

I

Historical and Conceptual Background

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History of Associations and Volunteering

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A. Introduction

This chapter examines the history of the topics in its title, with major emphasis on the history of associations. This **Handbook** is very clearly about *associationalism* writ large, not about associations and social welfare only (Smith 2015b). The latter issue is one key piece of the total puzzle, but we aim to cover the whole range of association types and time periods. Volunteering seems to be a characteristic of our species, with *informal* (unorganized) volunteering probably going back to our origins 150,000–200,000 years ago. *Formal* volunteering in associations can only be traced back about 10,000 years to the origins of associations in which to do such volunteering (Anderson 1971; Bradfield 1973). Volunteering in formal volunteer service programs (VSPs) as departments of other organizations is very recent historically, only going back to the mid-1800s (see **Handbook**, Chapter 15). We know very little about the long history even of formal volunteering, since it leaves few traces and is seldom mentioned by historians until the past few hundred years.

The chapter is structured around major historical periods in which associations have existed, beginning about 10,000 years ago, when many human societies settled down in villages from being small, nomadic, hunter-gathering bands. Thus, we discuss associations in (1)

preliterate horticultural societies, (2) ancient agrarian societies, (3) recent pre-industrial societies, and (4) industrial and post-industrial societies.

Associations have left more traces than volunteering in the historical, archeological, and anthropological records. Many anthropologists have included descriptions of associations in their ethnographic accounts of various preliterate societies (e.g., Anderson 1971; Bradfield 1973; Goldschmidt 1959; Lowie 1950: Chapter 13; Ross 1976; Schurtz 1902; Smith 1997; Webster 1908). The history of associations (voluntary associations, common interest associations) is very important because associations were clearly the first form of nonprofit organizations (NPOs) to arise. They still dominate this sector in all societies in terms of numbers of separate groups and members/staff (e.g., Smith 2000: Chapter 2, 2014). Paid-staff nonprofit service agencies now dominate the nonprofit sector in developed/industrialized and post-industrial/service societies in terms of wealth, income, and influence. This latter, familiar form of NPOs arose thousands of years after associations and has come to prominence only in the past 100–200 years in modern societies (with the exception of major world religious NPOs).

The strict interpretation of the term *history* refers to *written* history. This chapter uses the broader interpretation of history as a thick description of all prior events. Further, this chapter is primarily concerned with social and institutional history and the history of daily life, rather than with political or economic history, although we do deal with some economic and political history also. We will begin, thus, with the *reconstructed history* of associations based on anthropology and archaeology, before going on to the works of professional and amateur historians. Our interest is in summarizing the interdisciplinary history of associations without concern for the academic disciplines of those who have contributed to this knowledge.

B. Definitions

This chapter accepts the general definitions presented in the Appendix of this Handbook. Various specialized terms for associations and types of associations will be introduced in context as they arise in the chapter text. A set of nine chapters discussing in detail the issues and alternative definitions of *voluntary associations* was presented long ago in Smith, Reddy and Baldwin's

book (1972: Part One). A recent set of definitions of *association* and related concepts can be found in Smith, Stebbins, and Dover (2006: 23 and passim).

The main problematic issue about defining an association is with regard to the voluntary versus coercive nature of individual decisions to join them. In 20th-century research, trade/labor unions and religious congregations have sometimes been omitted from the category of associations on the grounds that joining is either hereditary (in the case of religious congregations) or compulsory (in the case of closed-shop unions). That approach to defining associations has largely been overcome by current researchers and theorists, who usually include both religious and economic associations (such as unions, professional associations, trade associations) as **specific** purposive types of associations.

The problem of definition remains for associations in preliterate societies. In some, small, horticultural villages, which were independent societies, there was often only one association, usually for adult males. Hence, joining and membership were largely ascriptive (automatic, coercive). Such associations, whether unique or multiple in their existence, have been called *sodalities* by anthropologists (e.g., Lowie 1950: Chapter 13).

Other anthropologists and sociologists have referred to such associations as *common interest associations*, avoiding the issue of voluntary versus coercive/ascriptive joining and membership (Smith et al. 2006: 48). Lowie's (1950) review of prior ethnographic research on sodalities in preliterate societies makes it clear that two or more such associations were often present in a village society, especially a large village, making joining and membership truly voluntary. Research he reviewed also notes the presence of separate structures (buildings, in a loose sense) as *clubhouses* in various societies, as do other authors discussing sodalities in preliterate societies (e.g., Bradfield 1973; Ross 1976: 48–51; Schurtz 1902; Webster 1908).

C. Historical background

Because this whole chapter is about the history of associations and volunteering, this section is the main part of the chapter, and Section D, usually on key issues, is omitted. The various chronological time periods that are discussed below become the key issues in this chapter, answering the question, “What associations were present in various historical time periods?”

This chapter is an extensive elaboration of the kind of meta-history of associations first presented in Smith (1997).

1. Anthropology and the pre-history of associations in preliterate societies

According to Robert Anderson (1971: 209), “the history of formal common interest associations during the first million years of human existence lends itself to brief statement: there were virtually none.” He then qualified this statement by adding that, as Walter Goldschmidt (1959: 155–156) had suggested, “in a few instances a kind of religious sodality may have cut across band and family ties, as in the totemic groups of some Australian aborigines today.” He also claimed that “although rare, the common interest associations of hunting nomads invariably unite individuals in terms of religious beliefs” (Anderson 1971: 209). However, other authors have found evidence for the existence of different types of association among members of hunter-gatherer-fisher societies. Johnson and Earle (2000: 178) have described the formation of voluntary associations of whale hunters in Eskimo Tareumiut society, and Lynn Gamble (2002) has highlighted the role played by specialist associations of canoe builders (the “Brotherhood of the Tomol”) among the Chumash Indians of southern California – both being examples of preliterate economic/occupational associations.

One of the main problems raised by attempts to reconstruct the history of associations over such long periods is the lack of direct evidence for the most distant past. This has led previous authors, such as Anderson (1971), Bradfield (1973), and Ross (1976), to infer the extent of associational activity among preliterate societies in millennia long ago from more recent anthropological evidence. However, it is generally accepted that formal associations became more prevalent following the development of settled agriculture beginning about 10,000 years ago (Nolan and Lenski 2006). Because agriculture was very simple, essentially gardening, such societies are usually termed *horticultural societies*, in contrast to more developed agriculture of later *agrarian societies*, which supported large, ancient civilizations eventually (Ibid.; also, Johnson and Earle 2000). Smith (1997: 191) attributes the development of associations within horticultural societies to the fact that they were typically much larger than hunter-gatherer

societies, inhabited permanent settlements, and were characterized by greater craft specialization and more complex status systems (also, Nolan and Lenski 2006).

