimate the percent of calls that were cranks, the past members mean estimate was 35% of the calls while the active members' mean estimate was 27%. Both groups grossly overestimated. Data from the log indicate

that crank callers represent only 16% of the calls. That the past members' group would overestimate by the amount they did is noteworthy. Unfortunately, it is not known whether this phenomena indicates that the past members were more bothered by cranks reflected in a tendency to believe they are more prevalent than they are, or whether retrospectively, crank callers stand out more than do legitimate callers.

Based on the results of the data analysis the hypothesis that past members were confronted by aggravating situations more frequently than active members was not confirmed. Both groups appear to have shared very similar experiences with respect to this factor.

The Working Environment

As was mentioned earlier, a call forwarding system allows counsellors to answer the crisis line from their home. This system increases the security of members in that crank callers do not know the location of the counsellor. In addition, this arrangement allows counsellors to remain in the comfort of their own home. On a quiet night, the front-line counsellor can continue with her own routine perhaps even getting an uninterrupted night of sleep.

Despite these advantages, some individuals may dislike call forwarding. Working out of the home can be quite isolating at times. Further, when call forwarding is in

use, both the crisis line number and the counsellor's personal number are answered on the same phone. Thus, the counsellor's home phone is often tied up with crisis calls and personal calls, when they do get through, must be kept short to minimize disruption of the crisis line service. This system, because of both the in-coming crisis calls and the restriction on personal calls can be very disruptive to other household members.

Whether the advantages of working out of the home outweigh the disadvantages of the call forwarding system depend largely on individual preference and/or circumstance. It was hypothesized that past members would be less apt to report that they enjoyed working alone and working out of their home than would active members and would be more apt to report that other household members found the crisis line disruptive.

There was some indication that this is the case. Of the past members, 47% rarely or never liked working alone as compared to 27% of the active members. Twenty percent of the past members did not like working from their home as compared to only 7% of the active members. Of the 12 past members who did not live alone, 50% reported that other household members found the crisis line disruptive as compared to 39% of the 13 active members who did not live alone. These results demonstrate a pattern in which past

members report greater dissatisfaction with the working environment created by the call forwarding system.

The Counselling Task

As stated previously, before an O.R.C.C. member is allowed to counsel she must successfully complete a training programme and demonstrate through an evaluation that she has the skills necessary to counsel sexual assault victims. Although this process satisfies the O.R.C.C. that each counsellor is adequately prepared to respond to crisis calls, it does not necessarily ensure that every member feels confident in her ability to counsel. Feeling inadequately prepared may lead to attrition. Thus, it was hypothesized that past members would be more likely to respond that they were not adequately prepared to counsel than would active members. This was the case. Only 7% of the past members stated that they were adequately prepared to counsel people when they first started answering the crisis line as compared to 60% of the active members. As can be seen in Table 7, similar numbers of past and active members reported feeling comfortable counselling after two weeks on the lines, four weeks on the lines, six weeks on the lines and more than six weeks on the lines. However, although all of the active members who did not initially feel comfortable counselling reported getting over this feeling, 40% of the past members stated that they had never

Table 7

When Comfortable Counselling
by Membership Status

When Comfortable Counselling	Active %		Past %	
Always	60.0	(9) ^a	6.7	(1)
Within 2 Weeks	13.3	(2)	13.3	(2)
Within 4 Weeks	13.3	(2)	13.3	(2)
Within 6 Weeks	6.7	(1)	13.3	(2)
More than 6 Weeks	6.7	(1)	13.3	(2)
Never	0.0	(0)	40.0	(6)
	100.0	(15)	100.0	(15)

^aNumber of respondents in parentheses.

felt comfortable counselling. Thus, past members were less likely than active members to have felt adequately prepared to counsel individuals when they first started answering the crisis line and were more likely than active members to never have felt comfortable counselling.

Those members who did not initially feel comfortable counselling were also asked what factors were involved in increasing their level of comfort. Of the active members, 83% stated that hands on experience was useful in proving that they could handle crisis intervention. This response was given by 64% of the relevant past members. Staff and back-up support were identified as helpful by 67% of the active members and 57% of the past members questioned. Finally, increased knowledge was cited as being a factor in raising comfort levels by 33% of the active members and 21% of the past members involved. Thus, for the greatest number of counsellors, experience on the lines was most useful in fostering confidence in counselling abilities followed by staff and back-up support. Increased knowledge, although useful to some, for the most part did not promote increased confidence levels. Overall, fewer past members reported that experience, staff and back-up support, and/or increased knowledge resulted in increased comfort with counselling. This finding is consistent with the previous finding that 40% of the past members never felt comfortable counselling.

A second issue related to counsellor's comfort levels on the crisis line is that of supervision. At the O.R.C.C., most supervision is provided after the fact. Following each shift, the counsellor reports her calls to a staff person at the Centre. Both the presenting problems and the counsellor's responses to the calls are discussed in depth. During this process, the counsellor is given feedback on her handling of each situation. If need be, direction is given on how to respond more effectively in the future. If a member is not comfortable counselling, it may be the case that this type of supervision does not provide enough support and/or direction. Thus, it was hypothesized that past members would be more likely to respond that the O.R.C.C. did not provide adequate supervision. In fact a higher number of active members (67%) than past members (47%) stated that the O.R.C.C. did not provide adequate supervision. Despite the fact that past and active members were not significantly differentiated on this measure, it is important to note that 57% of the total respondents reported that they had not received adequate supervision. Lack of supervision, although not tied to volunteer attrition, does seem to be a general complaint shared by the majority of Centre members.

Of those who stated there was not adequate supervision, the majority (62%) had been most disturbed by calls which

made them feel powerless to help. This would indicate that the after the fact supervision is not effective in reducing some counsellors' feelings of inadequacy.

It is possible that dissatisfaction with the existing supervision reflects problems with internal dynamics rather than problems inherent in the system itself. Thus, respondents were asked whether they felt comfortable discussing their calls with the paid staff. Overall, 70% of the respondents responded that they were. However, when the responses were examined in terms of membership status, some interesting differences were evident. In the active members' group, 93% of the respondents stated that they were comfortable discussing their calls with the paid staff. Only 47% of the past members responded in kind. Thus, past members were much more likely than active members to report discomfort with their interactions with staff.

When asked to specify the reason(s) for the lack of comfort discussing calls with staff, 100% of the respondents who had indicated discomfort (N=9) cited staff attitudes. The most usual comments centred on staff responses that were judgemental or non-supportive. Personality conflicts were identified as a primary factor by 33% of these respondents.

A second line of support and/or supervision for front-line counsellors is provided through the back-up system. Front-line counsellors are encouraged to call their

back-up after difficult calls to receive feed-back and support. When asked if they were comfortable using the back-up system, 73% of the respondents replied that they were. There were slight differences between the past and active groups' responses with 87% of the active members reporting that they were comfortable using the back-up system as compared to only 60% of the past members.

Of the past respondents who stated that they were not comfortable calling their back-up, 67% (N=4) reported that the lack of comfort was due to bad experiences encountered when using the back-up system. For the most part, these negative experiences involved a back-up being non-supportive or even irritated that the front-line worker had called. None of the active members cited bad experiences as a reason for their lack of comfort calling their back-up.

In the past members group, 33% (N=2) of those stating they were not comfortable with the back-up system reported that this lack of comfort stemmed from the fact that most often they did not know who their back-up was. It is the responsibility of the back-up to call and identify herself to the front-line worker at the beginning of the shift. These respondents indicated that back-up workers often failed to do this which left the front-line worker on her own unless she took action to find out who her back-up was. One of the two active members who reported not being

comfortable with the back-up system also identified lack of check-in as a problem.

Finally, both of the active members (100%) and one of the past members (17%) who stated they were not comfortable using the back-up system cited a lack of confidence in the back-ups. These respondents stated that the back-up was often no more and sometimes less experienced than themselves. This resulted in a lack of confidence in the back-up's ability to provide adequate feed back and/or support.

The counsellors' comfort level on the crisis line was also examined in terms of their perceptions of what they accomplished when dealing with clients. As can be seen in Table 8, overall, when asked the extent to which they believed they were doing/had done a good job, active members were more likely than were past members to express confidence in the quality of their work.

Respondents were also asked to respond to the statement "I feel/felt like I was helping others." One in three active members stated they always helped others as compared to one in five among past members. This same proportion of past members stated they rarely or never help those whom they counselled. None of the active members replied in this way. Although the difference was not statistically significant, the past members once again demonstrated that

Table 8

Responses to "I was doing a good job"

	Active %	Past %	Combined %
Always	46.7 (7) ^a	6.7 (1)	26.7 (8)
Sometimes	53.3 (8)	73.3 (11)	63.3 (19)
Rarely	0.0 (0)	13.3 (2)	6.7 (2)
Never	0.0 (0)	6.7 (1)	3.3 (1)
	100.0 (15)	100.0 (15)	100.0 (30)

^aNumber of respondents in parentheses.

overall, this ~~group~~ did not feel as good about their efforts on lines as did the active members.

