INCREASING STAGES OF SOCIAL ACTIVISM AND RESPONSIVENESS TO THE NATIONAL AGENDA: HOW WOMEN EXPERIENCE MEMBERSHIP IN BRANCHES OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN

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(ABSTRACT)

The problem investigated in this study was how individuals participate in the local units of the
American Association of University Women (AAUW) and particularly how their participation
relates to the program and policy initiatives of the national association. The purpose was to
understand and describe how individuals experience branch membership, how they respond to
the current program and policy initiatives of the association, and to examine some of the
differences between members with regard to the salience of the initiatives. The research issues
concerned why women join and retain their membership in local units, how they participate,
and how they promote the program and policies of the national association.

The grounded theory method was used to perform this qualitative study. Ten participants, in
two branches, were interviewed. The interviews were transcribed, using The Ethnograph
tool, and then open, axial, and selective coding was carried out to discern patterns and themes
from the data.

The findings, which emerged from the data, resulted in a model of four stages of increasing
social activism and responsiveness to the national agenda. Attending to the mission of the
association--to promote equity, lifelong education, and positive societal change--became
increasingly important to some members as they moved through the stages. During the first
stage, _Participates_, members simply attended meetings, took part in activities and fund-
raisers, and some performed a branch role. During the second stage, _Supports_, they promoted
education opportunities for specific women and girls, by setting up study groups, providing
for local scholarships, or other educational activities. During the third stage, _Facilitates_,
members actually promoted equity by disseminating information in the community concerning
the association's issues. During the fourth stage, _Advocates_, members worked in the
community to make changes based on issues from the national agenda.

The conclusions addressed member motivation, the importance of the social capital built
through participation, and the internal consequences of membership. While most women
joined and retained their membership in the local units for social contact, some joined because
of the organization's mission. Their motivation to join and retain their membership made a
difference in their level and kind of branch involvement. The importance of the social capital
built during participation in branch activities, often diminished, is of utmost importance to the
usually, conservative members as some of them became more engaged in the activist, national

agenda. The internal consequences of membership in the local units of the voluntary association were more important to members than the external consequences, which led to incongruence between the national office and the branches.

This study adds to the body of knowledge regarding voluntary associations, particularly with respect to understanding how individuals experience membership at the local level, their goal orientation, and their motivation to participate over time.

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Ten years ago I began a quest for more knowledge with encouragement from my family. As I continued to discover my own potential, Mother, Charlie, Rosemary, and Lorraine kept me grounded in reality, but also provided the free space for inquiry, and I am deeply indebted to each of them.

Most recently the ten branch members of the American Association of University Women, who participated in this study, also contributed to my pursuit by freely sharing their experiences with me. Their honesty created a climate for ongoing elucidation that subsequently fostered my own critical thinking and introspective reflection with regard to this research.

During the journey Dr. Harold W. Stubblefield, chair of my committee, dispensed wisdom, critical to the consummation of my studies, regarding adult learning and the preparation of this paper. Dr. M. Gerry Cline, my research advisor, provided significant guidance and insight in qualitative methods, which ultimately led to the completion of my research. Additionally, Dr. Marcie Boucouvalas, Dr. Albert Wiswell, and Dr. Sandra Stith provided useful instruction and commentary. I sincerely appreciate the contributions each of the members of the committee have made to my personal and professional growth.

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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

Since the eighteenth century, women in voluntary association with others have willingly devoted their time, energy, talent, and money to solving social, political, and personal problems. Working together to clarify their positions through the elaboration of common interests and concerns, they have developed explicit collective opinions with respect to these problems and have promulgated their beliefs to influence others. As a result they have often, as citizens at both the local and national level, offered outspoken and creative challenges to the status of the socio-political environment, while at the same time learning how to use the political processes for their own benefit.

While voluntary associations usually originate at the local level, they often become large, national, and bureaucratic, changing their very nature in the process. At the same time external environmental changes may be occurring also, further impacting their character. Even with these changes, the importance of the activity at the local level is still touted as the reason for the organization's success. Jackie DeFazio, the immediate past president of the American Association of University Women (AAUW), for example, stated in the recent history of the organization that, "The critical factor behind our impact over the past century has been the strength of our grass-roots efforts in AAUW branches in every state of the union" cited in (Levine, 1995, p. 177). In spite of the espoused value placed on local units by the national office their effectiveness in promoting the goals of the association is questionable. As Scott, in her history of women's voluntary associations, has observed, "There is almost always a considerable gap between the policies and plans of national officers and boards and those of local units" (1992, p. 179).

In order to understand more about the connection between the national agenda and local members, this study treats members of the local groups of a large, national voluntary association as the unit of analysis and explicates how they experience membership. The focus is on the nature of member's engagement with the program and policy initiatives currently set forth by the national association. Local units, called branches, of AAUW provide the context within which this investigation is performed.

The researcher has been a branch member of AAUW for twenty-two years, has been a branch and state officer, and is currently on the national board as the Middle Atlantic Regional Director. In this capacity she acts as the liaison between six states and the national board of directors. Her concern over the tensions between the branches and the national office and the decline in branch membership led her to pursue this research topic.

Background of the Problem

American history is replete with stories about small groups of local women who ardently, expressively, and actively share a common vision and work in voluntary association for personal growth and social justice. The societal context within which they operate, however,

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has changed over time with regard to demographics and how like-minded people interact. Additionally, the structure and processes of the organizations themselves have evolved becoming more bureaucratized and professionalized. Foundations, the philanthropic arm of many voluntary associations, have also begun to play a more powerful role as financial adjuncts to the work of the organization, often replacing the work previously done by volunteers.

Societal trends affecting voluntary associations
There are changes occurring in society that are affecting voluntary associations. For example, demographic trends show a decreasing pool of women candidates, an increased participation of women in the workforce, and the devaluing of volunteering in women's lives. In addition, often the way in which people interrelate on issues of importance in modern society is changing from direct interpersonal communication to indirect contact mediated by technology.

The fundamental notion of democracy as a tool for coordinating action rests on and is perpetuated even today by face-to-face dialogue--direct social interaction within the context of the local community. People, not only in voluntary association, but also in close proximity, are thought to create and sustain the democratic state through direct interpersonal relationships. There are features of present society, however, which indicate a model shift in the way people communicate and interrelate on important issues. Calhoun (1991, p. 95) identifies them as the "proliferation of indirect relationships-those mediated by information technology." He also refers to the emergence of imagined communities which exist when people "conceive of themselves as members of very large collectivities linked primarily by common identities but minimally by networks of directly interpersonal relationships." Certainly "check-book" members, those who join voluntary associations based on shared ideology rather than personal affiliation are manifestations of this phenomenon.

Another is the increasing importance of the internet, particularly forums and "chat-groups" for communication, information gathering, and opinion formation. Calhoun recognizes that these "categorical identities," where people share or form a common feeling, are analogous to the local community but cautions against drawing too much of a parallel because of the distinct differences in the nature of the personal contact (1991, p. 107). While the primary way in which people made sense of their world in the past was through direct personal interaction--voluntary association in many cases--currently other methods, calling forth the concept of the "imagined community", are becoming more prevalent. This phenomenon has both quantitative and qualitative impacts on voluntary association in America.

Two specific examples follow: the first is that people no longer have to have personal contact with others to formulate and act on opinions; the second is that those members of voluntary organizations who are like-minded do not have to depend on locality to affiliate. The 1996 elections provided a case in point for the first example where internet and fax communications, from special interest groups or individuals, concerning candidates positions on issues, enabled people to decide how to cast their vote. Stratified differences in the needs,

skills, and abilities of members demonstrate the second example. Scott says, "Leaders, who gather in national and international meetings, testify before Congress and state legislatures, and speak in public at the drop of a hat, live to some extent in a different world from the ordinary members" (Scott, 1992,p. 179). Leaders of organizations tend to be more like each other than they are like other members and modern transportation and communication permit the easy establishment of communal relations wherein categorical identities can be fostered and perpetuated without regard to proximity. Thus, even though they are "as sociopsychologically and culturally powerful as ever, direct relationships are no longer constitutive of society at its widest reaches" (Calhoun, 1991, p. 102-103).

Organizational changes affecting voluntary associations
Changes in the organizational structure of voluntary associations have also had a negative impact on local units. Of particular note are features related to bureaucratization and professionalization, as well as, the increased use of Foundations for political means. As they have grown, sought to perpetuate the vision of the founders, and increase their status and influence they have looked to the mechanics of bureaucracy to manage their operations. The administration of most voluntary organizations in America, therefore, is accomplished through a governing board which is an "organized group of people with the authority collectively to control and foster an institution that is usually administered by a qualified executive and staff" (Houle, 1990, p. 6). The paid staff are lead by highly professional people, often holding professional credentials in the field of non-profit management, administration, and philanthropy.

Ilsley (1990) makes note of the potential impacts of professionalism when he states that over time the number and professional qualifications of paid staff to support the work of the board tends to increase, changing the allocation of resources for, and the manner in which the work gets done. While the board of volunteers may still make the fundamental decisions guiding the work of the organization, the implementation work is performed by paid staff or outsourced to highly technical, respected, external agencies. On the one hand the professionalization of information gathering adds credence to the organization, on the other hand it tends to place excessive emphasis on the use of statistical data, technical language, and "scientific" methodology, reducing the likelihood of comprehension by the members unless extensive training is applied. Communication is usually embodied, not in interpersonal contact, but through conventions, conferences, workshops, newsletters, and journals largely arranged for or written by paid staff, making the information seem more remote to local members.