Various attempts have been made to develop typologies of voluntary associations, based on anthropological evidence. In *Social Organization*, Lowie (1950: 294–309) identified a number of different types of associations, based on examples of the pastoral societies with which he was familiar: men's tribal associations (including tribal clubs and tribal secret societies); more exclusive secret societies; exclusive clubs for the elite but not practicing secrecy; age classes/associations (including separate associations for spinsters and bachelors); and economic sodalities (including different types of guilds/associations for workers in different economic specialties). However, Smith (1997: 192) has questioned whether many *tribal associations* or *exclusive clubs* can really be regarded as *voluntary* associations (vs often *compulsory* common interest associations) and also on the extent to which we can extrapolate from the experience of contemporary economic guilds or associations to the more distant past (see also **Handbook** Chapter 3 on typologies).

2. Associations in ancient agrarian societies

Although much of the evidence for associations in preliterate societies has been derived from anthropological sources, we have much more direct evidence for the existence of associations in ancient, partially literate, agrarian societies. Such societies had a more advanced agricultural economy (using irrigation, fertilizer, deep ploughs, enhanced seeds, insecticides, etc.; Johnson and Earle 2000). Much of this evidence comes from various types of inscriptions, honorific degrees, membership lists, funerary monuments, religious dedications, legal and fiscal documents, and literary accounts (see, e.g., Ascough et al. 2012; Kloppenborg and Ascough 2011: 3–4).

(a) China

In the case of China, Ross (1976: 73–85) identifies five different types of association which can be considered as at least partially voluntary. The first was the *tsu*, which can be traced back at least as far as the *Shang* dynasty (123 BCE). Although this was “a formally-organised agnatic

descent group tracing its origin in a certain locality to a specific ancestor” (p. 73), Ross argued that it could be regarded as a quasi-voluntary association because there was the possibility of exit and membership could be extended to non-family members by the invention of fictive genealogical links. The *tsu* served partly as a means of ancestor worship, but also as a source of mutual aid, providing a range of services, including education, care of the elderly, and burial assistance, to its members.

The welfare functions of the *tsu* were complemented by those of the *hui* and the *she*. The term *she* can be dated back to the 6th century BCE and was used to describe an association of 20–50 households that provided each other with a series of different kinds of practical support, including help with farm work, various kinds of welfare assistance, and opportunities for collective worship. The *she* became incorporated into the machinery of local government from the 13th century CE onwards (Ross 1976: 76–77). The term *hui* refers to a number of different kinds of village-based associations providing a range of specialist services, including temple maintenance, worship, crop-watching, canal and granary repair, and even drama presentation. There were also more general *hui*, providing support for the village as a whole (Ross 1976: 77–78).

Ross also examined the evidence for the existence of economic associations, or guilds, in ancient China. He drew particular attention to a “guild of bankers” which could be traced back to 200 BCE (Ross 1976: 79). However, Morse (1909: 9) claimed that only the Bankers Guild of Ningpo traced its *craft* back to pre-Christian times, and Moll-Murata (2008: 213) suggests that there is little evidence for the existence of European-style guilds in China before the late 16th century CE. There is rather more evidence for the antiquity of secret societies in China. According to Chesneaux (1972: 2), the oldest of these organizations can be traced back to the struggles of Liu Pang and his “sworn brothers” against the *Ch'in* dynasty in the 3rd century CE, and to the Yellow Turbans’ campaign against the *Han* four centuries later.

(b) *India*

There appears to be rather less evidence of voluntary associations in ancient India. Ross (1976: 85–91) attributes this to the effects of the caste system and to the particular nature of village

organization during the very long caste period. However, Drekmeier (1962: 18–19, 275–277) argues that “guilds of woodworkers, weavers, weapon-makers, hunters and other crafts and professional groups are mentioned in the Vedas” and that they became increasingly important from the fifth and sixth centuries BCE onwards. In addition to their economic functions, they also exercised a high degree of control over social aspects of their members’ lives and played an important part in political life.

(c) *Mesopotamia*

In the Babylonian and Assyrian empires (3000–650 BCE), artisans organized associations, often linking persons in extended families that shared a common trade (Mendelsohn 1940b; Weisberg 1967). Other occupational associations were formed primarily among slaves. In all cases, the predominant focus of the groups was not economic but social (including the care of widows of workers) and religious in that cult played a part in group life.

(d) *Ancient Palestine*

Evidence for large and well-equipped, collectively owned occupational associations in ancient Palestine suggests that neighborhood associations formed around common occupations and provided members with practical enticements such as insurance against lost tools, religious rites, and social interactions (Mendelsohn 1940a; Ross 1976: 117–128). A distinguishing feature of associations throughout the Levant was the emphasis on feasting and drinking, hence being mainly social clubs. The focus on business transactions, burial of members, banqueting, and (especially) drinking took on ritual forms and came to be known as the *marzēah* (Greenfield 1974). From the 4th century BCE through to the 3rd century CE, *marzēhîm* were predominantly formed by wealthy businessmen who not only met for social and commercial purposes but collectively owned permanent meeting places along with fields, vineyards, and burial grounds. The Jewish community that lived at Qumran from the 1st century BCE through to the mid-1st century CE is a particularly ascetic sectarian example of such associations (Weinfeld 1986).

More in keeping with the voluntary unencumbered tradition of associations, however, are the Jewish synagogues of the 2nd century BCE. These began as groups in Palestine, gathering in any available building for reading, teaching, and discussion centered on the *Torah*, the five

books of the Hebrew Bible (part of the “Old Testament” of the Christian Bible) (Harland 2003). Eventually, such groups began to own a specific meeting place. In both their origins and their development, these religious associations look similar to the array of Hellenistic associations within their broader cultural context (Runesson 2001). After the destruction of the second temple in Jerusalem in 70 CE, synagogues became the central focus of Jewish religious and social life, with the Rabbis taking on an increasingly dominant leadership role and a broad-based membership. In the Diaspora, synagogues served to unite Jewish immigrants who were displaced from their home towns and extended families (Runesson 2001).