This trend was also evident in the responses to the question "What percentage of people that you speak/spoke to on the crisis line do you believe you help/helped?" The active group's mean response was 77%. The past group's mean response was 54%. This data provides further support that the past group did not believe they were as effective as did the active group.

The responses estimating the percent of clients helped are of course, quite subjective. Often a counsellor will speak to an individual only once or twice. The lack of follow-up contact often precludes feedback from the client regarding how helpful the counsellor has been. It may be the case that active and past members differ in the extent to which they need client feedback to determine how helpful their efforts have been. Thus, it was hypothesized that past members would be more likely to express a desire for more follow-up than would active members. This was not the case. Eighty percent of the active members and 73% of the past members stated that they would like to have more client follow-up. This indicates that the desire for more extensive follow-up is one shared by the majority of Centre members (77%) rather than a desire specific to or more prevalent among the past members.

When asked to rate the importance of the work done by O.R.C.C. members, 100% of the active members stated that the work was very important. This view was shared by 73% of the past members. The remaining 27% stated that the work done by O.R.C.C. members was somewhat important. Although the difference in responses between the past and active members was not statistically significant, it is interesting to note that the less than enthusiastic responses were all given by past members.

Sense of Community

To determine the extent to which a sense of community exists among members of the O.R.C.C. a number of questions were included in the study related to the contact with and feeling towards other members.

When asked whether there was enough contact with other members only 33% of the respondents replied that this was always the case. Another 27% of the respondents stated that there was sometimes enough contact with the other members. The remaining 40% reported that there was rarely or never enough member contact. Past and active members were almost identical in their response patterns. Thus, the complaint voiced by almost half of the respondents that there is not enough contact with other members does not predict member attrition.

It is possible that lack of member contact is due to members not taking advantage of the opportunity for contact

provided by the Centre. Each respondent was asked how often they attend/had attended the monthly counselling meetings. As can be seen in Table 9, the majority of respondents reported attending all or some of the meetings. Past and active members did not differ significantly in their reported attendance patterns. Thus, it appears that, to a large extent, members do take advantage of opportunities provided for member contact.

As shown in Table 10, when asked if they enjoyed spending time with other members, the majority of respondents stated that this was always or sometimes the case. Only a small percent of the respondents reported rarely enjoying spending time with other members and none of the respondents replied that they never enjoyed spending time with the other members. Interestingly, 47% of the past members as compared to 27% of the active members reported that they always enjoyed spending time with other members. This difference, however, was not statistically significant.

To determine the sense of connection that existed between members, each respondent was asked to respond to the statement "I feel/felt close to most of the other members." Only 7% of the respondents replied that this was always the case. Another 53% stated that they sometimes felt close to the other members. The remaining 40% reported rarely or

Table 9

Counselling Collectives Attended

	Active %	Past %	Combined %
All	33.3(5)	46.7(7) ^a	40.0(12)
Some	46.7(7)	40.0(6)	43.3(13)
A Few	13.3(2)	6.7(1)	10.0(3)
None	6.7(1)	6.7(1)	6.7(2)

^aNumber of respondents in parentheses.

Table 10

Enjoyed Spending Time with Other Members

	Active %	Past %	Combined %
Always	26.7(4) ^a	46.7(7)	36.7(11)
Sometimes	60.0(9)	33.3(5)	46.7(14)
Rarely	13.3(2)	20.0(2)	16.7(5)
Never	0.0(0)	0.0(0)	0.0(0)
	100.0(15)	100.0(15)	100.0(3)

^aNumber of respondents in parentheses.

never feeling close to the other members. The active and past members were similar in their response patterns.

To determine further the extent to which a sense of community exists at the O.R.C.C., respondents were asked whether they felt like they really belonged to the group. It was hypothesized that past members would be more likely than active members to report rarely or never feeling like they belonged to the group. As shown in Table 11, less than one third of the respondents reported always feeling like they belonged. In addition, twice as many active as past members responded this way. The largest proportion of respondents stated that they sometimes felt like they belonged to the group. It is interesting to note that slightly more active than past members reported rarely or never feeling like they belonged to the group. Thus, feelings of alienation although limited to a few respondents were, contrary to expectations, just as prevalent among active members.

Finally, to determine the level of intimacy members achieved at the O.R.C.C., each respondent was asked whether they had developed friendships with any other members. It was hypothesized that active members would be more likely than past members to report having developed friendships. This was not the case. Only 40% of the active members stated that they had gained a friendship as compared to

Table 11

Responses to "I Felt Like I Really Belonged to the Group"

	Active %	Past %	Combined %
Always	40.0(6) ^a	20.0(3)	30.0(9)
Sometimes	33.3(5)	60.0(9)	46.7(14)
Rarely	26.7(4)	13.3(2)	20.0(6)
Never	0.0(0)	6.7(1)	3.3(1)
	100.0(15)	100.0(15)	100.0(15)

^aNumber of respondents in parentheses.

67% of the past members. This difference was not statistically significant. The formation of a friendship does not appear, therefore, to prevent volunteer attrition.

The Agency

In addition to being interested in whether a strong sense of community exists between members at the O.R.C.C., the study was also interested in determining how respondents perceived the agency/member interaction.

As can be seen in Table 12, when respondents were asked whether they had enough say in decision-making at the Centre, although the majority of respondents replied that this was always or sometimes the case, 40% replied that they rarely or never had enough say in the decision-making process. The similar responses between the past and active members indicates that lack of involvement in decision-making is a general rather than a group specific complaint.

Respondents were also asked whether they understood the meetings. This question was included to determine whether issues were clearly presented and understood by members. The vast majority of respondents (63%) stated that they always understood discussions at meetings. Another 33% stated that they sometimes understood what was being discussed. The remaining 3% stated that discussions at meetings were never understood. Past and active members did not differ significantly in their responses.

Table 12

Enough Say in Decision-Making

	Active %	Past %	Combined %
Always	46.7(7) ^a	26.7(4)	36.7(11)
Sometimes	20.0(3)	33.3(5)	26.7(8)
Rarely	26.7(4)	33.3(5)	30.0(9)
Never	6.6(1)	6.7(1)	6.7(2)
	100.0(15)	100.0(15)	100.0(30)

^aNumber of respondents in parentheses.

When asked whether the O.R.C.C. was run by a small group of women who did not welcome new-comers into their group 87% of the respondents replied that this was rarely or never the case. Interestingly, 20% of the active members as compared to only 3% of the past members replied that this was always or sometimes the case.

In terms of the approach the Centre takes in dealing with relevant issues, 57% of the respondents stated that they always agreed with the direction taken and 43% stated they sometimes agreed. Past members were slightly more negative than active members with 47% of the past members and 67% of the active members reporting always agreeing with the approach and 53% of the past members and 33% of the active members reporting sometimes agreeing with the approach. This difference, however, was not statistically significant. When asked if the O.R.C.C. was too political, 87% of the respondents replied that this was rarely or never the case. The remaining 13%, who stated the Centre was sometimes too political, was made up entirely of past members.

Respondents were also asked if the O.R.C.C. was not political enough. Sixty percent of the respondents stated that this was rarely or never the case. The remaining 40% stated that the O.R.C.C. was sometimes or always not political enough. Consistent with the previous question on

politics, only 17% of the past members reported that the Centre was sometimes or always not political enough as compared to 23% of the active members.

There was an interesting trend in the data with regards to the question concerning the political activity of the Centre. Recall, that a large number of respondents were unable to specify where they had first heard of the O.R.C.C. stating that they had always known of its existence. These respondents were more likely to think the Centre was rarely or never too political. Respondents who first heard of the Centre via the media were more likely to think the Centre was sometimes too political.

Included in the study questionnaire was a question asking respondents what they believed to be the mandate(s) of the O.R.C.C. Three responses were allowed. In total, 70 responses were given. Of these responses, 43% identified responding to crisis calls, 31.4% identified public education, 24% identified political lobbying, and 1% identified long term counselling.

In the first responses given, the overwhelming majority of respondents (87%) identified responding to crisis calls. Of the 27 respondents who went on to identify a second mandate, 67% cited public education. The remaining responses were split among responding to crisis calls (15%), political lobbying (15%), and long term counselling

(4%). Thirteen respondents gave a third mandate. Political lobby was identified by 92% of these respondents with the remaining 8% identifying public education. There were no significant differences between the responses given by the past and active members. The analysis, both of the total responses and of the three sets of responses, indicates that the respondents believe the mandate of the O.R.C.C. is responding to crisis calls, public education, and political lobbying, in that order of importance.