As the organization becomes more bureaucratic, comprehension of the policies and programs at the grass-roots may diminish increasing the probability of little or no impact on the mission. When the strategic plans, mission statements, goals, and action plans are developed remotely by governing boards and paid staff there is little personal investment in their accomplishment by the local members. The expectation that volunteers will carry out the organized action plans imposed on them through the top-down program implementation process is unrealistic.

Not only are local groups expected to carry out the mandated programs, but volunteers and groups of volunteers who abide by the rules are respected and rewarded with things like gifts, recognition, and board positions, in an attempt to increase their motivation to conform. Although some organizations may be more efficient and effective with increased bureaucracy and professionalism, there is also the potential that the organization will deteriorate because of lack of membership commitment.

Another manifestation of the professionalization of volunteer organizations can be seen in the use of Foundations, the philanthropic arm of many large groups, to further their missions. They commission research, establish task forces to study social issues, set up educational settings and publications for transferring knowledge and use the information to influence public policy (Smith, 1989, p. 61-62). The leaders of Foundations decide what kinds of things are studied and who performs the research. They also influence what information is presented and through what channels it flows.

The American Association of University Women (AAUW) is struggling with the tensions created by the trends in society and changes in organizations. Where once the national office was in place only to support branches it is now the primary focus for policy and program development and implementation.

Tensions between the national and branch levels of AAUW
For AAUW, the work at the local level has, until recently, been central to the definition of the organization. AAUW was begun in 1882 by Marion Talbot "for the purpose of uniting the alumnae of different institutions for practical educational work, for the collection and publication of statistical and other information concerning education, and in general for the maintenance of high standards of education," cited in the AAUW bylaws (AAUW, 1995, p. 1). Although the official purpose of the association has not changed, the means of accomplishing it has significantly altered the role of branch members in the organization.

The roles have reversed between the association resources and the branch members. While the national office was once just an insignificant conduit for communication among the decentralized branches, it is now a large, professionalized, bureaucratic control point for the establishment, maintenance, and communication of organizational program and policy. At the same time, while the branches were once central to the functioning of the organization, they have now been marginalized. Where in 1912, the national association consisted of two salaried officers and was loosely related to the branches, it now employs well over one hundred staff members and with the board, attempts to maintain control over the branches through specific program and policy initiatives coupled with incentives to conform.

AAUW has become bureaucratized to the extent that it is now organized as three corporations: (a.) the association as the operating entity, (b.) the Educational Foundation, established in 1890, as the major philanthropic arm, and (c.) the Legal Advocacy Fund, begun in 1981, to support college women faculty seeking tenure. Each of the three corporations is

administered by an elected volunteer board of directors. Essentially, the organization appears to be run by this small group of volunteer leaders and a large paid staff with little active participation by the majority of the local membership.

Concurrent with the trend toward centralization is the steadily decreasing number of local members and branches. In 1986 there were 1,950 branches across the United States, in 1996 there were 1,600. They are declining at a rate of two to five percent per year. Each year more branches are disbanded than are created. Although the total membership of the organization has decreased over the last ten years it has actually increased in the last four years because of annual direct mail campaigns to recruit members-at-large (MAL), without local affiliation.

In 1986 there were 175,000 members, most of whom belonged to branches. In 1996 there were 160,000 members, only two-thirds of whom were branch members. The MALs are usually members in name only who are not active in any of the working groups at any level of the organization. A shift in the model of leadership of the organization may be occurring, in that in recent years there have been a few MALs appointed to association boards and committees. The appointment of MALs to decision making positions in the national association is problematic for many branch members who are seeking these positions and have "paid their dues" by working in every capacity at the branch and state level. There are usually many more applications from members for key positions on the association boards and committees than there are openings. Often MALs appointed to the board are from diverse backgrounds and enable the national office to visibly demonstrate one of their goals, that of becoming a more diverse organization.

The direct mail campaign has caused a significant amount of consternation among the branches because of the fact that the money brought in had not been shared with either the states nor the branches. It is all applied to the association's operating expenses. Without this additional income, however, the dues for the branches would have been increased several years ago. As an example of the magnitude of the situation, in 1994 Maryland had over 2000 MALs and only 1600 branch members. When letters were written to all of the MALs inviting them to be members of the state and local branches, only a handful of them joined, indicating that local affiliation was not important to them.

A campaign was waged by New Jersey officers at the 1995 association convention to pass a resolution stating that the association must provide a portion of the MAL dues to the states. This reaction was precipitated by the fact that the association was reaping the reward, financially and numerically, from the increased membership. The motion was defeated and in its place a task force was formed to study all of the avenues to membership and report back at the next biennial convention.

Not only are the branches no longer central to the performance of the association but the behavior they are expected to use in their communities has changed. AAUW members have typically been mainstream, relatively conservative women who quietly supported issues and

initiated change through educational means. In 1988, AAUW developed a strategic plan for the association, the Foundation, and the Legal Advocacy Fund to be used to focus the organization and to guide decisions and behavior. The mission of the Association is to promote equity for all women and girls, lifelong education, and positive societal change. The mission of the Educational Foundation is to provide funds to advance education, research, and self-development for women and to foster equity and positive societal change. The mission of the Legal Advocacy Fund is to provide funding and a support system for women faculty seeking judicial redress for sex discrimination (AAUW, 1997, p. 1). The formal goals and strategies for achieving the missions include being recognized as the leading advocate for education and equity for all women and girls, being a catalyst for change, being a racially and culturally diverse organization with a strong and growing membership and donor base, while maintaining a sound financial base to assure present and future effectiveness. Certainly the tenor of the strategic plan is activist in nature. Use of language like "provide visible leadership, develop grass-roots activism, lead coalition activities, increase impact on the educational community, and eliminate gender bias through systemic change" (AAUW, 1995b) imply that intent. Since this activist stance requires a different way of being for most branch members they may not relate to the associations strategies.

Although individuals in branches may not always be cognizant of the organization's larger mission, goals, and strategies, the leaders of the branch sometimes are and they target the work of the branch respectively. Objective criteria of the branches' compliance can be discerned through 5-Star submissions from branches to the association. The 5-Star Program, established in 1993 by the association, honors branch achievement in at least five of seven categories such as community action, public policy, legal advocacy support and fundraising. 338 branches and 25 states reached 5-star status in 1996 indicating some level of focus on AAUW priorities. The meaning of these achievements, however, is illusive with respect to the expectations documented in the strategic plan.

The general membership is less influential in determining program and policy than in the past even though the every member survey is sent out in even years to solicit input from them on emerging issues. The quarterly magazine of AAUW is the *Outlook*. It contains information on the organization's research, programs, and policies including the Every Member Survey which is published biannually in an effort to get input from members on the next biennial focus for the association. The editor (Horwitz, 1996, p. 46-47) reported that "the results of the survey guide leaders' discussions when planning AAUW's next steps." The public policy committee uses the survey to draft AAUW's public policy agenda, which is discussed and voted on at convention. The Program Development Committee uses the results to guide AAUW's program focus and Initiative for Educational Equity Work. For the last six years the focus of programming has been on an Initiative for Educational Equity. The results of the most recent survey reported in *Outlook* indicated that the membership is "dedicated to gender equity in education" (Horwitz, 1996, p. 46). Forty-five hundred responses to the survey were returned, some representing branches or branch boards. The survey covered program priorities, public policy priorities, and a question about the most critical issue recommended for AAUW focus.

Interestingly, MALs selected gender equity in education as the main concern but branch members listed educational equity as their second choice. The magazine sent to all members, however, claims gender equity in public schools is of highest concern. Programming decisions, therefore, may not be based on the priorities of branch members.

Program implementation
The Educational Equity Initiative is a ten year research and action agenda epitomizing the association's shift in focus from study to action. While the approach has certainly worked for the national organization, its efforts may have increased the marginalization of the branches as their response to the initiative has been disappointing to some of the leaders of the association. In an introductory letter accompanying the branch guide book, Sharon Schuster, a past president of AAUW, states that the goal of the initiative is to "end gender bias in our nation's schools"(Schuster, 1992). In training material for branch leaders she writes that "Real change in schools happens community by community and school district by school district. For us to achieve our goal, branches <u>must</u> be the center for action" (Schuster, 1992).

The Initiative was designed to make change on three social levels: personal, community, and systems, whereby individuals will come to understand the impact of gender bias, programs will be developed in communities to ensure gender-equity in education, and all educational systems will be gender-fair. The Initiative was begun in 1991 with a Poll, the results of which were introduced at a national summit in Washington, D.C., attended by nationally known educators, policy makers, corporate leaders, and members of the media, where a set of actions to combat gender bias were developed. A report of the poll and the roundtable, *Shortchanging Girls, Shortchanging America, A Call to Action,* was subsequently published with broad, sustained media coverage. AAUW claimed that the Roundtable was "the beginning of the public debate on gender bias in public schools"(Horwitz, 1996). States and branches were told by national officers through convention workshops, program mailings, and site visits to follow suit and conduct Roundtables in communities around the country (Schuster, 1992). Although 48 of the 50 states conducted Roundtables and developed an action plan, only 350 of the branches carried out the mandate. In Maryland, while the state leaders conducted a Roundtable in Annapolis, it was followed by only two of the twenty six branches and no intentional follow-up to the state Roundtable actions was conducted.