(e) *Ancient Greece*

Associations in the Greek world date back at least to the laws of Solon in late 6th-century BCE Athens that allowed the formation of associations that did not interfere with the interests of the state (Ascough et al. 2012; Kloppenborg and Ascough 2011; Kloppenborg and Wilson 1996). The majority of these associations centered on a common cult and chose specific deities such as Bendis or Athena as their patron. They took on characteristics of already extant associations organized around extended families, such as the Attic “brotherhoods” (*phratriai*) that focused on veneration of an ancestor or a hero.

Associations grew in size, scope, and importance from the 4th century BCE as other deities and heroes from Greece and its newly conquered territories became the foci for cult activity (Arnaoutoglou 2003; Ascough et al. 2012; Kloppenborg and Ascough 2011; Kloppenborg and Wilson 1996). There were also social and political clubs in Athens in these times (Calhoun 1970; Jones 1999). The expanded empire allowed for ease of movement for foreign traders, merchants, slaves, and **noncitizens**. Excluded from citizenship rights in Greek cities, these foreigners formed associations to provide themselves a sense of identity, often joining together on the basis of common ethnicity, common cult, or common occupation, and sometimes even on the basis of living in the same neighborhood. Although much of the extant data come from urban centers, enough evidence has come to light to suggest that cultic and occupational associations thrived in small villages and towns (Kloppenborg and Ascough 2011: 3).

(f) *Ancient Rome*

Rome began its eastward expansion in the 2nd century BCE and in the process adopted and adapted Greek ways, including the formation of associations by both elites and non-elites. Of particular note is the influence of eastern deities such as Isis and Cybele, who became focal points for cult activity among small private associations. The increasing dislocation of individuals and families, through trade or as a result of war, also intensified the trend of associations forming in order to address the need for a sense of belonging in a foreign urban center. Merchants and artisans formed associations based on similarity of trade, not in order to control the economic sector, but to provide opportunities for social interaction and business networking (Kloppenborg and Ascough 2011: 5; Waltzing 1895–1900).

In 186 BCE, concerns around abuses and immoral behavior in the Dionysos cult led the Roman Senate to ban associations, although they continued to flourish unrestricted. In late Republican Rome suspicions of associations being involved in political activity were proved true as Clodius attempted to use associations (*collegia*) to influence the political process in 58 BCE, resulting in further restrictions on associations. Nevertheless, these laws seem rarely to have been enforced and in the Imperial period the number and influence of private associations continued unabated (Harland 2003: 161–173).

In the post-Constantine period in Europe and the Levant, the predominant form of association quickly became Christian, with emphasis on churches and monasteries, and thus tended to fall under the authority of the political and religious authorities (Duchesne 1912; Harrison et al. 2014: chapters 9, 10). As such, they were less voluntary than had been the case during earlier times. The exception was para-ecclesial associations formed by charismatic leaders and/or their followers, usually around a heterodox belief or practice. Once they drew the attention of the authorities, however, they were shut down, often violently, and their teachings and practices deemed “heretical.” There is thus little evidence for such groups outside of their condemnation by the authorities (cf. Smith 1997: 200). This is not to say that many did not exist, but it was in their own best interest not to draw attention to themselves through the erection of inscriptions or the issuing of documents, as had been the practice of their predecessors in the Graeco-Roman period.

3. Associations in recent pre-industrial societies

Anderson (1971: 213) also argued that, with the exception of the merchant guilds of medieval Europe, “a trough of quiescence, when the importance of associations was comparatively reduced” lay “between the crest of association in Neolithic communities and modern industrial nations,” and that “perhaps 90 per cent of the total population [of pre-industrial societies] had no personal involvement in voluntary associations of any kind” (p. 215). However, the evidence from Western Europe in the Middle Ages (pre-1000–c.1500) suggests a very different picture (Hughes 1974). Almost every new form of institution created in the Middle Ages was the outcome of associational initiatives: the great universities, such as Bologna and Paris, sprang respectively from associations of students and teachers (Hartson 1911: esp. 17–24; Rüegg 1992: 6; Verger 1992: 37–39) and many of the great religious orders, such as the Cistercians and Franciscans, sprang from the initiatives of associations of lay people, as did associations that came to be seen as heretical.

To modern eyes, one of the most interesting forms of voluntary association in medieval Europe was that of the *béguines*. These associations of religious women, not entirely subject to Church control, flourished in the Low Countries, northern France and western Germany. Living together in a *béguinage*, as an intentional community, members pursued a frugal life of prayer and chastity, combined with religious teaching and charitable action that included caring for the poor and ill and those “explicitly rejected by the social body” such as lepers, as well as laying out and preparing the dead (Simons 2001: 61–87). These communities enabled women to spend some years engaging in meaningful, fulfilling activity, while remaining outside the marriage market. *Béguinages* also provided competitive labor in the enormous textile industry, spinning, preparing, and finishing cloth (Simons 2001: 115). In the industrialized, textile cities of the Low Countries, they seem to have acted “as institutional supports for ... women, offering companionship, mutual assistance, medical aid, and instruction, as well as relief in hard times” (Simons 2001: 116). The Church’s attitude to *béguines* was ambivalent. In the early 14th century there was much persecution by local bishops with accusations of heresy. But with support from senior churchmen and local elites, they thrived, surviving beyond the Reformation. There were more than 1,700 *béguines* in Belgium in the mid-1820s (Neel 1989; Simons 2001).

The most fundamental form of association in the medieval West was the fraternity or guild. Contemporaries used numerous terms, usually with no sharp distinction, to describe these groups. These included *fraternitas* (brotherhood), *consortium*, *confratrium*, *compagnia*, and, in northern Europe, variations of the word “guild.” Despite their religious branding, fraternities are thought to have derived from pre-Christian associations, drinking and convivial guilds in northern Europe and *conviviae* (feasting groups) and *collectae* in southern Europe (Reynolds 1984: 69).

Described by Duparc (1958) as “the basic cells of medieval society,” fraternities and guilds touched almost every locality in Europe. They provided a *locus* for creating a sense of shared identity and belonging (focused on neighborhood, a church, and a patron saint), mutual help, and building crucial networks that went beyond one’s own kin (Rosser 2009). These were mostly male organizations (Kowaleski and Bennett 1989; but see also Bainbridge 1996: 47 and Reynolds 1984: 68).