When asked if the O.R.C.C. lives up to its mandate, 67% of the respondents stated that it did. Twenty percent of the respondents stated that it did not because, at present, the services were too limited. Many of these respondents pointed to the restraints on public education due to lack of funds. Others cited line coverage problems due to lack of volunteers. The remaining 13% of the respondents stated that the O.R.C.C. falls short of its mandate through its lack of political action. The response pattern to this question was identical for the past and active members.

General Aspects of Membership

It was believed that the extent to which members' expectations of the counselling task matched the reality of the work would have a bearing on volunteer retention. Specifically, it was hypothesized that past members would be more likely than active members to report that their work at

the O.R.C.C. was not what they had expected. This hypothesis was not supported. Forty percent of the past members stated that the work was what they had expected. Only 20% of the active members shared this view.

Of those who reported that the work was not what they had expected, 29% stated that they had expected to be involved in more cases where the sexual assault had just occurred. Another 24% stated that they had not been prepared for how difficult the counselling task would actually be. The expectation that there would be more calls and that there would be more social interaction were each cited by 14% of the respondents. Of the remaining 19%, half stated that they had expected more political activity and half stated that they had not expected to waste so much time with service abusers. Interestingly, the latter statement was made by active members only. In all other categories, there were no significant differences between past and active members' responses.

Based on this analysis, two points emerge. First, past members were not more likely than active members to report that their work at the O.R.C.C. was not what they had expected. Secondly, active and past members did not significantly differ in terms of their reports on the aspects of membership that were different than expected.

Respondents were also asked if they ever felt exploited or used by the O.R.C.C. Eighty percent reported that they had never felt this way. Active and past members were equally represented in this response category. The three remaining active members (20%) stated that they had felt exploited by the lack of support they were given around their counselling. This response was also given by 13% of the past members. Finally, one past member (7%) stated that she felt exploited by the amount of time she was asked to give the Centre. The data indicate, therefore, that the majority of members do/did not feel exploited by the O.R.C.C. and that past and active members do not differ significantly on this measure.

A second aspect of exploitation centres on the fact that members of the O.R.C.C. are expected to fulfill a very demanding role for no financial remuneration. In order to determine how these women felt about this, each respondent was asked whether she thought volunteers at the O.R.C.C. should be paid for their work. There were no significant differences between the past and active groups on this measure. Overall, 67% of the respondents believe that members of the O.R.C.C. should not be paid. There were two lines of argument used to support non-payment of members. The first and most prevalent theme cited by 57% of the respondents focused on the premise that payment of

volunteers would undermine the altruistic motivations involved in membership. One respondent stated, "the O.R.C.C. attracts a special group of people. If wages are introduced, this element will be lost." Despite the fact that these respondents did not believe members at the Centre should be paid for their services, there was some evidence of feelings of exploitation not by the O.R.C.C., but by society. For example, one respondent after asserting that members should be paid added "I think volunteers are often exploited by society. I want to give something back to the community but because of society's definition of work, what I do [as a volunteer] is devalued."

A second theme cited by 10% of the respondents, focused on the premise that payment of O.R.C.C. members would undermine the O.R.C.C. as an alternative agency. As one respondent stated, the volunteer aspect of the O.R.C.C. "keeps it from being a social service agency with traditional values."

In total, 33% of the respondents stated that O.R.C.C. members should be paid. Thirty percent of the respondents argued that the work done deserved a financial reward. Many of these respondents expressed resentment at the societal expectation that women provide their services as "a labour of love." Another 3% suggested that payment should be given to increase the commitment to ensuring full line coverage.

Thus, the data indicate that although the majority of respondents do not believe that O.R.C.C. members should receive financial remuneration, this belief is not universal. In addition, past and active members do not differ significantly in terms of their views on payment of O.R.C.C. members.

Lack of reimbursement for labour raises the issue of whether members identify primarily with the volunteer aspect of membership or with the work itself. To determine which was the case, respondents were asked how they identified themselves in terms of their role at the O.R.C.C. The label volunteer, was cited by 47% of the respondents. An equal number (47%) identified themselves as rape crisis counsellors. The remaining 7% stated they were members of the O.R.C.C.

As can be seen in Table 13, there were interesting differences between the past and active groups' responses to this question. In the active group, the majority of respondents identified themselves as volunteers in contrast to the past group where the majority of respondents identified themselves as counsellors. Although this difference was not statistically significant, there does seem to be a greater tendency for active members to focus primarily on the voluntary aspect of membership and for past members to focus on the task involved in membership.

Table 13

Description of Self

	Active %	Past %	Combined %
Volunteer	60.0(9) ^a	33.3(5)	46.7(14)
Counsellor	33.3(5)	60.0(9)	46.7(14)
Member	6.7(1)	6.7(1)	6.7(2)
	100.0(15)	100.0(15)	100.0(30)

^aNumber of respondents in parentheses.

To determine what members saw as being positive aspects of belonging to the O.R.C.C., respondents were asked what they enjoyed most about being a member of the Centre. Each respondent was allowed three responses. All of the respondents enjoyed at least one aspect of membership. At least two positive aspects of membership were noted by 97% of the respondents. Eighty percent of the respondents provided three positive aspects. In total, there were 83 of a possible 90 responses.

The analysis of the first responses given found that the largest number of respondents (43%) gave responses related to experiential growth. Included in this category were responses involving personal gain such as increased knowledge or counselling skills. The second largest number of respondents (37%) gave responses related to altruism such as "what I enjoy best about being a member is helping others." Social aspects such as the meetings or talking with other members were cited by 13% of the respondents. Political aspects such as lobbying were mentioned by 3% of the respondents as were structural/functional aspects. This latter category included responses such as "I like working in a collective structure."

Of the total responses, experiential growth again held the biggest single share of the responses (34%). Social aspects which ranked third among the first answers held the

second largest share of total responses (29%). Responses related to altruism accounted for 21% of the total responses. Political aspects which accounted for only 3% of the first responses accounted for 13% of the total responses. Structural/functional aspects remained the least cited, making up only 4% of the total responses. Past and active members did not differ significantly either in terms of the type or number of positive aspects identified.

In addition to being asked what they enjoyed about O.R.C.C. membership, respondents were also questioned on the aspects of membership that were not enjoyed. Again, three response were allowed. In contrast to the responses regarding the positive aspects of membership, only 87% of the respondents noted at least one negative aspect. Of those who reported negative aspects 73% gave at least two responses. Fifty percent of these respondents provided three negative aspects. As can be in Table 14, an analysis of the first responses found that the most commonly cited negative aspect related to internal dynamics (31%). Responses in this category referred to personal interactions within the O.R.C.C. Examples of these responses include, "The meetings were a drag," "there is no sense of community," "I didn't like the attitudes of some of the other members", and "the membership does not act collectively enough."

The second most commonly cited negative aspect involved the time wasted on cranks or inappropriate callers. This category was followed by responses either citing negative aspects of the work structure or citing personal dynamics. The former category involved such things as "the shifts are too long," "I get tired of being woken up in the middle of the night" and, "answering the crisis line in my home created hassles." The latter category included such things as "when you say you work there [at the O.R.C.C.], people think you are a man-hater or a lesbian," and "I hate always feeling guilty that I don't have enough time to give."

As shown in Table 14, negative aspects of the counselling task were cited by some respondents. This category included such responses as "The stress [of counselling] on the crisis line is a little much," and "I don't like not having all the answers or being limited in the help I can provide." Finally, a very small proportion of the responses involved process. An example of this type of response is "I don't like doing 3rd party reports."

As shown in Table 14, when the total responses were analyzed, although there were some slight shifts among the categories, the overall pattern of responses remained essentially the same. Past and active members did not differ significantly on this measure.

Table 14

Negative Aspects of Membership

	1st Response 8	Total Responses 8
Internal Dynamics	30.8(8)a	38.2(24)
Time Waste	26.9(7)	19.0(12)
Structure	15.4(4)	15.9(10)
Personal Dynamics	15.4(4)	11.1(7)
Counselling Task	7.7(2)	9.5(6)
Process	3.8(1)	6.3(4)
	100.0(26)	100.0(63)

aNumber of respondents in parentheses.

Despite the fact that no one aspect of membership was universally or even overwhelmingly identified as negative, the responses indicate that a few aspects are of major concern. Further, past and active members are not differentiated in terms of the aspect(s) of membership they view as being negative.

Respondents were also asked what three things they would do to improve the O.R.C.C. It was believed that responses to this question might shed further light on the aspects of the Centre perceived as negative by members. As can be seen in Table 15, the largest number of responses focused on improvements concerning the internal dynamics of the Centre. The majority of these responses centred on increasing member contact and communication. Other responses included in this category referred to increasing staff/volunteer contact and communications. Overall, the dominant theme was increasing the sense of community. It should be noted that almost half of the respondents cited an inter dynamic change as their first suggested improvement.