Reports, generated during the Initiative for Educational Equity to document additional research, are published and the branches are sent packages of leadership training material to enable them to use the material in the community, thereby, fostering systemic change. Branches are being asked to confront controversial issues, like gender bias and sexual harassment, publicly, to assess their educational systems and then engage the community in dialogue. The recipient of the materials is the branch president. She is the gatekeeper. To the extent that she reads, understands, internalizes, and shares the information with branch members is the extent to which they have an opportunity to connect with and use the material.

AAUW, frequently through Educational Foundation monies, has supported research that has created the framework--books, journals, conferences, and educational endeavors--within which experts and citizens talk about public issues. This certainly has been true of the Educational Equity Initiative which has fostered dialogue on gender bias. Systemic change means that the hearts and minds of people at all levels of society share the common agenda-- the new idea.

Public policy implementation
While policy development has long been a major focus of the association, in recent years controversial topics like gender-bias and reproductive choice have been included in the priorities which are reviewed and revised biennially by the public policy committee. The policies must be developed in accordance with the following broad statements from the bylaws (AAUW, 1995c p. 4): Promote equity, education, and development of opportunities for women and girls, enhance the value of the individual, remove barriers which prohibit individuals from realizing their full potential, and cooperate with other national and international organizations having related interests while maintaining a global perspective. Consideration must also be given to promoting the goals and activities of the Educational Foundation and the Legal Advocacy Fund. A paid lobbyist and a volunteer lobby corps work year-round to influence Congress on behalf of AAUW's issues.

For AAUW, even though there has been a lot of national communication on gender bias there appears to be very little action at the local level to really influence voters. The association can lobby hard and long for legislative change but it will not be sustained if the members at the local level have not taken corresponding action to influence citizens. A case in point is the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) passed in 1994 (Osajima, 1995) with gender equity provisions. The bill included specific strategies for eliminating bias in schools. AAUW testified at House and Senate hearings on ESEA and presented the same message to the U.S. Department of Education. Members across the country contacted their Congress members to urge action. It passed on October 5, 1994 (Osajima, 1995) however, implementation was dependent on federal funding which never occurred because members of Congress, elected by local members for the next legislative session, did not support the concept of federal funding for education and began a process of attempting to dismantle many of the legislative changes AAUW had supported in the past including Title IX and Affirmative Action.

When, in 1994, women didn't turn out to vote in the same numbers they had in 1992 and the positions of the 104th Congress were in opposition to many of those of AAUW, the board unilaterally decided to initiate and fund a Voter Education Campaign to impact the 1996 elections. They announced their decision at the 1995 Convention and then proceeded to work with forty-four organizations in the Women's Network for Change supplying about 5000 women with bi-weekly faxes pertaining to legislation in Congress and recommending calls and letters to members of Congress regarding their positions. Funding for Title IX of the Civil Rights Act, and the Gender Equity provisions of the Higher Education Act were two of the

primary issues, however, another area was reproductive choice and many of the faxes pointed out Congressional opposition to this issue. For some AAUW members at the local level, choice has been a very controversial topic (Levine, 1995, p. 162) and for this reason, the Voter Education Campaign also tended to heighten the tension between the branch and the association.

Statement of the Problem

Tension has been noted between the national association and branches in the process of program and policy implementation, as well as avenues to membership in the organization. Programs, the means of implementing the goals of the association, are now prescriptions for the way branches must behave in their communities rather than creations by the local units. How branch members actually respond to them, now that they are generated by a national association level paid staff and technical experts, is not clear.

Policies, the guiding principles upon which decisions and actions are taken, not only include controversial subjects now but require an activist stance for proselytization. Ardent public policy advocacy on AAUW's priorities is accomplished at the national level, but what happens at the local level may be at odds with AAUW's policies. Although the association has directed branch members to take an activist approach to achieving equity, it is not understood to what extent they have constituted themselves as a force for transformation.

The problem investigated in this study is how individuals experience AAUW branch membership and particularly how this experience relates to the program and policy initiatives of the national association.

Purpose of the Study

There were four purposes of this study: The first was to understand and describe how individuals experience branch membership; The second was to discover how they respond to the current program and policy initiatives of the association; The third was to examine some of the differences between members with regard to the salience of the initiatives; The fourth was to provide a thick, rich description of the phenomenon.

Research Issues

The research issues focused on the individual with regard to her membership in the branch, as well as, in AAUW. They also targeted her engagement with the program and policy agenda of the association. Understanding why women joined a local unit of a national association and why they retained their membership provided insight into the rationale for their levels of participation in the branch. Knowing how members actually experienced branch membership including the salience of the association program and policy initiatives to them, helped explain whether or not they were currently, or were likely to promote the program and policy agenda within the community.

The research issues were:
1. Why do women join a local unit of a national association?
2. Why do individuals retain their membership?
3. How do women experience membership in the branch?
4. How salient are the programs and policies of the national association for members?
5. How do branch members promote the program and policies of the national association?

Significance of the Study

The branch at the grass-roots of the American Association of University Women is said to be a fundamental contributor to the organization's goals; therefore, the rate of decline in the number of branches and members at the local level is of concern to the organization. The accomplishments of the Association since 1882 have for the most part been consummated at the local level but it now appears that they are often being accounted for principally at the national level. Two primary factors appear to be contributing to the change: First of all, systemic changes in society related to volunteerism and communication have influenced who and how many women volunteer and just how people form alliances around common issues; Second, changes in AAUW have created tensions between the branch and the association related to programming, public policy advocacy, and membership, jeopardizing the relationship and possibly alienating branch members from the association.

Often members belong to national associations for many years. Although the principles of the organization may remain the same, the nature of the mission and how it is accomplished may be altered and long time members may not connect with the changes. While the impact of voluntary associations with regard to their organizational goals has been studied considerably, the nature of the relationship between the goals and accomplishments of the national office and those of the local units has not, particularly when there has been a significant change in the character of those goals. By focusing on how members respond to the national goals, this study explicates the nature of the relationship, thus adding to the body of knowledge related to voluntary associations.

While volunteer motivation has also been studied extensively, understanding the dynamics related to changes in motivation over time has not. Additionally, although motivation to join has been given considerable attention, knowing how volunteers actually experience their membership has not. This study provides some understanding of the evolving nature of member's motivations within the context of the group. Although not a longitudinal study, it addresses how members experience their participation over time. It also provides some insight into how motivation impacts participation, an area also underrepresented in the literature. Furthermore, while voluntary associations at the local level have been studied extensively from the perspective of external impact, the nature of the internal impact on the members and the groups has not received as much attention. Engaging members in dialogue on the meaning they derived from membership furthers understanding of the internal impact of their participation. This study added to the body of voluntary association research by focusing on all of these areas.

In order for AAUW to achieve its feminist goals it is necessary for branch members to engage the community in dialogue on the oppressions still faced by women and girls. For example, to achieve one of its goals, that of eliminating gender bias through systemic change, it is essential that branches provide visible leadership, develop grass-roots activism, lead coalition activities, and increase their impact on the educational community within their locality. Understanding why women join the local unit, why they retain their membership, and how they experience this affiliation provided insight into how they felt about the current agenda. Furthermore, learning how or if they function in the branch to influence its outcomes is critical to the vitality of the mission since systemic change cannot be achieved at the national level alone. Therefore, this study used input from individual volunteers at the grass-roots level of AAUW to understand how members, within the context of the branch, promote the national agenda.

CHAPTER II.   REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Voluntary associations have played and continue to play a central role in the social and political development of women in the United States. Their consequences affect both the individual participants and society. Members gain knowledge, skills, attitudes and values by virtue of their involvement and their knowledge, in turn, affects people who are not members, but with whom they come in contact. Society is also impacted as social capital is generated and social change is brought about through the collective, collaborative efforts of voluntary organizations engaged in democratic and political processes. An example of one of the most significant social changes brought about by the collaborative action of women's organizations occurred when women demonstrated that they had learned to use the political processes sufficiently to force the enactment of woman suffrage, a process that took over seventy-five years.   The literature reviewed for this paper includes information pertaining to voluntary associations, including the nature of their contributions to sustaining democracy, the impact of societal changes on them, and the role they have played in the lives of American women.

Some of the databases explored included Psychlit, Dissertation Abstracts, ABI/INFORM, ERIC, FirstSearch, AltaVista, BooksInPrint, Proceedings, Sociological Abstracts, the Electronic Library and Social Science Abstracts. Extensive library searches were also used to find material related to the study.   The primary search criteria were women and voluntary associations (organizations and clubs), the American Association of University Women, women's values, social capital, feminism and activism.

This section begins with a discussion of the contributions voluntary associations make to the actual practice of citizenship. It is followed by an overview of the role voluntary associations play in the generation of social capital. Next, how societal and organizational trends are affecting voluntary participation in America is addressed, and then consideration is given to the way in which others have categorized voluntary associations. Volunteer motivation is explored followed by a discussion of the consequences of membership in voluntary associations. Literature related to how gender ideology influences women's experience in voluntary associations is analyzed next, followed by an historical account the American Association of University Women.

Practicing Citizenship in Voluntary Associations

Democracy is said to be predicated on voluntary association, where people come together to understand their situations, develop a common perspective, and take action. By definition, democracy demands participation through voluntary association and political action. While at times people who participate in voluntary association become aware of social issues and then learn how to use political processes to effect change, at other times they begin with political action in mind and use voluntary association to promote their cause. Tocqueville, a French political scientist, who came to the United States to appraise the meaning and actual functioning of democracy in 1840, noted that when Americans feel the need to influence or

change an aspect of collective life they form associations to do so. When writing about the proliferation of voluntary associations he said, "if it is proposed to inculcate some truth or to foster some feeling by the encouragement of a great example, they form a society" (Tocqueville, 1945 p. 106). Based on the proliferation of voluntary associations today it can be said that his statement was not only true in 1840 it had predictive value, as well. Others have not only reaffirmed the importance of voluntary associations within the context of democracy but have also developed conceptual frameworks that are considered next.