Although there was great variation, for instance in membership criteria or religiosity (more pronounced in southern Europe, see, e.g., Black 1989; Terpstra 1995; Weissman 1982), there were several universal features: attachment to a specific church, often with a specific altar or chapel there; contribution to the upkeep of the church; an annual celebration on the feast day of the group’s patron saint, involving a religious ceremony, the Mass, followed by a communal meal, often sumptuous and involving the distribution of food among members; obligations to mutual support; and a commitment to pay fees that was enforceable in church courts.

Practical benefits for members were material and spiritual: payment if needed for proper burial, where potential lack of such burial was a cause of great anxiety and a potential source of shame right into the 18th century and beyond; intercessory prayers by the fraternity’s hired priest for living and dead members, reducing the time they would spend in Purgatory before entering heaven; insurance against flood and fire (Reynolds 1984: 68); modest payments to indigent members (Barron 1985: 26–27; Richardson 2008); discounted loans and rents (Farnhill 2001: 67); and dispute resolution without going to a civic or royal court.

The most far-reaching benefit was the opportunity to increase social capital and build links of trust beyond one’s own kin, especially in the great mercantile cities where fraternities generally included members residing outside the religious parish and even the city. Fraternities

were crucial in a society where sentiment and personal trust underpinned economic activity, with much business based on pre-existing social ties, which would have been breached by the use of a formal contract (Weissman 1982: 24-25).

Economically and politically, merchant guilds (exclusive organizations for the leading merchants) and craft or trade guilds (which controlled particular crafts and trades), which in many cases grew out of informal or more open fraternities, had an enormous impact on medieval Europe (Gadd and Wallis 2006; Keene 2006; Lucassen et al. 2008). Some of the earliest economic guilds included the *ministeria* of Pavia (c.1000); the English craft guilds recorded in 1130-1131 as paying dues to the crown (Keene 2006: 12-13); the *fraternitas* of weavers in Cologne, referred to in a charter of 1149 (Epstein 1991: 52); and the 23 fishermen who were granted corporate hereditary rights over the wholesale fish market by the Bishop of Worms in 1106 (Epstein 1991: 53).

The immense secondary literature on European merchant and trade guilds, which began as scholarship in the 19th century, continues to expand. The prevailing view among historians until c. 1990 was that medieval guilds were restrictive and monopolistic, cramping innovation and growth. A new generation of historians, including S. R. Epstein (1991, 1998, 2008; Epstein and Prak 2008), has contended that guilds were a source of innovation and through apprenticeships and training an engine for building human capital, a view rejected by Ogilvie (2007, 2008).

Fraternities created a community based on place (involving a church and a patron saint), but engaging outsiders in terms of kinship and residence. They were part of a vibrant social economy of active self-help and mutual help, involving fundraising for churches, the maintenance of communal facilities, and the support of neighbors in distress (Bainbridge 1996; Bennett 1992, 1997; Dyer 2004, 2012; French 1997; Moisà 1997).

Medieval fraternities operated in a society in which the boundaries between personal and public were configured very differently from those of modern times. It was a world in which friendship had formal, public obligations, rather than being a matter of sentiment, personal liking, and choice (Althoff [1990] 2004; Haseldine 1999). Private groups, private courts, and fraternities were not seen as fundamentally different from baronial, royal, or civic courts. They

were seen as different only in degree (Reynolds 1984: 152). The private and voluntary associations of the Middle Ages exercised powers of judgment and punishment over their members and in some settings were indistinguishable from other institutions of governance.

Across Europe fraternities often operated in effect as local authorities, with guild officers acting as representatives of a town community in the interstices of legal or enforced authority (Duparc 1958; Reynolds 1984: 70). Fraternities were fluid and adaptable, with their members able to assume new roles and goals as circumstances changed. In the cathedral city of Lichfield, England, the Guild of St Mary was in 1387 an association that among other activities controlled the behavior of its members, with adulterous brothers being first admonished and then expelled if they did not reform. A century later the association had assumed wider responsibility within the city for “dealing with disturbers of the peace such as night-walkers, rioters, prostitutes and scolds” (Kettle 1984: 169). Likewise, neighborhood fraternities could re-create themselves as trade fraternities more concerned with the regulation and membership of a type of business, such as brewing (Barron 1985: 15–16).

Although guilds and fraternities disappeared as institutions in northern, Protestant Europe during the Reformation, it seems that in many respects the administration and social organizing of localities continued. As Barron (1985) hinted, those who had been active or leaders in these organizations continued, under new doctrinal rules, to run local affairs in much the same way as they had done before. They mobilized local energies to provide mutual support, to maintain the fabric of the church, and to relieve and help the poor. In England, merchant guilds became the basis for the emerging system of municipal government. In Germany, the merchant guilds of Lübeck and Bremen laid the foundations of an international trading network known as the Hanseatic League (Richardson 2008).

The history of merchant guilds followed a somewhat different trajectory in the Eastern Empire, where “some *collegia* appear to have survived from Antiquity until the Middle Ages, where ... sources reveal an unbroken tradition of state management of guilds from ancient times” (Richardson 2008). However, the number of guilds declined during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, before re-emerging under the Ottomans. The reasons for this revival are not entirely clear but “it is more or less agreed that craft guilds with similar characteristics and functions [to

those which existed under the Byzantine guild system] existed with greater or lesser differences in almost all principal towns and cities of the seventeenth-century Ottoman Empire” (Yildirim 2008: 77).

New directions of scholarship point to active merchant and trade guilds beyond those of medieval Europe (Lucassen et al. 2008). In medieval and early modern India, although there were a number of different types of collective association, such as the *kharkhana*, “guilds fulfilling the minimum formal characteristics – a written charter establishing a right to conduct business and accepted by members, as well as the local or supralocal government authority – were rare, if not unknown, even in the context of urban crafts or commerce” (Roy 2008: 97–98). In China, the government ordered the creation of various kinds of business associations as early as the 8th century. There is some evidence for the establishment of voluntary associations from the 12th century onwards (Moll-Murata 2008: 218; but see also Golas 1977: 555). However, the main function of these associations was to coordinate the merchants’ and artisans’ obligations to the government, rather than to regulate access and homogenize markets for their members. As a result, it is now generally agreed by scholars that there is little evidence of formal guild-like associations before the later years of the *Ming* dynasty in the 16th and 17th centuries (Golas 1977; Moll-Murata 2008).