Expansion of services was the second most commonly cited improvement. Increased political activities was a common theme. Others suggested increasing public education, offering more support groups and expanding the provision of French services.

Table 15

Suggested Improvements

	Improve- ment 1 %	Improve- ment 2 %	Improve- ment 3 %	Improve- ment 4 %
Inter Dynamics	46.7(14) ^a	34.5(10)	32.0(8)	38.1(32)
Expand Services	10.0(3)	24.1(7)	32.0(8)	21.4(18)
Improve Training	20.0(6)	20.7(6)	4.0(1)	15.5(13)
Structural	10.0(3)	10.3(3)	24.0(6)	14.3(12)
Line Coverage	13.3(4)	10.3(3)	8.0(2)	10.7(9)
	100.0(30)	100.0(29)	100.0(25)	100.0(84)

^aNumber of responses in parentheses.

Training was a third area which a number of respondents believed could use improvement. An overwhelming number of these comments focused on providing more time for new members to learn counselling skills. Some believed that the training programme in its present form is too intense. One respondent stated she would like to see the training sessions changed so that they provided "a safer atmosphere to make mistakes."

Structural aspects of the Centre were targeted by a number of respondents as areas needing improvement. The majority of these suggestions revolved around making the Centre operate more collectively. Some suggested ways to encourage volunteer input while others looked at ways to lessen the distinction between staff, steering members, and the general membership. The common link in these comments was the encouragement of volunteer ownership of the Centre.

Finally, a number of the responses suggested changes in line coverage. The lions share of these responses concerned shortening the shifts. A few respondents stated that they would like to see the shift coverage improved.

In terms of the past and active groups, 2/3 of the active members cited internal dynamics as a first improvement. In contrast, the past members first suggested improvements were scattered among the five categories. This difference disappeared when the three improvement responses

were collapsed suggesting that although, overall, both past and active members agree in their criticisms of the Centre the active members view internal dynamics as a priority for change.

To determine how respondents felt overall about their membership, each respondent was asked whether the experience at the O.R.C.C. could be described as being very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative. It was hypothesized that past members would rate their experience more negatively than would active members.

Of the past members, 33% reported that their experience with the O.R.C.C. was very positive as compared to 47% of the active members. An equal number of past and active members (47% per group) stated that their experience could be described as somewhat positive. The remaining 20% of the past members reported their experience was somewhat negative. Only 7% of the active members used the rating somewhat negative to describe their experience. None of the respondents stated that their experience with the O.R.C.C. was very negative. Despite the fact that a slightly higher percentage of past members rated their experience more negatively than did active members, this difference was not statistically significant.

Finally, past members were asked why they had left the O.R.C.C. Of the 15 respondents in this group, 47% stated

they had left for personal reasons such as a change in family or life circumstances. Another 13% left the Centre because they were leaving Ottawa. Thus, 60% of the past member group reported resigning from the O.R.C.C. for external reasons.

Volunteer dynamics at the Centre were cited by 33% of the past respondents as being the primary reasons for leaving. The following are examples of these responses: "I didn't like working from my home," "I felt too much was expected of me," "I felt alienated from my co-workers," "The attitudes and policies went against my personal beliefs," and "I got fed up with crank calls." The remaining 7% stated that the O.R.C.C. expected too heavy a time commitment from its members. In all, 40% of the past member group reported leaving the Centre for reasons directly related to the volunteer experience at the O.R.C.C.

The respondents in the active group were asked if they had thought about leaving the O.R.C.C. Of these respondents, 53% replied that they had, to date, not considered leaving. The remaining 47% stated that they have considered ending their membership. The reasons cited by the latter respondents follow patterns similar to those who have actually left the Centre. Reasons external to the O.R.C.C. such as personal circumstances were given by 57% of those who had considered ending their membership. Reasons

directly related to the volunteer experience at the
O.R.C.C. were given by the remaining 43%.

Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusion

Volunteer Profile

One of the purposes of this study was to gather a demographic profile of volunteers working as rape crisis counsellors. For the most part, the findings of this study are consistent with the demographic characteristics identified in the research literature describing volunteers as well-educated, middle-class individuals under the age of 40 who work outside the home. The majority of the volunteers at the O.R.C.C. have university training, are between 20 and 40 years of age, and are employed in white-collar occupations. The study also found, as did Eliuk (1976), that the majority of volunteers are single. This stands in contrast to studies of more traditional agencies (e.g. Carter, 1975; Statistics Canada, 1981).

In contrast to Anderson and Moore's finding (1974) that the majority of volunteers have at least one child, the present study found that most volunteers at the O.R.C.C. do not have children. These findings coincide with Hillman's (1967) report that individuals with children under age 14 are less likely to volunteer. In fact of the five respondents who had children four were past members suggesting that child-care responsibilities in some way stand as an impediment to participation at the O.R.C.C.

It is notable that despite the fact that Centre members are all of an age where one would expect the majority to be

married and have children, this is not the case. It is possible that this finding indicates that the O.R.C.C. tends to attract non-traditional women. A second possibility is that the arduous time commitment involved in volunteering at the O.R.C.C. is more compatible with a single life style.

The women at the O.R.C.C., then, represent a demographically homogeneous group. Aves (1969) suggests that volunteer activities tend to be dominated by like individuals because volunteers tend to recruit their friends. This was not the case at the O.R.C.C. The majority of respondents reported that they did not know any O.R.C.C. volunteers or staff prior to membership. Group homogeneity cannot be explained, therefore, by volunteers recruiting from their peer group. As was stated earlier, it is plausible that many similarities between volunteers may be due to the heavy time commitment which may exclude individuals with dissimilar backgrounds. An alternative explanation is that sexual assault as an issue is most topical among young, middle-class, highly educated women. The fact that many of the respondents were unable to cite a specific source for first hearing about the O.R.C.C. suggests that members are drawn to the issue as opposed to the agency.

The commitment to the issue of sexual assault is also suggested by the lack of previous or concurrent volunteer

activities. Contrary to previously reported findings indicating that respondents typically have a history of volunteer work, the majority of respondents in the present study reported that the O.R.C.C. was their first and only volunteer experience. Although the lack of concurrent volunteer activities can be explained by the amount of time devoted to O.R.C.C. work, the lack of previous volunteer activity cannot. Thus, it would appear that for O.R.C.C. members interest in volunteerism is issue specific.

The hypothesis that members are drawn to the issue as opposed to the agency is also supported by the finding that most respondents joined to engage in an activity that confronted the impact of sexual assault. Secondary motivations for joining the O.R.C.C. also most often tended to focus on taking action against sexual assault either on a community or a personal level.

The present study's findings contradict Carter's (1975) data which indicate that altruistic motivations are most frequently cited by respondents, albeit, often in combination with instrumental reasons. Prior to membership at the O.R.C.C., instrumental reasons for joining were more commonly given both as primary and as secondary motivating factors. After membership, altruistic reasons were cited even less frequently. Taking action on a group level remained the most commonly cited reason for membership.

There were some slight shifts in the identified instrumental motivation after membership. These shifts may reflect a tempering based on experience with what motivations the Centre can fulfill. It is also possible that the screening evaluation responses were slightly biased by individuals who desire membership answering in accordance to what they believe would be a correct response. Finally, the slight shifts may be due to memory error as respondents were asked to retrospectively give their motivations for joining.

Although past and active members were not highly distinguishable in terms of reported motivation, a slight trend was evident. Active members rated career related motivations such as broadening their work experience and being able to list counselling experience on their resumé as being more important than did past members. By contrast, past members rated political motivation such as taking part in social action and increasing their feminist understanding as being more involved in their motivation to join the O.R.C.C. This suggests that personal returns may be more powerful in retaining members than are political returns. A second possibility is that the work at the O.R.C.C. the way it is presently structured is more conducive to meeting personal rather than political aims. Finally, it is possible that the volunteer experience at the O.R.C.C.

separates the idealists from the pragmatists. Perhaps those who remain with the Centre are more willing/able to adjust their motivations in accordance with what the Centre offers.

It is notable, that although altruistic responses were relatively rare in the open ended questions, when respondents were asked to rate motivational items, the highest rated item pertained to helping others. There are a number of possible explanations for this discrepancy. This item may have received the highest rating because the respondents believed that this was expected of them. The stereotypical volunteer supplies her labour solely for the benefit of others. The respondents may have wanted to live up to this idealistic, albeit false, image. Along the same lines, respondents may have believed that by giving this item a low rating they may, by implication, be stating that they do not want to help others. It is plausible that although respondents are more than willing to admit to instrumental motivations for joining the O.R.C.C., they do not want to be portrayed as totally self-serving individuals. The high rating for this item may, therefore, represent a confound. A third explanation for the contradictory finding on altruism is that altruism may be central to volunteerism but, without at least primary and possibly secondary instrumental motivation, altruistic factors will not move an individual to volunteer.