Voluntary associations have traditionally provided a venue for people to come together to work on community problems--to practice citizenship. Several authors address this important aspect of participation in voluntary associations. Although each one calls the process a different name, the idea is the same, that voluntary associations are places where confrontation of social problems can occur and resolution be instigated.

For example, in the early twentieth century, Mary Parker Follett (Follett, 1918) elaborated on the concept of the group process as a means of sustaining democracy. She felt that people should organize themselves into community groups to talk about their lives and identify their needs and aspirations. She felt that these common needs should become the substance of politics. She saw democracy as a group process of evolving the will of the people through interaction where group ideas are produced by interpenetration through psychic interaction. For her the essence of democracy, therefore, was the process of acting and reacting in dialogue, harmonizing difference, and creating the common will. Furthermore, she felt that the strength of democracy rests on the extent to which the group process is effective, that a "democratic community is one in which the common will is being gradually created by the civic activity of its citizens" (Follett, 1918, p. 51).

Elsey's (1993, p. 4) view of voluntary associations is similar to Follet's but he calls them the "third way" and indicates that they mediate the social and cultural structure between the state and the free market economy. He used a case study, within the context of a hospital and community based voluntary organization, to demonstrate the ways in which a female membership empowers the volunteers to take on a variety of roles and responsibilities, undergirded by an emphasis on learning and personal development. Similar to Elsey's expression of the "third way," Evans and Boyte (1992, p. 18) refer to voluntary associations as "free spaces, where people experience a schooling in citizenship and learn a vision of the common good in the course of struggling for change."

Boyte and Kari (1996, p. 10) present the notion of public work through voluntary association as observable effort on common tasks of importance to a community. Public work involves many different people and permits the formation of a perspective regarding citizenship which is based on people's everyday workplaces and living environments. It is subject to argument and interpretation, and results in the establishment of social as well as material culture in which citizens feel accountable for solving social problems. The thought is that the general citizenry must come up with the ideas and resources to proactively and productively solve

community problems like homelessness, deteriorating schools, violence, and teen pregnancy. They claim that for many people in the 1990s the civic dimension of their identity is seldom thought about because people don't see themselves as agents of community change. People who do, however, promote a view of citizenship emphasizing a dialectic which produces shared values and understandings, and encourages a balance between individuals' responsibilities and rights. "The concept of public work highlights the elemental fact that we all constantly participate in sustaining and creating our environments--our local institutions, our jobs, and workplaces, and on the larger scale, our government and politics" (p. 22).

Regardless whose concept of democratic participation is favored the message is clear that each of them require dialogue, solution building, and work on every level of community, and often times voluntary associations are the places where people become empowered to act as agents for change. The result of the interaction of people in community is the development of stocks of social capital which form the glue that perpetuates democracy

The Generation of Social Capital in Voluntary Associations

Coleman (1990) developed the idea of social capital which refers to elements of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. It is inherent in the structure of relations between and among persons and is productive in that it makes possible the achievement of certain ends that would not be attainable in its absence (pp. 302-313).

The elements of social capital, manifested through social relations, that constitute resources for individuals are explained below: The first element includes obligations and expectations which refer to the level of trustworthiness in the environment in terms of obligations that will be repaid and the actual extent of obligations held. As people work together in voluntary association they relate to each other based on the obligations they feel toward each other and the expectations they have from each other. These relationships inform the level of trustworthiness in the environment. The second element is information potential which incorporates the knowledge that provides a basis for action. Social capital is built between members to the extent that they take time to acquire and share the knowledge required to understand a situation and act on it. The third element includes the norms and effective sanctions in a community or group, which both facilitate and constrain actions. The fourth element of social capital influencing behavior in a group can be found in the authority relations between and among people. The fifth element is the extent that a voluntary organization may be appropriated as existing social capital for purposes other than those intended. The sixth element is to what extent the organization is intentional, meaning to what extent does the organization produce social capital as a direct result of investment by participants expecting a return on their investment. This element includes those organizations which produce a public good, the benefit of which is available to others regardless of whether they participate or not.

According to Coleman (p. 321), one aspect of social capital that is extremely important is that it must be maintained for it depreciates if it is not renewed. In other words, social relationships deteriorate if not maintained, norms are dependent on frequent communication, and expectations and obligations atrophy over time.

Putnam (1995) found that this situation is pervasive in American society today. He asserts that, "By almost every measure, Americans' direct engagement in politics and government has fallen steadily and sharply over the last generation, despite the fact that average levels of education--the best individual level predictor of political participation--have risen sharply throughout this period. Every year over the last decade or two, millions more have withdrawn from the affairs of their communities." (p.68) He notes that membership in traditional women's groups has declined since the mid-1960s, stating that the National Federation of Women's Clubs is down by more than half (59 percent) since 1964, and membership in the League of Women Voters has gone down by 42 percent since 1969 (p. 69). He contends that while membership in civic organizations expanded during the first part of the century, aggregate associational membership declined in the last two decades and has not been offset by growth in other organizations (pp. 69-70) indicating an erosion in social capital.

Putnam (1995) believes that social capital is eroding because of (a.) the movement of women into the labor force; (b.) mobility: the "re-potting" hypothesis; (c.) other demographic transformations like fewer marriages, divorces, lower real wages; fewer children; (d.) the technological transformation of leisure; (e.) the impact of electronic networks. Putnam claims that the question of how to reverse these adverse trends in social connectedness, thus restoring civic engagement and civic trust, should be high on America's agenda (p. 77).

Putnam (1993) studied regional governments, established in 1970, in Italy for two decades. He and his colleagues wanted to understand how these new institutions would evolve, given the fact that each had different social, economic, political, and cultural contexts. While some of the new governments were successful, others were total failures. They found that "Strong traditions of civic engagement--voter turnout, newspaper readership, membership in choral societies, and literary circles, Lions Clubs, and soccer clubs--are the hallmarks of a successful region" (p. 36). In this article about his study, he also referred to the "dense social networks" (p. 41) established by women's associations, during the Progressive Era, which allowed them, even though they were not part of the political establishment, to play a powerful role. Putnam concludes that, "If we are to make our political system more responsive, especially to those who lack connections at the top, we must nourish grass-roots organization."

In another study Putnam (1996) explored the possible reasons for the depletion of social capital in the America since the 1960s. He states that mobility and suburbanization, pressures of time and money, the changing role of women, marriage and family, the rise of the welfare state, race and the civil rights revolution, and generational effects, but concludes that the prime suspect is really American's use of leisure time. For example, he claims that television has displaced time that had previously been spent in social participation and it also frequently

has negative effects on the viewers' attitudes towards benevolence thus "undermining our connections with one another and with our communities" (p. 17).

Not everyone agrees with Putnam's view of the severity of the decline in voluntary association membership. For example, Sirianni and Friedland (1995) question how we explain the fact that while there has certainly been a decline in local clubs--the places where social capital has been generated in the past--there has also been significant learning and capacity building with regard to, at least, two particular areas, community organizing and environmentalism. They contend that new civic models have been developed or refined to address, often in innovative ways, the increasingly complex social problems in these two areas. Their data suggest that focusing on the development of collaborative learning communities between organizations and policy arenas including agencies, interest groups, civic organizations, and the media (p. 17) will enable the renewed growth of social capital.

Trends Affecting Voluntary Associations

While the sentiments of Americans still seem to connect with the democratic concepts related to the importance of voluntary association in communities the literature reviewed showed that changes occurring in society are affecting them. For example, demographic trends show a decreasing pool of women candidates, an increased participation of women in the workforce, and the devaluing of volunteering in women's lives. In addition, the way in which people interrelate on issues of importance in modern society is changing from direct interpersonal communication to indirect contact often mediated by technology.

From a demographic perspective, an analysis of the supplementary questions in the May 1989 Current Population Survey (1991) compared with findings from earlier ones published in 1991 showed that 21.9 percent of women were volunteers. The typical volunteer is a married, college educated women, between the ages of 25 and 64, with a high income, who volunteers about five hours a week (Hayghe, 1991, p. 21). The report also indicated that there has been about a four percentage-point drop -- from 26 percent in 1974 to 22 percent in 1989. Furthermore, it stated that the League of Women Voters and the American Red Cross had experienced problems recruiting volunteers.

O'Connor and Johnson (1989, p. 407) found that the demographic trends for women between the ages of 25-44 indicate a "ten percent growth of prime volunteer market up to 1990 with growth leveling out through 1995 and the numbers decreasing between 1995 and 2000." In addition, they indicate a decreasing pool of available volunteers because of the increased participation of educated women in paid employment which impacts their time available for other activities. While the work that women used to perform in volunteer service organizations was once prized when these positions represented "careers" for women, as the doors of the professional workplace opened for women, many of the ones who were leaders left the fold, often leaving a void in the leadership positions of the organization. At this point in time, fewer women have the luxury, or the desire, to spend a life-time volunteering,

especially since unpaid activities that were once valued by society are sometimes questioned in an atmosphere where status is equated more with professional position and salary.

While most studies have focused on the individual in voluntary association, McPherson and Rotolo (1996, p. 179) investigated the practice of group affiliation at the aggregate level and what determines the composition of voluntary groups over time. They found that the state of any group's membership depends on "other groups that are vying for the same kind of member" (p. 200). This is especially true for groups competing within a niche. Additionally, they discovered that "the greater the density of organizations, the higher the rate of attrition of their members" (p. 184), particularly the active ones. Like others, they also found that education has the "most consistent relationship to the number of group memberships across the largest number of studies"(p. 183).