Different forms of trade association also existed in other parts of Asia. In medieval Japan (defined here as the period between 794 CE and 1573), the dominant form of association was the “brotherhood” or *zu*. The members of a *zu* paid taxes to local lords or patrons in return for the right to trade in various markets, secure exemptions from other tolls and taxes, and be able to move freely. As Mary Louise Nagata (2008: 128–129) has explained, individual merchants or groups of merchants competed with each other for the right to join a *zu*, and the brotherhoods competed with each other for new members. During the early modern period, the *Togukawa* Emperors not only abolished many of the previous brotherhoods in an effort to undermine their patrons but also established new brotherhoods of their own in strategically important industries, such as those associated with the mining and working of precious metals. However, the most important form of trade association in this period was the *kabu nakama* or stock society. The government issued “stock” in a particular trade or industry, and individual merchants purchased shares which entitled them to operate a business in that industry. The stock societies performed

some of the same functions as a guild, such as contract-enforcement and the policing of members, but they had little political influence and were essentially associations of business owners rather than of individual craftsmen or artisans.

4. Associations in industrial and post-industrial societies

As previous sections have shown, we can trace the history of voluntary associations back to ancient societies, if not further. However, it seems likely that the number and range of such associations has increased very substantially over the last two to three centuries. A number of different factors have contributed to this, including population growth, greater goal/interest differentiation, improvements in transport and communications, and a greater orientation toward collective goals (Smith 1973b, 1997; Smith and Baldwin 1983).

As Robert Morris (1990) has shown, the 18th and 19th centuries witnessed a remarkable efflorescence of voluntary association activity in the United Kingdom. A wide range of voluntary associations emerged for purposes of recreation, education, social networking, mutual aid, and social action, together with what might be regarded as associations designed for the promotion of élite self-interest (see Table 1.1). Although precise information is often elusive, it also seems clear that the number and percentage of individuals who belonged to voluntary associations continued to increase. In 1945, for example, it was estimated that more than six million people belonged to trade unions and that nearly nine million were affiliated to friendly societies (Beveridge 1948: 87–88). Approximately half the population belonged to some form of voluntary associations at the end of the 20th century (Grenier and Wright 2006: 31; see also Hilton et al. 2012).

Voluntary associations also played important roles in other parts of Western Europe. In France, it has been estimated that the number of *sociétés de secours mutuels* increased from 2488 in 1852 to 13,673 in 1902, and that the number of friendly society members increased from just under 30,000 to more than two million (Mitchell 1991: 184). In eastern Lombardy, more than 500 *società di soccorso mutuo* were formed between 1860 and 1914 (Tedeschi 2012: 48–54). More than 600 friendly societies were registered in Spain in 1887, although this figure is likely to be a substantial underestimate (Rodríguez and Pons 2012: 69). The number of trade unionists

in Western Europe also increased. By 1914, it has been estimated that more than 10% of the non-agricultural workforce were affiliated to trade unions in Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, and Norway (Friedman 2008).

In Imperial Russia, the development of voluntary associations was much more closely associated with the activities of the state. During the 1760s, Catherine the Great authorized the formation of English language clubs and the Free Economic Society to stimulate agricultural improvement and promote economic development (Tumanova 2008: 35–38). The 19th century also saw the formation of a wide range of professional and scientific societies, including the Russian Geographical Society (1845), the Russian Technical Society (1866), and the Pirogov Society of Russian Physicians (1883). A large number of additional associations were formed in different parts of the country to promote social welfare, public health provision, town planning, education, science, and physical culture (Bradley 2009; Tumanova 2008: 41, 44, 49). In 1905, the Russian people acquired the formal right to freedom of association, and this led to the growth of a number of trade unions (Tumanova 2008: 164–171).

The murderous wars and revolutionary disturbances of 1914–1922 caused widespread social dislocation and imposed new burdens on the voluntary sector. This led to the creation of a large number of new associations for the assistance of peasants, people with disabilities, children, students, and artists. The Russian Red Cross Society was engaged in the care of the wounded and sick people, and those harmed by natural disasters (Tumanova 2011: 287, 308–314).

Although a large number of new associations, such as the Association of Atheists, the “Down with Illiteracy” Society, and the Association of Friends of Soviet Cinema, were formed during the Soviet period, it would be difficult to characterize these as either independent or voluntary. This was probably still true of the “new wave” of voluntary associations established during the thaw of the 1960s. The pace at which new associations were established reached a new level of intensity during the second half of the 1980s, and accelerated further following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 (Lelchuk 1988: 422, 429–431).

The assumption that voluntary associations developed after the collapse of Communism from scratch (*de novo*) in other post-Soviet countries has also been challenged (Devaux 2005;

Pospíšilová 2011; Skovajsa 2008). Various forms of civil society organization, such as charities, guilds, and both religious and secular foundations, existed in different parts of central and eastern Europe as far back as the 13th century. The number of patriotic and nationalist associations in countries such as Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Bulgaria increased dramatically during the 19th century (Bradley 2009; Frič et al. 1998; Kuti 1996; Leš et al. 2000; Valkov 2009). Communist regimes abolished or nationalized many civil society organizations and the rest functioned under direct state control. However, as in Russia itself, the relaxation of state control in all these countries allowed new forms of voluntary association to emerge from the 1980s onwards. Many of these organizations took the form of self-help groups associated with such issues as alcohol and drug abuse, while others were concerned with environmental issues (Carmin and Fagan 2010; Císař 2010; Gabrhelník, and Miovský 2009; Pickvance 1998).

Voluntary associations also played important roles in various parts of Africa, especially in response to colonization and the subsequent racially and ethnically segregationist policies of colonial governments. Gleaning from the literature, at least three dominant factors stand out as having influenced the formation and structure of voluntary associations: principles of reciprocity and solidarity in pre-colonial rural communities; the advent of missionary societies in Africa; and colonization, and the subsequent urbanization and industrialization (e.g., Graham et al. 2006; Kanyinga et al. 2004; Kiondo et al. 2004; Little 1957; Nyangabyaki et al. 2004). Equally influential are the idiosyncrasies and contextual factors inherent in each country, such as the apartheid regime in South Africa (Swilling et al. 2004).