For some members of the O.R.C.C., sexual assault is a personal issue. The number of members who have been sexually assaulted is slightly higher than would be expected based on the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women's (1985) findings. It may, therefore, be a personal experience with sexual assault that draws women to this specific issue.

The members who had themselves been sexually assaulted were more likely to report knowledge of someone in their social network also having been victimized. By contrast, members who had not suffered a sexual assault were less likely, even in comparison with the Canadian population, to report knowledge of a sexual assault victim inside their social network. Sexual assault victims may be disproportionately attracted by and/or to other victims through common experience. It is also possible that through fear of misunderstanding or negative judgement, sexual assault victims feel free disclosing their experience only with those they believe have also suffered sexual assault. Those sexual assault victims attracted to membership at the O.R.C.C. may, therefore, be more likely than other sexual assault victims to make an initial disclosure. Thus, differential disclosure patterns rather than differential victimization patterns are suggested.

Although it is possible that having a personal stake in the issue of sexual assault due to first or second hand experience may draw women into the Centre, this factor does not come into play with regards to retention. Members are just as likely to leave the Centre regardless of their victim status.

Volunteer Attitudes

The volunteer experience at the O.R.C.C. seems to have an impact on individual perceptions of why sexual assault occurs. This shift was largely away from the belief that personal aspects of the rapist cause sexual assault toward a more generalized causation theory. These general causes retained a slightly different focus among past and active members. Past members identified issues of power, control, and violence as the root cause of sexual assault. Active members were more likely to focus on the socialization process.

These two explanations of sexual assault, however, go hand in hand. When pressed, those respondents who explained sexual assault as a crime of power, control, and violence would point to socialization factors as the root cause. The difference, therefore, lies not in the political understanding of sexual assault, but rather in whether the individual focuses on the crime itself or on the factors which precipitate the crime.

It is not surprising that O.R.C.C. members move away from the belief that sexual assault is caused by personality traits of the rapist. The O.R.C.C. training programme stresses the fact that the identification of rapist characteristics represents, at best, a myopic view of sexual assault and, at worst, obscures the true causal factors involved in this crime. It is surprising, however, that past and active members, given identical training and identical experience as crisis counsellors, respond in a somewhat different manner.

Focusing on the socialization of children may well represent a more optimistic perspective than does highlighting the power, control, and violence involved in the crime of sexual assault. The pessimism inherent in the latter issues could well fester feelings of inefficacy among members and potentially facilitate attrition.

Alternatively, peer pressure may explain the active/past difference. The O.R.C.C. openly acknowledges and, further, promotes a philosophy which identifies sexual assault as a crime of violence in which sexual contact is the means used to strip a victim of her right to self determination. Prevalent sexist socialization practices are seen as central in setting the stage for this crime. Undoubtedly, there is a great deal of peer pressure for all members to adopt this philosophy. Indeed, the public

education function undertaken by members is premised on ensuring a consistent message be given the general public. When individuals leave the Centre and, thus, remove themselves from the peer pressure, their views on sexual assault may temper somewhat. If this is the case, the response differences between active and past members reflects a post membership attitudinal shift rather than a discriminating factor in volunteer attrition.

The volunteer experience at the O.R.C.C. also seems to affect perceptions of assault deterrence. Consistent with the overall shift away from citing individual rapist personality traits as sexual assault root causes, members moved away from the belief that individual women could be protected. Before membership, respondents often focused on assault at a micro level, suggesting tougher jail terms for rapists and self-defense courses for individual women. After membership, those who still believed sexual assault was preventable prescribed sweeping changes in the socialization process and, indeed, a reframing of the underpinnings of the social fabric.

A number of factors may be involved in these attitudinal changes. As mentioned earlier, the O.R.C.C. promotes a particular philosophy of sexual assault. This position is presented throughout the training programme. Changes in attitude may be an indicator, therefore, of the

success the O.R.C.C. has in instilling their views during training.

Another factor which may be involved in these attitudinal changes is direct contact with victims of sexual assault. First hand knowledge of the details of sexual assaults may broaden members' perspective. The reality of sexual assault is far different from the sensationalized tabloid representations of this crime. This reality may impact on previously formed attitudes based solely on a theoretical understanding of sexual assault. Support for this position was evident when respondents were asked directly if their attitudes toward sexual assault had changed. Almost half of the respondents reported attitudinal change based on increased knowledge of the reality of sexual assault or, along the same lines, on an increased awareness of the innocence of the victim.

Interestingly, when attitudinal change toward victims of sexual assault was more subtly probed the past members did not show as much benevolence to victims of sexual assault as did the active members. Although past and active members do not appear to see the victim as being responsible for her assault, past members reported fewer victims being interested in helping themselves recover from the assault.

This more negative view toward the victim's behaviour may be involved in volunteer attrition. If a member does

not believe a victim is interested in helping herself, the member may question the merit of investing her time. Thus, the difference in perception between active and past members regarding victims' post assault behaviour may reflect differences in perceived effectiveness with clients. A high level of perceived effectiveness may be required for volunteer retention.

Differences in perception may also be the result of post facto rationalizations by past members. It may be easier to justify a decision to leave an organization if one believes the work being done is less than effective. Conversely, active members in order to justify continuation of the work they are doing, may be more willing to have faith in the effectiveness of their efforts.

Finally, a pro-victim stance is very much promoted at the O.R.C.C. Members who perceive victims' behaviour as less than positive may feel alienated from their peers. This alienation may promote a desire to leave the Centre.

The Work Experience

In terms of the work itself, the most notable finding was the similarity of experience between the past and active groups. Both groups equally encountered external or objective stress as defined by the number and type of shifts, the number and types of calls, the number of face to face counselling sessions, and the number of victim

accompaniments. In addition, both groups were equally confronted by aggravating scheduling difficulties and crank callers. This similarity of experience rules out the possibility that volunteer attrition is the result of particular members confronting stressful and/or aggravating situations more often than other members.

Despite the fact that objectively both groups can be seen as having similar working experiences, the groups differed in their subjective perceptions of the experience. The researcher could find no discernable differences in the seriousness or intensity of calls between groups yet the past members reported receiving twice as many disturbing calls as did active members. It could be that past members were more easily disturbed, and thus, experienced more subjective stress which resulted in their leaving the Centre. Thus, continued membership may be premised on an individual's ability to remain personally removed or unaffected by calls.

Alternatively, regular exposure to particular types of calls may render them normal and hence not disturbing. Leaving the Centre may provide ex-members with a different perspective from which to judge the details of calls. Thus, the difference between the active and past groups' responses may be correlated to leaving as opposed to causal.

A second area in which respondents' perceptions of the work experience deviated from the observable data involved crank callers. Both groups overestimated the number of non-legitimate calls. Involved in the alleged overestimation of crank callers could be less than complete reporting by members. When members report their calls to the Centre, the primary focus is legitimate counselling interaction. Many non-legitimate calls may, therefore, go unreported. This would not, however, explain why past members overestimated the number of crank callers to a greater extent than did active members. Again, the overestimation of non-legitimate callers could serve as post facto rationalization for leaving the Centre. If the assumption is made that the higher the overestimation, the more annoyed the individual was/is by crank callers, once again, past members appear to have a lower tolerance than do active members.

Apart from on-line experience, the actual working conditions of the Centre produce less irritation among active than past members. Issues of isolation and familial/personal disruptions were far less important to the active members.

Counselling

Of all the areas investigated in this study, the responses to questions about counselling most significantly

and consistently differentiated past and active members. The data present a picture in which past members are quite pessimistic about the counselling in which they engaged. These respondents generally did not feel adequately prepared for the task they were asked to do, and many never felt comfortable counselling. In addition, past members expressed lower confidence in the quality and effectiveness of their work. The consistency of this trend suggests that volunteer attrition is directly linked to feelings of inadequacy as a counsellor.

The Centre is dedicated to constant monitoring of counselling interactions between members and clients and even minor inadequacies are recorded and resolved. Not one of those respondents who reported feeling poorly skilled had so been identified by the monitoring system.

It is possible that those past members who did not believe they were effective counsellors were correct in their perceptions. Many of these same respondents also reported that they were not comfortable discussing their calls with staff whom they stated were judgemental and non-supportive. In addition, some of these respondents indicated that they had had a negative experience(s) when using the back-up system for support and/or feedback. These negative reports about staff and back-up counsellors may be indicative of an accumulation of negative feedback. If this

is the case, differences in past and active members' responses may reflect a self selection process in which less than able counsellors respond to negative clues regarding their ability to counsel and leave the Centre prior to staff members overtly identifying the member as problematic. Volunteer attrition, then, may serve the Centre's, and the Centre's clients best interests through the identification and resolution of inadequacies left undetected by the current monitoring system.