Institutions, like voluntary associations, in society have provided structure for identity formation and maintenance, but, according to Merry (1995), that may no longer be possible. He discusses how the new sciences of chaos, complexity, self-organization and evolution manifest themselves in the human world. He points out that in today's world where things are constantly changing it is essential that social systems including institutions that humans have created to organize their lives, need to constantly cooperate and coordinate their actions and change them according to changed circumstances. While institutions have in the past represented stability for their members, he indicates that transformation in organizations is necessary if they are to remain viable. It is essential that organizations move away from rigid structures to changing structures, one right way of organizing to many varied forms of organization, as well as from defined forms of membership to different ways of connection (pp. 153-154).

Minkoff (p.37) cites the following economic and demographic changes that have accounted for the increase in women's activism since World War II; increases in labor force participation, divorce rate, age of marriage, and educational attainment with a concomitant decline in fertility. These changes coupled with the industrial expansion and technological and cultural developments presented women with an enhanced consciousness of their economic inequality and promoted their political participation through the women's movement in the 1960s and 1970s. During this time, while large formal organizations pursued equal rights through advocacy, smaller interest groups directed their efforts toward more radical action and direct resource provision often accomplishing some of the things the traditional organizations had done in the past.

During the 60s and 70s the face of many women's organizations changed, moving from a service oriented stance to one of activism. In her study of the history of women's organizations, Rubin (1982, p. 36-37) recounted how this change took place in the National Organization for Women (NOW). In 1971, during the fifth national conference of NOW, a resolution was passed which distinguished between two types of volunteering; service oriented volunteering, and political or change oriented volunteering. The task force

presenting the resolution had decided that service-oriented volunteering, unpaid labor wherein social services are provided, impeded the progress toward improving the status of women since it focused on individuals and did not contribute to systemic political or economic reform. Additionally, women were performing work, which was nothing more than an extension of unpaid housework, for which they should have received remuneration. The resolution encouraged political, change-oriented, volunteering, whereby the focus was systemic change. They felt this would in turn lead to more involvement by women in the social, political, or economic system decision making process which would improve the status of women (p. 371).

Interestingly, even higher education has been affected by the dialogue between feminism and voluntarism; the professionalization of voluntarism has influenced courses and programs of study in association administration, women have sought acknowledgment for significant volunteer experiences as work experience and college credit, and women's studies programs have given students opportunities to act as change agents through field studies of various kinds (p. 41). For these reasons, Meuller (1975, p. 334) felt that perhaps feminist groups should reassess their condemnation of volunteer work until such time as market institutions provide women with part-time jobs having a significant component be on-the-job training during the years they are fulfilling responsibilities at home. Either that or cease decreasing their market work commitment when their children are young because the volunteer organization remains one of the few places accessible to these women for the activity of maintaining or building human capital.

Peach (1998, p.409) in her discussion of feminism and the future claims that while "the feminist movement has clearly benefited the lives of many women, and has the potential to fundamentally reshape society," popular descriptions of feminism as extreme, strident, and out of touch with the issues and concerns of mainstream women, have made feminism unpopular with many Americans, including women. She characterizes the many strands of feminist thought, noting the differences which have led to alienation between women with different viewpoints, as well as, backlash against feminism itself. She contends, however, that there is a trend toward more communication among women which may "contribute to a greater clarity concerning how women can most effectively work to secure changes in public policy that will benefit all women, or at least not benefit some at the expense of others" (p. 417).

Categories of Voluntary Associations

Voluntary organizations have been categorized in many ways. Each of the three studies reviewed offer categorizations based on the point of impact of the work of the groups, whether it is internal or external. Minkoff (1995) studied women's organizations and Elsdon, Reynolds, and Stewart (1995), studied local voluntary associations in England. Comish (1976, p. 7-11), on the other hand, focused on the importance of leadership in organizations.

Minkoff (1995, p. 75) used four strategies in studying voluntary organizations; advocacy, advocacy/service, service, and protest. Her approach included the use of social

movement theory, organizational ecology, and institutional theory to understand the growth of voluntary associations with a national membership. She found that during the 1960s advocacy became more common than service provision as the action strategy. She claims that "social conditions structure the demand and opportunities for activist and voluntary organization activity" (p. 84). She also notes that when environmental or contextual conditions change, the organization's must respond and change or disband.

When Minkoff studied the organizations that women have formed to focus specifically on ending racial-ethnic and gender discrimination since the mid-1950s, she found that the existence of the associations formed during that time demonstrated the many ways that Americans initiated social change. She claimed that there had been significant growth in organizational activity by women of both the traditional nature, and also new forms during the last four decades and furthermore that the expansion of these organizations is indicative of the strength and effectiveness of the movement to challenge discrimination (p. 3). She also claimed that the growth of organizations seemed to have been a result of the social movements of the 1960s when listening to diverse groups of people was legitimated and also the fact that in American culture formal organizations are given a voice in the public arena.

Gordon and Babchuk (1959) studied the membership criteria, activities, and stated objectives of voluntary organizations related to the functions of the organization. Based on their analysis they categorized voluntary associations as either expressive or instrumental or expressive/instrumental wherein: Expressive organizations are those which provide activities of direct benefit to the participants and help to provide satisfactions of personal fellowship, and Instrumental organizations are intended to maintain or create some normative condition or change. While the impact of expressive groups is on the participants, the impact of instrumental groups is expected to affect those external to the group.

Elsdon, Stewart and Reynolds (1995, p. 35), in their study of voluntary organizations in England, categorized them by their current stance, in that they may be either "dynamic" (developing, engaged in constructive change), or "static" (unchanging, on a plateau of activity) or divergent (having undergone or currently undergoing changes which are negative in relation to the organization's objectives). The static category includes two types: (a.) those which are satisfactorily meeting their objectives but have to maintain themselves in their current stance to continue successful and; (b.) those whose development has been arrested in such a manner that they show signs of declining into the divergent category.

Another criterion used by Elsdon to characterize voluntary associations is whether their objectives and behavior are inward-looking, established to meet the needs and interests of members, or outward-looking, established to meet the needs of others. The extent to which an organization's objectives and behavior are consistent is the extent to which they can be said to be congruent and congruence between objectives and behavior is one way of assessing organizations

One particularly interesting finding from their work regarding members is that learning, change, and satisfaction are important outcomes, with growth in confidence having the highest priority among respondents. Most important, however, was the unexpected learning and change that occurred (p. 47). In fact, he claims that an "unpremeditated group of changes - confidence, empowerment, making constructive relationships, organizational learning, ability and willingness to shoulder responsibility - is mentioned as the first and most important one by an overwhelming majority of interview respondents" (p. 79).

The learning and change that takes place is not primarily the product of objectives, organization, or resources, but may be found in the characteristics of members' personal relationships with each other, those of leadership, members' growing awareness of their own needs and potential, and the level of demands inherent in membership (p. 48). This was especially true for incongruent organizations. Not only did the learning and change affect the members but it had a positive effect on other members, as well as, others with whom the members had regular contact, like family, friends, and co-workers. They also found that people who belonged to voluntary organizations often became more aware and responsive to civic and political issues and furthermore that they were more likely to participate in democratic life (p. 79).

According to Comish (1976, p. xv), the key ingredients of an effective organization include the extent to which there is a clear goal; the energy and willingness of members to participate in activities; the appropriateness of the coordination performed to that of the tasks required to accomplish the goal; the availability of resources needed; and the way in which conflict is handled. Furthermore, he contends that good leaders are the ones who facilitate effective organizations.

Comish (pp. 7-11) found that in voluntary associations the group goals consist of both internally oriented goals such as fellowship, personal enjoyment, prestige and development, as well as externally oriented goals like community service, fund raising, and public awareness. Although there are benefits to voluntary associations if they focus on the achievement of their goals, "frequently, group leaders and members fail to recognize the significance of goals to their organization's success" (p. 14). When this happens the members may become disenchanted with the group because of its apparent lack of purpose.

Motivations for Volunteering

Research on why people volunteer has been done from many points of view. Two works examined include member's psychological and social needs manifested in beliefs and behaviors and members' interests in incentives that are offered by collective action organizations. Another perspective reviewed concerned motivation for women to participate in voluntary organizations, particularly with respect to activism. The impact of the tendency of organizations toward homophily was cited along with the importance of sociodemographic characteristics of volunteers. With regard to activism, personal needs including anger, and

personal knowing were also explored with respect to organizations as a social force for change.

The reasons why individuals join organizations varies from intrinsic where they join for purely personal reasons to extrinsic where they join based upon the outcomes or values of the organization. Ilsley (1990, pp. 19-20) used Abdennur's (1987) categories of classifying volunteers according to their motivation and proposed that while some members join to have direct contact with customers of the organization, others join because they are concerned about a certain issue advocated by the organization, and still others join for opportunities of self-expression, occupational reasons, or to fulfill philanthropic desires. Furthermore, he found that volunteers' motives were not related to age or gender but to their choice of organization and also that their motives change over time in relation to such things as the ideals, norms, and expectations of their organizations (p. 20).