“Early African associational life” had “a strong normative and moral basis” exemplified by “cultural notions of belonging, togetherness, and caring for one another” (Graham et al. 2006: 8–9). The diversity of words and concepts found in different African cultures speaks to the voluntary traditions that continue to sustain community life in the present day. Concepts from different parts of Africa describe the varieties of cultural ethos that have underpinned and continue to underpin voluntarism in Africa, for example, *ubuntu/botho* (fostering humaneness), *kujitolea* (meaning “service” in Kiswahili), *tirelo* (something done for others in Tswana), *vabatsiri* (meaning “those who help others” in Shona), and *harambee* (meaning self-help in Kenya) (Graham et al. 2006).

From these philosophies emerged traditional cultural beliefs, practices, and support systems that are based on the principles of collective responsibility, solidarity, and reciprocity (Graham et al. 2006; Patel et al. 2007). An ancient example of this type of collectivistic social safety net institution is Zimbabwe's cultural practice of *Zunde raMambo*, which involved community members working in their neighbors' fields once a week or ploughing a plot set aside by the chief for the benefit of the needy (Graham et al. 2006; Patel et al. 2007: 24). In the case of South Africa, the traditional tendency to self-organize in order to cope with life-threatening situations among the indigenous Khoi and San communities and the Bantu tribes "carried over into the modern civil society sector and manifest[ed] itself in the proliferation of separatist churches, unions, service and civic organizations, herbalist associations, and traditional tribal organizations" (Swilling et al. 2004: 115).

Whereas Christian Missionary Societies introduced more formal civil society institutions in Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, and other parts of Africa, colonial rule and its segregationist policies provided the impetus for the emergence of formal indigenous voluntary associations. The introduction of colonial rule in Kenya in 1895 brought new forms of voluntary (nonprofit) organizations, including settler associations, social clubs, and sporting associations (Kanyinga et al. 2004). Indigenous political associations such as the Kikuyu Central Association also formed to resist colonial exploitation and native land appropriations, although such associations tended to develop along ethnic lines (Kanyinga et al. 2004). In response to similar exploitations, the local clan leaders in Uganda formed the *Bataka* Association (Nyangabyaki et al. 2004). The burgeoning Indian population led to the emergence of Muslim associations from the 1930s, with the East African Moslem Welfare Society forming in 1945, culminating in the recognition of Islamic laws in schools, welfare services, and development agencies (see Nyangabyaki et al. 2004).

In South Africa, the first African political association, Imbumba Yama Afrika, formed in 1882, with other black organizations such as the "Ethiopian" church movement forming in 1892 (Swilling et al. 2004). Other self-help and mutual aid associations formed during this period included the Afrikaner Bond, the Boer Farmers' Protection Association, the Union of South Africa (1910), and the South African Native National Congress (SNNC), which later transformed into the African National Congress (ANC) (Swilling et al. 2004). In all, Swilling et al. (2004)

note that two types of organizations emerged in response to the apartheid regime and its subsequent social policies: “organizations of survival” such as informal saving clubs (*stokvels*), sports clubs, and other non-political associations; and “organizations of resistance,” comprising civic associations and trade unions. In Tanzania, the emergence of trade unions, peasant cooperatives, civil servant associations, and sports clubs is largely attributed to urbanization and industrialization, with trade unions and peasant cooperatives later becoming instrumental in the movement for national independence in the 1940s (Kiondo et al. 2004).

Membership associations in the South Asian region, especially India and nearby countries, have a very long history that can be divided into three periods: pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial. In the pre-colonial period, voluntary associations were abundant in the region. They were mostly self-help groups based on the religious values of *karma*, which is widely accepted by the three major religions practiced in the region: Hinduism, Islam, and Buddhism (Fernando 2011). The development of membership associations during the colonial period was heavily influenced by missionary organizations whose primary objective was to spread Christianity. They also worked with many poor and indigenous communities, undertaking both development work and advocacy (Haider 2011). The development of membership associations in the more recent past has been closely associated with the role of non-governmental organizations, but many of these associations are neither spontaneous nor self-formed, and their role has become increasingly controversial (John 2005). According to one recent study of the role played by NGOs in Nepal:

local people had mixed perceptions of NGOs with a majority expressing dualistic views. On the one hand, they praised the NGOs for their work; on the other hand, they criticized them for not addressing local issues, catering to needs of donors and political leaders, implementing short-term projects, and making money from the projects. (Roka 2012: 112)

China’s civil-society organizations also have a long history (Smith with Ting, 2016), but they have often been used as adjuncts to the system of local government, and after 1949, they were heavily controlled by the Communist Party (Cai 2005; Yu 2002). However, the economic reforms of the late-1970s ushered in a new period of economic growth, which, after the death of Mao and the Reform and Opening, also facilitated a marked increase in voluntary association

prevalence (Wang 2011), together with an explosion of academic interest (Zhang and Zhou 2008).

The development of voluntary associations in Canada and the United States was shaped by the circumstances under which they were settled and by the distinctive nature of their religious traditions. As early as 1685, a *Bureau des Pauvres* was established in Quebec City to provide relief to survivors of the Great Fire of 1682, and to new immigrants, wounded soldiers, and plague victims (Bélanger 2000; Reid 1946).

In colonial America, religious congregations that rejected the practice of state-established churches were important early models of voluntary associations. This trend of forming new religious associations has continued to the present (Finke and Stark 2005), enhanced in the 18th century by the religious efflorescence of the First Great Awakening (Hall 2006). The 19th century and early 20th century also saw the formation of very large numbers of fraternal associations, such as the Ancient Freemasons, Elks, Moose, and Oddfellows (Kaufman 2002). In colonial times, associations also provided a fertile training ground for the establishment of anti-British political associations, such as the Sons of Liberty, during the 1760s (Bullock 1996).

The centrality of these associations in the Revolutionary cause gave pause to the first generation of American leaders, who cautioned against the formation of self-interested “factions” as detrimental to the republican order, based on broad public interest, which they hoped to achieve in the United States (Neem 2008). However, the organizational impulse was reinforced during the early years of the 19th century by the organizational and moral fuel of American Protestantism in the “Second Great Awakening.” Not only were Americans energetically creating new churches helter-skelter (Finke and Stark 2005), but this phase of evangelism encouraged direct reform efforts, accelerating, most notably, membership in the anti-slavery and temperance movements (Scott 1992). It was such activity that caught the eye of Alexis de Tocqueville, whose observations on American voluntary activity in *Democracy in America* helped cement the image of voluntary action as a key element of American political culture (De Tocqueville 1835; T. Smith 1980). The reorganization of the US postal system in the 1840s also facilitated the nationalization of voluntary organizations, linking citizens agitating for causes such as anti-slavery across the country (John 1995).