Alternatively, volunteer attrition may reflect a process whereby competent counsellors through lack of positive support from staff and back-up counsellors eventually get discouraged and leave the Centre. Self-motivating members may be able to get a sense of their competency with a minimum of positive external support and validation. Others, perhaps those less sure of their counselling abilities, may require a greater amount of positive feedback in order to feel satisfied with their counselling. If this need is not met, members being neither internally nor externally rewarded may leave.

A third possibility is that the past members' more negative perception about their counselling effectiveness may be based on higher expectations of what can be accomplished through counselling. If a counsellor's expectations are that in each case she will be able to

effect an immediate positive outcome, the inevitable results will be feelings of failure.

The unrealistic expectations among past members of instantly effecting positive change is suggested in their perception of what constituted a disturbing call. Whereas active members usually cited specific situations, especially suicide threats, as representing the most difficult areas of counselling, past members often identified calls as disturbing whenever they felt they couldn't help.

This helping role represented the focus of self-identification among past members. Although active members primarily saw themselves as volunteers at the O.R.C.C., past members identified themselves primarily as counsellors.

Perhaps as a result of these unrealistic self-expectations, past members were slightly less enthusiastic regarding the work done by the O.R.C.C. Thus, it may be that past members enter the O.R.C.C. with higher expectations of the results obtainable through crisis intervention and when these expectations are not met, these members leave the Centre discouraged with both their own counselling abilities and with the impact the O.R.C.C. has on clients.

Sense of Community

The volunteer experience at the O.R.C.C. does not appear to provide members with a sense of community. Although the majority of members take advantage of most

opportunities for group contact and report they enjoy(ed) spending time with other members, few report feeling close to fellow volunteers. It would seem, however, that the lack of a sense of community does not have a major impact on volunteer attrition. In fact, when looking at the sense of community as defined by friends made at the Centre, more past than active members had acquired a friend.

The Agency

Contrary to expectations, the members' perceptions about the structure and/or operation of the Centre do not have a bearing on volunteer attrition. Two major complaints were voiced by both groups. One in four stated they rarely or never had enough say in the decision-making process. The same number of respondents stated that the O.R.C.C. was not political enough.

Despite these complaints, both groups were in agreement that meetings were always presented in an understandable fashion and that the Centre was not run by an excluding group of women. Further, respondents were unified both in the belief that the Centre's mandate was responding to crisis calls, public education, and political lobbying and in the belief that the O.R.C.C. for the most part lived up to its mandate. Where it was stated that the Centre did not live up to its mandate, external factors such as lack of

funding or lack of volunteers were identified as the contributing factor.

Thus, for the most part, volunteers are satisfied that the O.R.C.C. is living up to agreed upon mandates and maintains a structure accessible to its volunteers. Members do want more input into decision-making and would like the Centre to engage in more political activity. The absence of these factors is not enough on its own, however, sufficient cause for members to leave the Centre.

Attrition Responses

Pratt (1980) found that volunteers stay with an agency no more than six months. In the present study, past members remained with the Centre an average of 8 months; active members had been with the Centre an average of 10 months. It is possible that these slightly higher retention patterns reflect a justification of the amount of time spent in training preparing for the counselling role.

Alternatively, the slightly higher retention patterns may be a reflection of the unusual shifts undertaken at the O.R.C.C. Only two active shifts are required per month. The slightly longer retention of members, then, may be the equivalent of shorter retention patterns at an agency where weekly shifts are undertaken.

Finally, it may be the case that the political commitment of members of the O.R.C.C. to the anti-sexual

assault movement may encourage retention past the point of personal commitment. Thus, differences between Pratt's (1980) findings and those of the present study may reflect additional time an individual will give due to political beliefs.

Consistent with Carter's (1975) findings, the majority of respondents cited personal factors such as changes in family or life circumstances as the reason for leaving the Centre. One third of the past respondents identified aspects of the volunteer experience as instrumental in attrition. By contrast, of those active members who had considered leaving the Centre, almost half stated that this was due to some aspect of the volunteer process.

It may be the case that personal dissatisfaction with volunteerism on its own is not enough to cause an individual to withdraw. However, where personal dissatisfaction exists, an external factor may more readily be seen as justifying termination.

A second possibility is that an external reason is perceived by respondents as a more valid reason to leave. Acknowledging that lack of positive feedback or reward was responsible for the attrition may be perceived by respondents as appearing selfish given the work being done at the Centre. Thus, external reasons may be used to justify what was, in fact, a personal reason.

Overall Experience with the O.R.C.C.

The work at the O.R.C.C. is often not what members expected. Many respondents entered the Centre expecting to deal with more immediate sexual assaults and calls than is actually the case. Others expected the counselling task to be easier than it is. Still others expected more social interaction or more political activity. Despite the fact that the reality often was different than the expectations, there was no evidence that members left because of this. Thus, either the discrepancies between the expectations and the reality are minor enough not to be of great concern, or members are flexible enough to adjust their expectations to bring them more in line with reality.

Despite the fact that the time commitment to the Centre is great, few respondents ever felt exploited by the O.R.C.C. However, some respondents do feel exploited by society at large and resent that women are expected to provide this service as a labour of love. These respondents believe that counsellors at the O.R.C.C. should be paid for their labour. The majority of respondents, however, believe that paying counsellors would undermine the altruistic nature of the work or would undermine the O.R.C.C. as an alternative agency.

The efforts of women at the O.R.C.C. are not without rewards. Respondents viewed such things as experiential

growth, social interaction with other members, good feelings from helping others, and the opportunity to engage in political activities as positive aspects of membership. In addition, some respondents were unable or unwilling to identify any negative aspects of membership. This does not mean that the respondents believe that the O.R.C.C. cannot be improved. The dominant theme in suggested change was increasing a sense of community among members. Other noted areas for improvement included expanded services and increased volunteer training. Finally, one group of respondents believe the O.R.C.C. should increase efforts to encourage volunteer ownership of the Centre. Although the past and active members agreed in the suggested areas for improvement, the active members more consistently noted internal dynamics of the O.R.C.C. as a priority for change. Thus, as members leave the Centre, the priority for change shifts from factors with personal impact to factors with more global repercussions.

The most interesting trend in this area is the similarity of responses given by past and active members. This suggests that although there are some shared areas of concern, nothing about the overall experience with the agency is directly responsible for volunteer attrition. Generally, respondents enjoy many aspects of being members of the O.R.C.C. Any differences in the appreciation of the

volunteer experience between active and past members were minimal.

Conclusion

One of the primary purposes of this study was to provide data which would be useful in developing recommendations to aid the O.R.C.C. in promoting volunteer retention. It is clear from the findings that the factors most relevant in distinguishing past and active members centre on perceptions of the counselling experience.

Many past members believe they were ineffective counsellors despite the fact that there was no organizational evidence that this was the case. Thus, it is suggested that the monitoring system currently used at the Centre is inadequate either due to its failure to detect problems or to provide skilled counsellors with positive feedback. An enhanced process could be formally incorporated which not only evaluates performance but also evaluates result expectations and the counsellor's perceptions of her effectiveness. As well, given the attrition rate suffered at eight months, it is suggested that a comprehensive evaluation dealing with these issues be undertaken at or before six month membership.

Secondly, the O.R.C.C. might consider taking preventative measures through the modification of the existing training programme. From the responses to this study, it is apparent that more attention should be given to providing trainees with a more realistic vision of the work in which they will be involved. This should include facilitating reasonable expectations of counselling results. Dispelling the belief that dramatic, immediate change will occur may lessen feelings of ineffectiveness and/or powerlessness. In turn, this may reduce the tendency of some volunteers to interpret certain victim behaviour as a refusal to help themselves.

It may be inevitable that at times, volunteers are left with feelings of impotency. Members of the O.R.C.C. share a strong commitment to victim empowerment, a goal that by times seems unattainable. The Centre has established a back-up structure to provide support and resolve feelings of impotence and inadequacy as they occur. It would seem from the results of this study that this structure is grossly underutilized. If the importance and necessity of this support system were stressed throughout the training programme, its subsequent use might increase. Close monitoring of this system, however, is imperative as some respondents suggested inherent problems with the system that simple encouragement of use may not address.

If the existing back-up system continues to be problematic, a more elaborate system of front-line worker support involving a pairing of novice and experienced volunteers could be established. Such a big sistering would provide consistent, familiar, skilled support. Additional benefit from such a pairing might include a reduction in feelings of isolation and alienation for both workers.

Finally, the responses from many past volunteers suggest that interaction with staff when reporting calls currently does not address the need for support and encouragement. It is suggested, therefore, that call reports from volunteers to staff involve not only fact recording and Counselling feedback, but also addresses the unfulfilled need among some volunteers for recognition and appreciation. This would provide volunteers with some external reward for what at present seems to be largely a thankless task.