In surveying participation in a hospital's voluntary service, Elsey (1993) used a slightly different perspective and examined three areas, the reasons for volunteering, along with the benefits and perceived drawbacks of doing so. The results of his survey demonstrate a "mix of altruism, self-interest, and the need for social contact through worthwhile voluntary work and the constructive use of free time" (p. 5). One of the most interesting findings of Elsey's research is related to the opportunity voluntary organizations provide to participants to empower themselves through the "social relations of membership, self-selected decision-making and other management aspects of voluntary organizational life, and formal and informal learning based on freely chosen activities, lifestyle interests and values" (p. 13).

Clary, Snyder, and Stukas (1996, p. 486) used functional theories of beliefs and behaviors to determine people's motivation to engage in voluntary activity since it provides a framework for understanding the psychological and social needs and goals, plans and motives that individuals are attempting to satisfy through their beliefs and behaviors. "In the case of volunteering, this means that people engage in volunteer work to achieve important psychological goals and that different individuals will be seeking to satisfy different motivations through volunteer activity" (p. 486). Using this functional approach Clary, Snyder, and Stukas, (p. 487) identified the following reasons why people volunteer:

1. Values function; to express and act on important values to the self.
2. Understanding function: to increase knowledge and develop practical skills.
3. Enhancement function: to enhance psychological development or enhance self-esteem.
4. Career function: to gain experience that will benefit careers.
5. Social function: to fit in, to get along with social groups that are important to them.
6. Protective function: to cope with inner anxieties and conflicts to protect their ego.

Thus, Clary, Snyder, and Stukas (1996) provide a framework for understanding the psychological and social needs and goals, plans and motives that individuals are attempting to satisfy through their beliefs and behaviors.

Knoke, (1988) used data from an examination of the effects of members' interests in incentives offered by collective-action organizations utilizing data from a national sample of American associations. Knoke found that volunteer motivation could be described in three ways: rational choice based on some expected cost benefit, affective based on bonding centered around emotional attachments, and normative conformity based on a need to adhere to standards of conduct grounded in socially instilled values about principles of behavior.

He found that by offering members a variety of inducements, organizations try to attract sufficient resources to undertake collective actions and that there are three generic types of inducements in associations' incentive systems (p. 315). Utilitarian incentives which include private goods in the form of individually consumed direct services; Social incentives, meaning jointly coordinated social and recreational activities, the enjoyment of which, is also restricted to membership; and Normative incentives consisting primarily of public goods that require collective efforts to influence government policy makers.

Pearce (1993) reviewed the literature on voluntary motivation and concluded that there are four methods researchers have used to study the topic. Some of the authors used conjectural approaches, some used empirically based lists, others used nationwide surveys and still others used grounded theory. The conjectural approaches were of limited usefulness because lists were developed of volunteer motives without an explanation of the circumstances under which the rewards became salient (p. 70). While the surveys were "comprehensive and consistent," they provided information that often seemed to be the "...socioculturally accepted 'reasons' people tend to give" (p. 74). Pearce examined two studies using grounded theory methodology and found them noteworthy because the researchers not only listed the reasons people join, but they "developed testable hypotheses about volunteer organizational behavior" (p. 74).

Pearce (1993) summarized the reasons for volunteering as follows, "First, individuals volunteer to satisfy a wide diversity of personal needs, such as job-training among youths and personal contacts for some business people. However, three attractions of volunteering appear across divergent studies--volunteering to serve, for social contact, and to promote the goals of the particular organization" (p. 76).

Tradition may also be a factor, particularly with regard to membership retention, as Milofsky (1997) points out that nonprofit organizations are important as centers of traditional practices because they "require a community of others who share a history, an ideology or set of beliefs, deep understandings about how things should be done, shared responsibilities for the institution and a person need or desire to value the benefits of some sort of behavior" (p. 261).

While tradition may be an important component in the sustenance of voluntary associations, it is difficult to analyze and measure.

Motivation in women's voluntary organizations
Markham & Bonjean (1995) studied the community orientation of higher status women and found that voluntary associations still tend toward homophily and homogeneity of views. Members can build consensus when outsiders with divergent views avoid joining or quickly resign or when members consciously or unconsciously seek recruits with backgrounds and views like their own. They (p. 1556) found that the tendencies toward homophily and homogeneity of views may be especially strong in associations oriented toward solving community problems since diversity can make reaching consensus about problems and solutions difficult. Markham found that the uniformity of views appears to be a result primarily of selectivity rather than socialization (p. 1557).

They also found that cultural enrichment, once a staple of higher-status women's organizations, was no longer as important. Members preferred to address issues such as welfare and education of children and adolescents, poverty, substance abuse and crime rather than issues associated with a liberal agenda or confrontational activism like, race and ethnicity, women's issues, and citizen involvement (p. 1564). Markham and Bonjean found that members still place highest importance on the higher-status women's traditional commitments that do not threaten established power nor force them to identify with a liberal agenda and activism of a confrontational nature. They concluded that members' choice of community problems, on which to work, are still shaped by class, gender and selectivity of membership (Markham & Bonjean, 1995 p. 1569).

Caputo (1997, p. 156) pondered the factors associated with the likelihood that female volunteers focus their efforts on changing social conditions and that female activists volunteer. Her position is that activism and voluntarism need not be synonymous and that their relationship is often obscure. She illuminates "the relationship between voluntarism and self-reported social activism by identifying sociodemographic, organizational, and psychoattidudinal characteristics associated with each of them" (p. 156). Caputo found that sociodemographic characteristics play a significant role in volunteer activity. For example, higher education increased the likelihood of female volunteers devoting time to changing social conditions, but being white decreased the odds of female volunteers being activists. She also found that volunteers are likely to be found in organizations reflecting their own affinity for activism, and they are more likely to be activists if they perceive that what they do makes a difference. Additionally she discovered that work decreases the extent to which women volunteer but not their propensity towards activism (p. 170-171). Since cultural issues, such as abortion have been added to the list of social and economic justice issues like pay equity and equal employment opportunity resulting in female activists crossing political and class lines, women have carried out their agendas in a variety of organizations.

Women as activists in voluntary association
In presenting a guide to help women understand what to do to become activists, Zepatos and Kaufman (1995) relay excepts from the personal stories of women who have achieved a politically active stance through their leadership of voluntary associations. In one case the woman claimed she started a local volunteer organization to help battered women because she "needed the professional and personal growth" (p. 10). In another case, as a result of the death of her daughter, a woman started a national organization which now has over "400 chapters in 48 states and a membership of 2.8 million people" (p. 10), to prevent drunk driving accidents. It was one of the forces responsible for changing the drinking age from 18 to 21 in many states. In each of these cases the salience of the issues to the women activists was high, however, in the first case her participation was based more on satisfying her own needs rather than fighting for the rights of others, even though she accomplished both.

Astin and Leland (1991 p. xi) studied women activists and how they, through collective leadership and individual efforts, have been a social force in redefining such fundamental aspects of our lives as family, equality, and justice. By studying women activists Astin and Leland (p. 157) identified three Elements as significant factors in their leadership accomplishments: collective action, passionate commitment, and consistent performance. From the perspective of collective action, all of the leaders worked with people and through people to make changes. As agents of social change the women in the study all took action because of acute awareness of injustices in society based on personal experiences, and a commitment to social justice and change and they were relentless in their transformative work.

Garland (1988) presents stories of fourteen women as activists in community and neighborhood issues, environment and public safety concerns, and justice and peace. She claims that "The leadership and ranks of community groups are predominately women. Women are vocal and passionate leaders in fights against toxic waste dumps, against nuclear power, and against nuclear weapons" (p. ix). The women in her book point to anger as a principal motivator underlying their thinking and their behavior. The women often found themselves very much alone in the intensity of their belief at the injustice and this feeling added urgency to their cause. The women found that active presence is a necessary ingredient in movements

Garland asked each of the participants why women appear to be more likely to populate movements and some said that "It's the women who are most involved with nurturing in the community as well as in the family" (p. xx). The women activists made connections between their families, their communities, and the world and thus became empowered to act.

Parallels can be drawn between Garland's work and that of Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1973, p. 134) who when studying how women know what they know, found that women who are "constructivists" operate outside the frames and systems authorities provide and create their own frame, they are those who aspire to work that contributes to the empowerment and improvement in the quality of life of others (p.152). Activists frequently

demonstrate constructivist knowing within the context of responsibility and care as identified by Gilligan (Gilligan, 1982) when she studied the moral development of women.

Keshet (1997, p. 3) selected one hundred first person accounts of women who attained personal knowing which included the following intuitive experiences: "new insights, knowledge relevant for the women's life course, a shift of consciousness, a sudden awareness, strong emotions accompanying the insight, physical sensations, and the use of metaphoric language." Through the intuitive process of discovering meaning as opposed to creating it, meaning systems are found or refined. For some of the women in her study, the commitment to a life of social or political change was first recognized through an experience of personal knowing.

The research on voluntarism and activism seem to imply that personal engagement and connection related to experience of discrimination is a necessary predecessor for involvement in combating the oppression.

The Contribution of Voluntary Associations to Women's Growth

Miller (1986) constructed a new conception of female development of self. She claimed that for females, a sense of self is developed and organized around the concept of connection with others, as opposed to previous explanations which saw the self as being developed through a process of separation. Miller, a psychiatrist, was puzzled by the fact that in her clinical practice, while women devalued their psychological qualities grounded in the emotions between people, she felt they should recognized them as fundamental strengths. She found that using traditional psychological definitions of the self, based on autonomy, reinforced the negative way women's experiences were interpreted and treated in psychotherapy. Therefore, she developed a new framework for understanding how "women's sense of self becomes very much organized around being able to make and then to maintain affiliations and relationships" (p. 83). Miller claims that "affiliations, relationships, make women feel deeply satisfied, fulfilled, "successful," free to go on to other things" (p. 87). By viewing people this way the experience central to women's lives becomes valued and is no longer treated as a deficiency.