In both Canada and the United States, voluntary associations played a central role in efforts to improve social conditions and gave women a vital opportunity to participate in social life (see also Prochaska 1980). Women provided much of the volunteer workforce for the US Sanitary Commission, a quasi-public voluntary association formed in the North in 1861 to coordinate medical services for wounded Union soldiers. Upper-middle-class women also played a central role in the activities of the various Charity Organization Societies, which sprang up in many northeastern and mid-western cities during the latter years of the 19th century (Ginzberg 1990). Such women were also the driving force behind many arts and cultural associations that sprang up in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Blair 1994; McCarthy 1991). A wide range of voluntary associations, such as the Montreal Hygiene Committee, the Social Hygiene Council, and the Moral and Social Reform Council, also emerged in Canada during this period. Like their American counterparts, these groups often appeared to take a particularly individualistic and moralising approach to the resolution of social problems (Elson 2008, 2011).

Immigration also shaped the world of volunteers and voluntary agencies. In late-19th and early-20th century Canada, ethno-cultural groups formed volunteer organizations such as libraries and reading clubs to preserve their language and culture, including music, dance, and sport (Lautenschlager 1992). In the United States, immigrant groups formed voluntary associations to preserve their linguistic and cultural heritage and to provide various kinds of welfare support, including building societies and burial funds (Beito 2000; Cohen 1990). African-Americans also established their own network of charities and civic associations when excluded from whites-only institutions (Gordon 1991). Activists in the Progressive Era, such as Jane Addams, used voluntary institutions such as settlement houses as a means to ease urban social tensions by connecting native-born middle- and upper-class volunteers with working-class immigrants (Davis 1984).

By the 1920s, the United States enjoyed a rich network of voluntary institutions, though in many, volunteers were increasingly displaced by professional staff (Lubove 1965). With the onset of the Great Depression, President Herbert Hoover hoped that civic-minded members of trade associations, professional societies, and charitable institutions might carry the burden of need during the downturn, but these organizations proved unequal to the task (Romasco 1965). While the expansion of the public safety net through the New Deal during the 1930s displaced

some voluntary agencies, the decade also saw new venues for volunteers emerge – President Roosevelt’s public endorsement of the March of Dimes campaign for polio research foreshadowed an explosion of health-related charities that would attract many middle-class volunteers in the postwar era (Morris 2009; Zunz 2012).

Nonetheless, the landscape of voluntarism in the United States did change dramatically in the postwar era, and particularly since the 1960s. Social and political causes such as the civil rights movement in the 1960s often drew on large numbers of grassroots participants and created new voluntary organizations. With their successes, though, such groups became increasingly focused on using professional staff to achieve and sustain their goals, while connections to individual members attenuated. Demographic changes such as increasing education and employment opportunities for women shifted the availability and composition of the pool of volunteers, while the passing of the Second World War generation has diminished membership in many traditional fraternal and veteran organizations. Moreover, shifts in public policy, such as government contracting rather than directly providing social services, have created a nonprofit sector where the lines between public and voluntary are again quite blurry. Whether this portends good or ill for democratic participation, civic engagement, and the social safety net remains to be seen (Putnam 2000; Skocpol 2003).

Hall (2006) wrote a fine historical overview of the development of voluntary associations and other NPOs in America for the period 1600–2000. Two amateur historians, Ellis and Noyes (1990), wrote a history of Americans as volunteers, with much attention to voluntary associations. Some other historical overviews of voluntary associations in North America and in Europe include publications by Arai (2004), Bradley (2009), Gadd and Wallis (2006), Hammack (2002), Harris and Bridgen (2007), Hartson (1911), R. Morris (1990), A. Morris (2009), Schlesinger (1944), D. Smith (1973d: Part One; 1997), D. Smith and Baldwin (1974), and C. Smith and Freedman (1972: chapters 1–3). D. Smith (2013) has also described how the structures of associations have tended to change in the past 200 years or so.

5. The history of volunteer service programmes

Although our Handbook is mainly about volunteering in associations, some chapters deal also with volunteering in VSPs. Where associations are relatively, or completely, independent collective entities (groups or organizations), VSPs as collective entities are always dependent on some larger parent organization, which effectively owns them (cf., Smith 2015d). Where associations are nearly always parts of the voluntary nonprofit sector (VNPS), VSPs by contrast are *usually* parts of that sector but may instead be parts (actually *departments*) of businesses (e.g., a volunteer program in a for-profit hospital) or government agencies (e.g., a volunteer program in a government operated and owned national park). Brudney (2005) gives an overview of several recent types of VSPs, with most of them being topics of the Handbook chapters here.

Smith (2015b) has recently written a brief history of VSPs (the section below quotes from that paper, with permission): “Volunteers have been present in VSPs linked to government agencies/units for many centuries, usually without being termed VSPs by historians or others. Examples are volunteer militias, juries, local police patrols, and councils of local leaders (Smith 2015a). More recently, local draft (Selective Service) boards in the United States for wars in the 20th century have been composed of volunteers (J. Davis 1968; Perri 2013). Hence, such boards have been VSPs, *not* associations, since they have been government agencies.

In the past many centuries, state (*established*) churches in European countries have been quasi-government agencies. Although usually structured as strict hierarchies, with the power at the top and flowing downward, such churches in capital cities and in other cities and towns have usually had affiliated VSPs, again without historians using this technical term to describe them (Lynch 1992; Sirota 2014). For instance, there have been choirs, altar attendants, and affiliated VSPs that organized celebrations for specific saints on their feast days (birthdays) and on other religious holidays. Sometimes more independent confraternities of laypeople, as associations, have instead done the latter organizing, as noted earlier. State churches also set up charities and ran social welfare programs that were sometimes VSPs, rather than associations (e.g., Sirota 2014).

When relatively independent NPOs as nonprofit agencies have arisen in past centuries, such as hospitals, almshouses, libraries, museums, private schools, and universities in the UK, many of these have had VSPs, again without use of the terminology by historians (Gray 1967;

Jordan 1959). Unlabeled VSPs have been even more frequent in the past two centuries in NPO health and social welfare agencies of most types in the United States, including settlement houses (Carter 1961; Chambers 1985; A. Davis 1967; Ellis and Noyes 1990; Katz 1986; Manser and Cass 1976; O'Neill 1989; Sieder 1960; Trattner 1973).