These suggestions for the O.R.C.C. may also have relevance to other agencies. Despite the fact that respondents were motivated to volunteer by specific instrumental reasons, overall, they were extremely flexible in modifying their expectations to match or at least accept what the agency provided. For the most part, the interaction between the volunteer and the organizational/member structure appear to have little impact on the

decision to remain with or leave the Centre. The crucial issue in the volunteer experience appears to be self satisfaction with the task performed. Volunteer agencies would do well, therefore, to ensure members are provided with a sense of a job well done. It cannot be assumed that individuals will translate lack of negative feedback into an indication of competent performance. Volunteers need overt evidence that they are an asset to the organization. It is time to put to rest the myth that the opportunity to serve others is reward enough.

Chapter 7: Recommendations for Future Direction

The research on volunteerism has, in the past, treated disparate volunteer activities as equivalent in terms of the volunteer process. The present study represents an attempt to acknowledge that volunteer motivations, expectations, and experience may be unique to discrete volunteer agencies. The accumulation of further studies on various volunteer organizations will provide a basis for understanding which aspects of the agency and/or issue that agency is addressing are relevant in differentiating volunteer patterns. Once this is known, it will be possible to move from the examination of specific agencies to the examination of specific areas of volunteerism.

The present study dealt with an alternative agency. This agency is premised not only on a desire to provide social services but on a desire to take political action by creating services that reject the status quo. The results suggest that an alternative agency attracts non-traditional individuals whose interest in volunteering is issue specific. It is still not known the extent to which and the ways in which a desire to engage in political activism impacts on the volunteer experience. The opportunity to engage in political work is often restricted by the necessity of engaging in band-aid intervention. Reconciling idealistic beliefs with the reality of the situation must impact on volunteers. Through studying political

volunteerism, strategies could be developed for alleviating burn-out due to frustration with the pace at which political change can be accomplished.

It is also important to examine the extent to which political change can be accomplished through volunteer activities. Some respondents in this study stated that despite their belief that sexual assault victims desired and required the services of the O.R.C.C., as volunteers they felt exploited by society.

The lack of societal recognition for the necessity of alternative services provides the impetus for the creation of alternative volunteer agencies. In turn, the unpaid provision of the services may facilitate the very conditions through which the need can be further ignored at a societal level. Through research, innovative strategies could be developed to ensure that the provision of services by alternative agencies is not at the expense of political objectives.

Finally, an important aspect of the volunteer process is the impact that process has on users of services. This is an area of volunteerism that has been sadly neglected. Undoubtedly there are both advantages and disadvantages to dealing with paraprofessional volunteers. Through the identification of the benefits and limitations of volunteer provision of services from a client's perspective,

researchers could provide useful information on how best to increase client satisfaction. Part of this process could include an examination of the extent to which client needs as determined by the volunteer agency are congruent with clients' perceptions.

All in all, volunteerism may have great impact on those providing the unpaid labour, on the political process, on users of services, and on society as a whole. Thus, it is an area which warrants continued investigation. Volunteerism must no longer be trivialized due to its unpaid nature, nor heralded as a virtuous if somewhat benign endeavour. The existing and potential impact of this sector, both positive and negative, must be acknowledged and studied. Only then will volunteerism be accorded its due as a powerful force in society.

References Note

¹The Canadian National Action Committee was contacted to ascertain whether this group had passed a similar resolution. To the best of their knowledge, they have not addressed this issue.

References

- Anderson, J.C. & Moore, L. (1974). Characteristics of Canadian volunteers in direct service. (Occasional Paper No. 74-2). Vancouver: Voluntary Action Resource Centre.
- Aves, G.M. (1969). The voluntary worker in the social services. London: The Bedford Square Press of the NCSS and George Allen and Unwin Ltd.
- Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women. (1985, February). Sexual assault. (Fact Sheet 02/85). Ottawa, Ont.
- Carter, N. (1975). Volunteers: The untapped potential. Ottawa: The Canadian Council on Social Development.
- Chapin, H. (1977, October). Tapping the untapped potential: Towards a national policy on volunteerism. Ottawa: The Canadian Council on Social Development.
- Darvill, G. & Munday, B. (Eds.). (1984). Volunteers in the personal social services. London: Tavistock Publications.
- Eliuk, A.V. (1976). Rape crisis centres: Workers in Ottawa and Winnipeg. Unpublished master's thesis, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ont.
- Francies, G.R. (1983, Summer). The volunteer needs profile: A tool for reducing turnover. The Journal of Volunteer Administration, 1(4), 17-33.

- Henderson, K.A. (1983, Spring). The motivation of men and women in volunteering. The Journal of Volunteer Administration, 1(3), 20-24.
- Hillman, K.G. (1967, December). Volunteers in direct service: A study of their backgrounds and experiences. (Publication No. 1031). Chicago: Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago.
- Kaminer, W. (1984). Women volunteering. New York: Anchor Press.
- Kramer, R.M. (1981). Voluntary agencies in the welfare state, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Loeser, H. (1974). Women, work & volunteering. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Mulford, C.L., & Klonglan, G.E. (1972). Attitude determinants of individual participation in organized voluntary action. In D. Smith, R. Reddy, & B. Baldwin (Eds.), Voluntary action research: 1972 (pp. 251-276). London: Lexington Books.
- National Advisory Council on Voluntary Action. (1977, September). People in action. (Cat. No. S2-68/1978). Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.
- Naylor, H.N. (1967). Volunteers today - Finding, training and working with them. New York: Association Press.

- Payne, R., Payne, B.P., & Reddy, R.D. (1972). Social background and role determinants of individual participation in organized voluntary action. In D. Smith, R. Reddy, & B. Baldwin (Eds.), Voluntary action research: 1972 (pp. 207-250). London: Lexington Books.
- Pratt, D. (1980). Retention of volunteers: A first look. Vancouver: The Vancouver Volunteer Centre.
- Report of the National Advisory Council on Voluntary Action. (1977, September). People in action. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.
- Scheier, I.H. (1980). Exploring volunteer space: The recruiting of a nation. Boulder Colorado: The National Centre for Citizen Involvement.
- Sills, D.L. (1957). The volunteers: Means and ends in a national organization. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.
- Statistics Canada, (1981, June). An overview of volunteer workers in Canada. (Research Paper No. 26). Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.
- Tucker, D.J., & Devlin, S. (1984). An exploratory investigation of the voluntary sectors in Canada and Great Britain. (Report No. A84-2). Ottawa: Secretary of State, Policy Coordination Analysis & Management Systems Branch.

Valentich, M. & Gripton, J. (1982, June) Ideological perspectives on sexual assault of women: Implications for social work. Paper presented at the meeting of C.A.S.S.W., Ottawa, Ont.

Wilson, E. (1981). Women, 'the Community' and 'the family'. In A. Walker (Ed.), Community Care: The family, the state and social policy. Oxford: Basil Blackwell & Martin Robertson.

Appendix A: Study Questionnaire

Volunteer Questionnaire

Name: _____

Interview Date: _____

Time: _____

Status: Active Member _____

Length of Time

Resource Member _____

with Centre: _____

Past Member _____

Education: _____

Occupation: _____

Age: _____

Marital Status:

Single _____

Married _____

Cohabiting _____

Separated _____

Divorced _____

Widowed _____

Number of Children _____

Age(s) _____

1. a) According to the information at the Crisis Centre, you joined the O.R.C.C. in _____
19__.

Is that correct?

If no: what is the correct information?

- b) When did you leave the Centre?

_____ 19__

- or c) Have you ever thought of leaving the Centre?

If yes, for what reason(s)?

2. Do you currently participate as a member at any other volunteer agency(ies)?

If yes: which one(s)?

3. Have you in the past been a member of any other
volunteer agency(ies)?

If yes: which one(s)?

For how long?

Why did you resign?

Now, I would like to ask you some questions
about being a rape crisis counsellor. It's
really important that your answers be honest
regardless of how positively or negatively they
portray the O.R.C.C. The Crisis Centre will be
given a copy of my final report but they will
never be informed of what was said by an
individual person.

4. What was your main reason for joining the O.R.C.C.?

5. People often have a number of reasons for joining a particular organization. I'm going to read you a list of reasons people sometimes mention. After I read each item, I would like you to tell me the extent to which the reason mentioned was involved in your decision to join the O.R.C.C. To do this, I would like you to give me a number between 0 and 9, with 9 meaning this reason strongly applied in your case and 0 meaning this reason did not apply at all.

a) I joined the O.R.C.C. to broaden my circle of friends. (Remember 9 means this strongly applied in your case and 0 means this did not apply at all.)

b) I joined the O.R.C.C. to increase my feminist understanding.

c) I joined the O.R.C.C. because I wanted to gain counselling experience.