Miller found that it is essential to recognize the importance of relationship in women's lives. Women want relationships where both parties are engaged, where they not only understand the other person's feelings but they contribute to them (p.22). She found that women, "desire to live and work in a context of mutually enhancing relationships" (p.25). She claims that participating in and fostering the development of other people are conditions that have been delegated to women and have been granted inferior value. Since they have not been incorporated into our perceptions as sources of growth, satisfaction, and empowerment, it has become difficult to conceive of them as the sources of motivation and development.

The Affect of Gender Ideology on Voluntary Associations

> There can be no doubt that voluntary associations were the major vehicles
> for expanding the rights and efficacy of American women...Associated

women helped shape the class structure. They democratized the political order. They built a whole range of community institutions that are now taken for granted. They largely invented progressivism; in that era more than any other, they spotted emergent social problems, proposing and often enacting practical solutions. The welfare state as it emerged in the early twentieth century was largely their creation, as agencies of government assumed responsibility for many of the programs originally instituted by voluntary associations.

(Hewitt & Lebsock, 1993, p.3)

The literature reviewed regarding women's voluntary associations, indicates that while the first voluntary associations of women was organized for member benefit through education and cultural enrichment, they quickly became a place where women could also obtain and use power for the purpose of reform. Several authors indicate that in voluntary organizations women acknowledged the importance of a network of relationships, as central to their identity. Two of the authors use conceptualizations of the prevailing gender ideology in society as way of understanding the interaction between voluntarism, women's development, and social policies toward women. The material is presented as a chronology of women's voluntary associations.

After the Press Club of New York invited Charles Dickens to speak and Jane C. Croly, a journalist, decided to attend but was essentially denied an invitation she established the first woman's club, Sorosis. The purpose of the club was, in her words, to "supply the want of unity and secular organization among women" (Croly, 1886, p. 7). It was, therefore, organized primarily for member benefit and emphasized education and cultural enrichment for the women, who joined by invitation, but they also established a philanthropy fund from which they supported efforts like the Working Women's Protective Union. In 1873 Sorosis sent out a "call" to many other clubs and the first Congress of the Association for the Advancement of Women, which later became known as the General Federation of Women's Clubs, was held.

McCarthy (1990, p. 1) claims that women found in voluntary associations a venue where they could garner and use power. Furthermore, she contends that "women most often turned to nonprofit institutions and reform associations as their primary points of access to public roles. In the process they forged parallel power structures to those used by men, creating a growing array of opportunities for their sisters and themselves." Through the use of nongovernmental organizations, women focused on reform initiatives in response to public needs, within the framework of prevailing political ideologies which shaped their choices and campaigns, and used their contributions to leverage opportunities and careers.

Hulbert & Schuster (1993) explored the lives of educated women and discovered some of the ways gender, education, societal forces, and personal values shaped the twentieth-century experience of American women. Their thesis, that human development and behavior occur within and in interaction with changing sociohistorical contexts" (p. 417), is based on multiple

longitudinal studies of educated women who were studied and categorized as belonging to four eras; the vanguard era which included women who had graduated from college between 1900 and 1950, the era of limitations corresponding to the 1950s, the era of transition during the 1960s, and the era of liberation for women who started college after 1965. As can be discerned from the titles of the eras certain gender ideologies shaped the context within which women were educated. During each of these era she concludes that women have chosen a life-style orientation, usually in early adulthood, but that changes to it are influenced by either historical events or broad social and cultural trends or circumstances unique to their own lives.

One of the themes that emerged from the studies is the salience of personal relationships in women's lives, wherein women acknowledge the importance of a network of relationships as central to their identity. Based on the studies (p. 432) Hulbert & Schuster conclude that by "conceptualizing the evolution of the life structure as an interactive process, we can acknowledge various factors as contributors to this evolution: the role of cognition and conscious decision making, the salience of relationships, and the influence of external forces and realities" (p. 430).

Rothman (1978) devised a way of understanding the development of American social policies toward women by using the prevailing gender ideology in society as her point of departure. She claims that four fundamental views of women's proper place informed the generation of social policy from the late nineteenth century to 1978; virtuous womanhood, educated motherhood, woman as wife-companion, and woman as person. Calling the first perspective "virtuous womanhood," she relates how it informed a women's agenda in the late nineteenth century, which "reflected a determination to transform institutions and organizations in the spirit of feminine virtues and to protect and preserve the purity and respectability of all women, but particularly of country girls, working girls, and street girls" (p. 63). Defining problems in moral terms, individuals were seen as the focus of reform through voluntary rather than state action. Women's clubs "exemplified the effort to popularize and fulfill the principles of virtuous womanhood" (p. 64).

The Progressive Era brought with it a new perspective on women called "educated motherhood." Childcare which had until this time been considered a private responsibility now became the focus of voluntary associations like the New York Kindergarten Association and the National Congress of Mothers, which later became the Parent Teachers Association, They led the effort, not only to educate women on child development but to "confront problems that industrialization, urbanization, and immigration posed" (p. 111). The Mother's Clubs used the venue of the settlement houses to educate immigrant women to the doctrines of child welfare; the meetings consisted of lectures on childcare, the necessity of play for building good muscles, and the importance of regular habits to developing good character, and the significance of school attendance in promoting vocational advancement" (p. 115).

In her historical study, Clapp (1996) examined the things which encouraged women to become involved in social welfare reform during the Progressive Era. She found that

changing attitudes about childhood which emphasized the proper--educated and scientific--rearing of "good citizens" influenced a change in women's position in society (p. 2). Gender roles also changed and became more rigid as a result of social, economic, and ideological factors. The idea of a purely private "women's sphere" was constructed. "While men occupied the public sphere of work and politics, women's place was now seen to be in the private world of the home and family, and her economic role in the family was no longer recognized" (p. 3). Even though this classification seemed restrictive, women benefited from it because it justified additional education so that they would be more effective educators of their sons. "In the ante-bellum years middle-class women developed a reform tradition based upon a gendered discourse which emphasized their moral authority and their ability to speak for the needs of women of other races and classes" (p. 4). The community and cultural reform activities were often initiated by women in voluntary association through women's clubs.

Rothman (1978, p.178) claims that the 1920s gave way to the concept of "woman as wife-companion" wherein autocracy in the family unit was now sustained by affection with the place of women beside her husband. Participation in sororities on college campuses grew, advertising was filled with sexual or romantic messages of one kind or another, women partied and wore revealing clothing, and they retreated from public places into the home. The altruistic work of women' s clubs was replaced, in many instances, with self-improvement programs, bridge groups, and country club activities. Women were now devalued as mothers, no longer greatly involved in community outreach, and still not in the workforce in great numbers. Rothman (p. 218) says that by the time the 1960s came they were "frustrated and angry" allowing them to easily transition into the second wave of the women's movement as persons where women were thought to find fulfillment not in the role of mother or wife but in her own accomplishments. The social policy agenda was dominated by equal rights, day care, and reproductive freedom. The central concern being the rights of individuals certainly parlayed from the civil rights movement. Voluntary organizations like the National Organization for Women (NOW) which was the first civil rights organization for women, and consciousness raising groups promoted equality. Policies enacted included Congressional passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, the Women' s Educational Equity Act, and Title IX, each of which called for opportunities for women to be treated as equal persons under the law.

Evans (1989) and Miles (1989), in their histories of women, provide evidence of the importance of voluntary associations in women's lives, even though the struggle for equity continues. Evans (p. 5) notes that through "voluntary associations located between the public world of politics and work and the private intimacy of family--women made possible a new vision of active citizenship..." By participating in organizations like the National Organization of Women, and the Coalition of Labor Union Women, for example, positive societal changes have been made in that women currently have reproductive choice and they are recognized as an important labor constituency (p. 300). Additionally, two of the principle outcomes of the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s were programs of law reform and equal

opportunities legislation which were advocated by voluntary organizations like the National Women's Political Caucus (Miles, 1989, p. 235).

Ferree & Martin (1995, p. 3) note the success of the women's movement by pointing out that the ideas of male dominance and institutional privilege constantly inform today's social and political debates in America and they credit feminist organizations as a significant force in the social change process. While addressing the questions of how and why so many feminist organizations have lasted, what effects have they had and what promises they hold, they demonstrate that the thousands of organizations formed over the last thirty years have sustained women and are in turn sustained by them (p. 5). In fact, they contend that "organizational experiences can shape world views, politics, and a sense of self in relation to society" (p. 6).

In her material on feminism and political philosophy, Jaggar (1988, p. 5) suggests that feminists protest oppression which "is the result of human agency, humanly imposed restrictions on people's freedom" and while feminism has existed since the 17th-century, its resurgence during the late 1960s with the women's liberation movement offered "a multitude of analyses of women's oppression and a profusion of visions of women's liberation" (p. 4). She claims, however, that women do not necessarily agree, not only in their views of how to combat oppression, but even in their conception of what constitutes women's oppression in contemporary society.