Further, various art, music, and other cultural NPO agencies arising in the past two centuries in the United States (e.g., orchestras, theaters, ballet companies, opera companies) have often had VSPs affiliated to them, either to help select presentations and/or to help with fund-raising and publicity (Blair 1994; Ellis and Noyes 1990; Ginzberg 1990; McCarthy 1991). Similar historical patterns of VSPs exist in other modern countries (e.g., Malcolmson and Malcolmson 2013; Olate 2007; D. Smith 1974).”

6. Recent development of the concept of a nonprofit/voluntary/third sector

Although associations have manifested or demonstrated VNPS as distinct from the family/household, business/private, and government/public sectors for about 10,000 years, the *concept* of the VNPS is very recent historically. Cornuelle (1965: 26–27) wrote the first book articulating the concept of the *independent sector* or *third sector*, as he called it alternatively. In the 1970s, several other authors wrote books and articles elaborating on and promoting alternative VNPS terms, such as the *voluntary sector*, *nonprofit sector*, or *third sector*.

Smith and his colleagues defined and fostered attention to the term *voluntary sector* in various early publications (Smith 1973a, 1973c; Smith et al. 1972). The Filer Commission used this term in the title of its summary report, bringing much wider recognition to the term *voluntary sector* than had Smith's prior publications (Commission on Private Philanthropy and Public Needs 1975).

Levitt (1973) wrote the first book to use the term *third sector* in its title, while clearly referring to the independent sector or third sector concept invented by Cornuelle (1965). Very few authors followed up in using Cornuelle's term *independent sector* in articles or books, but his label *third sector* has become very popular indeed, in spite of being numerically incorrect (see Smith, Stebbins, and Dover, 2006: 90, *fourth sector*).

Smith (1973a) used the term *nonprofit sector* early in the 1970s, but it became fairly common only later in the 1970s and in the 1980s in America (Salamon and Abramson 1982; Weisbrod 1977). In the 1980s, the term *civil society* was promoted and became popular in some academic circles for referring to the sector (Ehrenberg 2011; Naidoo and Tandon 1999; Ndegwa 1996). Similarly, the terms *social economy* and *solidarity economy* referring to the sector came into wide use only in the 1990s and later, especially among more economics-oriented academics in our field (Laville 2010; Quarter 1992; Sayer and Walker 1992; Van Til 1988). Hall (1992) gave his interpretation of *inventing the nonprofit sector* as a concept.

E. Usable knowledge

Pessimists say that “the only thing we learn from history is that people learn nothing from history.” While probably true in general, we *can* learn some things from the history of associations sketched here. First, contrary to the perceptions of most people and scholars in our field, associations always have been and still continue to be the dominant form of NPOs in all countries since their beginning about 10,000 years ago. As such, associational life in all countries is important to encourage and protect. The association as a form of human group has proved itself to be useful and valuable in all human societies in the past ten millennia. The history of associations also suggests that this form of human group is exceedingly versatile in terms of goals that can be achieved, with the types of purposes for associations expanding especially in the past millennium, particularly since the Industrial Revolution beginning about 1800 in some countries (Boulding, 1953; D. Smith, 1973b). D. Smith (1973c) pointed out many positive impacts of associations for any human society, including serving as a latent resource that can be mobilized in various natural and man-made crises.

F. Future trends and needed research

In recent years, voluntary associations have attracted increasing amounts of attention in all parts of the world, usually growing in numbers with population size and economic development, among other causal factors (Schofer and Longhofer, 2011; D. Smith and Shen, 2002). In those countries that lack a strong tradition of voluntary organizations, voluntary associations are seen

as critical to the formation of social capital (Hamrin 2006). Meanwhile, in other countries, concerns have also been expressed about the impact of both individualism and state action on levels of voluntary social activity (Couton and Cormier 2001; Putnam 2000). It is obviously difficult to draw any categorical conclusions from such a brief and sweeping survey as this chapter has been able to offer. However, while the *forms* of voluntary association may change, there is little evidence to suggest that the associational impulse is truly imperiled, contrary to Putnam's theses (Putnam 2000; Smith and Robinson 2015).

Future research is needed on many world regions and time periods not covered here. In terms of world regions, historical research is particularly needed for Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe, and Latin America. Regarding time periods, much more research is needed regarding ancient agrarian societies in various world regions and societies, for the so-called medieval period of Western history but in non-Western regions/societies, and for preindustrial and industrial societies in the regions noted above as lacking in research. Of special importance will be comparative historical studies of several or many societies in any world region or time period, seeking to understand broader trends (e.g., Bradfield 1973; Ross, 1976; D. Smith, 1997).

G. Cross-References

Chapters 16, 38, and 39.

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Table 1.1 Voluntary associations in Britain (c. 1750–1950)

	Pre-1780	1780–1890	1890–1950
Recreational groupings	Taverns	Clubs and Institutes Union	Church societies
	Coffee hours	Sporting associations (football, rugby, etc.)	Youth associations (Scouts, Guides, Boys’ and Lads’ Brigades)
Information and self-education	Fraternities		Rambling associations
	Edinburgh Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Sciences, Manufactures and Agriculture	Literary and Philosophical Societies	
	Select Society for Promoting the Reading and Speaking of the English Language in Scotland	Scientific societies	
Mutual aid		Mutual improvement societies	
	Friendly societies	Friendly societies	Friendly societies
		Cooperative societies	Cooperative societies
		Building societies	Building societies
		Trade unions	Trade unions

“Coercive” organizations		Proclamation Society Society for the Suppression of Vice Volunteer yeomanry Societies for the Suppression of Beggars	
Social action	Voluntary hospitals	Anti-slavery societies Anti-Corn Law League Visiting Societies Voluntary hospitals Educational societies (Sunday schools, elementary schools, adult education societies) Temperance societies Bible and missionary societies Reform societies (e.g., Female Political Union)	Church societies Visiting associations Dorcas societies Soup kitchens Political associations (especially labor groups) Women’s Cooperative Guild
Polymorphic networks	Masonic lodges Manufacturers’ associations		

Note: The term “coercive” is derived from Morris 1990: 40-7-11. The voluntary organizations listed in the table were founded during a period of considerable social and political instability. Morris described them as coercive because they were “intended to achieve stability through coercion” (Ibid. 407).

Source: Derived from Morris 1990.