- d) I joined the O.R.C.C. because I wanted to help others. _____
- e) I joined the O.R.C.C. to meet like-minded women. _____
- f) I joined the O.R.C.C. so I could take part in social action. _____
- g) I joined the O.R.C.C. because I wanted to broaden my work experience. _____
- h) I joined the O.R.C.C. because I wanted to put my personal experience to work helping other women. _____
- i) I joined the O.R.C.C. in order to become part of the feminist community. _____
- j) I joined the O.R.C.C. because I wanted to be able to list counselling experience on my resumé. _____
- k) I joined the O.R.C.C. because my paid work was not fulfilling enough. _____
- l) I joined the O.R.C.C. because I wanted to put something back into my community. _____
- m) Did you have any other reasons for joining the O.R.C.C. that have not been covered? _____
- If yes: what were they?

Now, I'm going to ask you a few questions about
your initial contact with the O.R.C.C.

6. Before you became a member did you know anyone
who worked or had worked at the O.R.C.C.? _____

If yes:

- a) Did she/they work there when you joined? _____
b) Does she/they work there now? _____

7. Where did you first hear about the O.R.C.C.? ~~8~~

radio _____

T.V. _____

newspaper _____

other (specify) _____

Now, I'd like to ask you some questions about
your experience at the O.R.C.C..

8. What did/do you like best about being a member
of the O.R.C.C.?

Is there anything else you enjoy/enjoyed?

Anything else?

9. What aspect of being a member of the O.R.C.C. did/do you not enjoy?

Anything else?

10. Did you form any friendships with other members?

11. I have spoken to a number of women who are members of various organizations and have compiled a list of some of the comments they

made about working in a volunteer setting. I'd like to know the extent to which these comments reflect your experience at the O.R.C.C. After I read each item, I would like you to tell me whether the particular comment always, sometimes, rarely, or never describes your experience with the Centre.

Always (1)	Sometimes (2)	Rarely (3)	Never (4)
---------------	------------------	---------------	--------------

- a) I feel/felt like I am/was helping others. _____
- b) I agree with the approach the organization takes in dealing with relevant issues. _____
- c) I feel/felt close to most of the other members. _____
- d) I have/had enough say in the decision-making process. _____
- e) I understand/understood what people are/were talking about at meetings. _____
- f) I feel/felt like I really belong/belonged to the group. _____
- g) I work takes/took up more of my time than I thought it would. _____

Always (1)	Sometimes (2)	Rarely (3)	Never (4)
---------------	------------------	---------------	--------------

h) The organization is/was run by a small group of women who do/did not welcome new-comers into their group. _____

i) I like/liked always working alone. _____

j) I enjoy/enjoyed spending time with other members of the Centre. _____

k) I feel/felt like I am/was doing a good job. _____

l) There is/was enough contact with the other members. _____

m) The organization is/was too political. _____

n) The organization is/was not political enough. _____

Now, I'd like to ask you some questions about your work as a counsellor.

12. Do/did you like working out of your home? _____

13. Do/did other household members find the crisis line disruptive? _____

14. Did you feel adequately prepared to counsel people when you first started answering the crisis line? _____

If no:

a) How long was it after you started taking
the crisis line before you felt comfortable
counselling?

b) What helped you to feel more comfortable?

15. What percentage of people that you speak/spoke
to on the crisis line do you believe you
help/helped?

16. How regularly do/did you attend counselling
collectives?

I attend/attended: all of them _____
some of them _____
a few of them _____
none of them _____

17. Do/did you feel comfortable asking other
members, like your back-up, for advice when you
have/had problems with or questions about
counselling?

If no: why not?

18. And what about the paid staff - do/did you
feel comfortable talking to them about things
that happened on the crisis line?
If no: why not? _____
19. Do you think you receive/received adequate
supervision? _____
20. Do/did you wish that you had more follow-up
contact with the people you speak/spoke to on
the crisis line? _____
21. (a) What calls do/did you find most disturbing?
(b) What percentage of calls that you deal/dealt
with are/were this type? _____
22. How many times have you accompanied a victim to
the hospital? _____
23. How many times have you accompanied a victim to
court? _____
24. How many dealings have you had with the police
regarding a victim? _____
25. What percentage of the calls that you receive/
received do you feel are/were crank calls? _____

26. Why do you think sexual assault happens?

27. What do you think could be done about prevention
from an individual woman's point of view?

From a social/political point of view?

28. What percentage of people whom you speak/spoke
to on the crisis line seem/seemed interested in
helping themselves?

29. How important do you think the work is that
O.R.C.C. counsellors do?

very important _____

somewhat important _____

not very important _____

not at all important _____

30. (a) What do you see as being the mandate of the
O.R.C.C.?

3

of/de

3

(b) Overall, do you think the O.R.C.C. lives up
to its mandate? _____
If no: why not?

31. Overall, do you think the O.R.C.C. provides good
services? _____
If no: why not?

32. Do you think all counsellors at the O.R.C.C.
should be paid for the work they do? _____
If no: why not?

33. Do/did you ever feel exploited or used by the _____
O.R.C.C.?
If yes: in what way?

34. Is/was your work at the O.R.C.C. what you
expected it to be? _____

If no: what is/was different?

35. Did your attitudes or beliefs about sexual assault change as a result of your experience at the Centre?

If yes: in what way?

36. Did your attitudes or beliefs about the O.R.C.C. change as a result of your experience at the Centre?

If yes: in what way?

37. Would you say, overall, that your experience with the O.R.C.C. is/was:

very positive	_____
somewhat positive	_____
somewhat negative	_____
very negative	_____

38. If you could do three things to improve the
O.R.C.C. what would you do?

1.

2.

3.

39. Have you ever considered counselling as a paid
career?

If yes: what kind(s) of counselling have you
considered?

40. If you are no longer a member of the O.R.C.C.,
could you tell me your main reason for leaving
the Centre?

Where there any other reasons?

41. How would you complete the following sentence?

I was/am a _____ at the O.R.C.C.

Now, some questions just about you.

42. How old were you when you became a member of the
O.R.C.C.?

43. Were you working for pay at the time?

If yes: doing what?

44. Has anyone close to you ever been sexually
assaulted?

If yes: what was their relationship to you?

45. Have you ever been sexually assaulted?

If yes: How long ago was the assault?

46. Could you tell me a bit about your
educational background?

47. Do you work outside the home? _____

If yes: doing what? _____

48. Are you:

single _____ married _____ co-habiting _____
separated _____ divorced _____ widowed _____

49. Do you have any children? _____

If yes what age(s)? _____

Well, that's the last question I have. I really appreciate how much time you've given me and would like to thank you for being so candid in your answers. Before I leave, is there anything that you would like to ask me about the questions that you've answered or about the study in general?

Volunteerism

Appendix B: Screening Questionnaire

NAME _____ DATE _____

AGE _____

PHONE _____

1. What are you doing presently? And in the recent past?
(professional, volunteer, courses, social/political
groups).

2. Why are you interested in the Rape Crisis Centre? (If
sexual assault check recovery).

3. Could you give us an idea of your availability for work
at the Centre? (days, nights, weekends)

4. If you live with other people, would the phone be a
problem, would your monopolization of the phone be a
problem?

5. What do you already know about the Crisis Centre?

6. Why do you think rape happens?

7. Why do you think incest happens?

8. What do you think could be done about prevention, from an individual woman's point of view, from a social/political perspective?

9. What kind of feelings do you think a rape/incest victim might be feeling?

10. What qualities do you possess that would help a victim to deal with those feelings?

11. If a woman becomes pregnant as a result of rape or incest what would her options be?

12. What if the pregnancy is not as a result of a sexual assault?

13. What in your opinion is the difference in the motivation behind wife battering, incest and rape?

II (Scenarios)

1. You answer the crisis line and a woman tells you she's just been assaulted and wants you to go to the hospital with her. In describing her situation you realize that she works in the same office you do. She says she feels so ashamed she doesn't want anyone to know. What do you do?

2. A friend tells you she's been raped but she doesn't think she wants to go to the police about it because she couldn't handle the legal proceedings. What would you tell her?

3. You feel a woman should be referred to a professional counsellor. She agrees. What qualities would you look for in that professional?

4. You answer the crisis line and a reporter from the citizen asks for a comment on the "NOT GUILTY" verdict handed down by a judge that afternoon in a case involving a woman being counselled by the Centre. How would you respond?

III

Following are some of the functions performed by the crisis centre. On a scale of 1 to 10, how important would each of these functions be to you?

1. counselling workshops _____
2. statistics gathering _____
3. taking the lines _____
4. networking with women's groups _____
5. public speaking _____
6. fund raising _____
7. political lobbying _____
8. public education _____

Comments:

Screening by _____

END

|20·06·88

FIN