McQuaide (1996) asserts that one of the areas participation in women's voluntary association has enabled women is the alternative imagery that has become possible since the women's movement of the 1970s. Many women entering mid-life today belong to a generation who spent their formative years with traditional, pre-feminist socialization and imagery, but lived their adulthood with a feminist re-definition of women's roles in society leaving them with two selves to be integrated as she constructs her mid-life identity. On the one hand, she may have a feminist freedom that her mother did not have, yet she may also have a side that fights and possibly thwarts this freedom (p. 133). In spite of the changes in popular culture and beliefs about women in recent years, mid-life remains mired in negative images. "In our youth-worshipping culture, aging women have the "privilege" of wearing the "hag," "crone," or "witch" label and being the brunt of jokes. A woman can find herself at this confusing time accepting sexist messages about herself and constructing a negative identity, based on patriarchal, racist, ageist assumptions about the world, that she will live with for the rest of her life" (p. 134). With the feminist movement, changes are occurring about the way mid-life for women is perceived and some of the old images are being replaced with powerful alternatives. McQuaide observes that if women have an "opportunity to do the mid-life re-shaping of identity work in a diversity-respecting environment she will live out her days feeling more empowered and respected" (p. 134). Participating in mutual benefit voluntary associations provides such a safe environment for positive identity development.

Historically women's role in public life has been influenced by their domestic roles, however, citing issues arising from the difficulty of establishing meaningful public discourse on private issues like abortion, Evans (1993) offers a new framework. It is one, not just based on "liberal interest group and electoral politics, with its implicit gendered, and hierarchical definitions of public and private," (p. 125) but one based on a new conception of difference as constitutive of the public world, where all people have the right to be heard and the negotiation and decision making processes result in "a kind of autonomy that recognizes the centrality of private and communal relationships and accords them their rightful claims on any individual life" (p. 132).

Consequences of Volunteering

The literature indicates that voluntary associations have many consequences for participants, including learning, occasions for political participation, chances for greater self-expression. They also provide a conduit for the dissemination of information. Additionally, limitations are indicated by several authors because of the lack of inclusiveness of the groups as well as the gap between the national organizations and the local chapters.

Ellis and Noyes (1990, p. 209) in their history of voluntary associations state that not only is society, at large, affected by voluntary associations but so are institutions and professions. Some institutions, like the Better Business Bureau in the 1930s were established because of the civic education provided by organizations like AAUW and the League of Women Voters. They (p. 157) use AAUW as an example when they highlight the fact that AAUW began to affect institutions and professions as, "...some of the first college-educated women joined forces to advocate their position that, contrary to popular belief, schooling was not harmful to young females. They supported other women who sought higher education and fought to make colleges coeducational."

Blair (1984) in her study of the women's clubs of Buffalo, New York indicates that women used them to educate each other in a socially comfortable setting through the study of literature, history, geography, philosophy, current events, and the arts. As a result of their studies and the need to procure books one of their first projects was support of public libraries (p. 455). Women's groups played a significant role in the creation and growth of the library movement. The General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC) encouraged not only the formation of local public libraries, but also traveling libraries. They worked in collaboration with the American Library Association and other associations and commissions toward library legislation, the establishment of state library extension services, and library education (Watson, 1994, p. 233). Valentine (Valentine, 1996, p. 113) studied the origin and development of public libraries in North Carolina and credits the GFWC with an important role in the growth of their public library system.

During the Progressive Era, Chafe (1993, p. 108) notes that even though reforms were achieved many had shortcomings which resulted from the fact that women had "not created a universal gender-based solidarity," in other words the perspective from which the reforms

were generated took into account only the white-middle class women's viewpoint and obfuscated that of the working class and black women. He (p. 109) claims that "women reformers constituted a human bridge joining the indirect political influence of the settlement house generation with the formal political practices of a New Deal reform administration." The bridge was formed by "interlocking links of personal friendship and association through shared membership in different voluntary associations" (p. 109). Chafe used Eleanor Roosevelt's experiences demonstrate this phenomenon. As a member of the Junior League she participated in Settlement activity and as a member of the Consumers League she became involved in reforms for sweatshops. Later she worked on social welfare activities in Washington, joined the League of Women Voters for whom she was a lobbyist and the newsletter editor, and the Women's Trade Union League with whom she walked picket lines. At this time she also headed the women's division of the Democratic party in New York deriving, "both her personal and professional raison d'être from this community of women"(p. 110). When the social welfare measures became important during Franklin Roosevelt's term of office, Eleanor Roosevelt and her voluntary association friends and colleagues administered and implemented them (p. 111).

Smith (1997, p. 269) discusses grassroots associations, those which are local, basically autonomous, volunteer-run, nonprofit groups, usually found in areas of greater modernization, whose members are volunteers and whose focus is largely member benefit. They generally form based on some commonality, usually to support a special ideology, and they may be linked to a national headquarters. Characteristically the people who participate come from higher societal status levels which means they usually have more wealth, income, education, and occupational prestige and they demonstrate an active-effective character, but their membership and participation are affected by the environmental and situational context of their life-course. He distinguishes between "program volunteering" and grassroots associations, wherein program volunteering entails service provision. He contends that there is a much broader impact from grassroots associations than merely on the individual groups and that this type of associational involvement is a major engine of democratic participation. He goes so far as to say that it is *more* important to look at the internal impact, including that on participants and the group as a whole, of these groups than their external impact which includes that on clients and the larger society (p. 271).

Smith (pp. 280-288) claims that whether providing social and emotional support leading to greater life satisfaction, informal education, opportunities for political participation in democracy, the satisfaction of achieving common objectives, or the chance for greater self-expression, the impacts of grassroots associations are apparent. Furthermore, he contends that these potential member benefits are particularly important for women because traditionally their opportunities have been "blocked by institutionalized sexism in society."

Smith (pp. 288-295) states that the external impact of grassroots associations is also important, especially in terms of sociopolitical influence at the local level. They provide credibility to the national arm of the organization as they advocate social change, and they

support the sustenance of participatory democracy and service to others. Smith (p. 296) believes, therefore, that "cumulatively, grassroots associations have a very substantial effect on American society and on the lives of its citizens."

Voluntary associations have typically been places where members learn about their communities, their states, their countries, and themselves. Hausknecht (1962, p. 10) found that associations do have consequences of an educational nature as they influence members with regard to social problems that are of particular interest to them and provide a venue for the dissemination of information pertaining to the community and of the broader society encompassing it. He (p. 111) also claims that that associations play a role, not only in enabling members to give voice to their common interests as they seek to understand and change their social environments but also in providing "factual knowledge for making rational decisions."

Ross-Gordon and Dowling (1995, p. 306) reported similar findings in their study of African-American women's voluntary organizations.   Members reported that the most valuable learning experiences were those which were informal and incidental reflecting, " a perceived change in skills and abilities related to interacting with and working with others toward common goals, or a changing sense of self, in terms of growing self-confidence and/or sense of connectedness to group members and the community which they sought to serve."

Scott (1992) in her history of women's voluntary associations points to the gap between the national associations and the local levels in terms of support of organizational goals (p. 153, p. 179), the seeming differences between regular members and those who rise to leadership positions (p. 154, p. 179); and the decline in exceptional leadership as women moved into the workforce (p. 180).

Weaver (1992) who studied the transformation of politics brought about by women's participation, largely through voluntary associations, from 1890 to 1930 notes that for the Federation of Women's Clubs and the League of Women Voters there was sometimes dissonance between the state organization and that at the local level. For the Federation, tension between the local and state organizations was sometimes brought about by the community groups not understanding the importance of particular piece of legislation which they were expected to support (p. 67). Similarly while the League established a powerful organization at the state level to manage issues through the legislative process, at the local level branches "struggled into existence and frequently disbanded due to organizational problems, lack of a clear agenda, strong rival organizations, apathy, and inconsistent state leadership (p. 210).

The American Association of University Women

The literature reviewed on the topic of the American Association of University Women included the two histories documenting the first one hundred years of the organization's existence and two activities carried out be the association; the first on leadership development

demonstrates how the national office responded to apathy in the branches by implementing a program to foster change, and the second on the graduate and professional education of women provides an example of how a research agenda has been carried and disseminated by experts in the national office.

1882 to 1930, The first history
Two histories have been written about AAUW. The first was written in 1931, the fiftieth year of the organization, by Lois Rosenberry and Marion Talbot (1931) the founder. In it they chronicle the first fifty years of the organization beginning in 1881. They document the founding of the association, its first years, and the expansion of the organization through the admission of both the Western and Southern Associations of Collegiate Alumnae and also by the admission of many more institutions of higher learning, as well as branches. Branches first became part of AAUW in 1884 when the bylaws were updated to include them with the Washington, D.C. branch being the first one admitted. Other evidence of expansion is provided by Rosenberry and Talbot (pp. 258-291) when the discuss the establishment of the Washington headquarters and also the International Federation of University Women, of which AAUW is a member. Additionally, the evolving methods of communicating and subsequent standardization through publications, conferences, and annual meetings are addressed within the context of expansion.

Rosenberry and Talbot present the initial meeting format which quickly became the standard operating procedure and the first research project which concerned, at the time, a controversial idea--to prove that higher education did not have a detrimental affect on women's health. They also document AAUW's commitment to women doing graduate work both nationally and internationally through the fellowships programs pointing out that it was the only organization to monitor institutions with regard to women's education and to provide financial help to women performing doctoral research for many years.

Rosenberry and Talbot (pp. 338-388) tell about some of the things branches did during the early years: they established public libraries; educated parents through the Parent Teachers' Associations; conducted Americanization work with immigrants after World War II; collaborated with the Young Women's Christian Association by teaching in their night schools; established child guidance bureaus; and worked with local juvenile vocational guidance centers. In so doing members learned a new civic consciousness. They refer to AAUW as a "great experiment in adult education" because of its emphasis on continuing education through branch study groups. Topics ranged from sanitary inspection of local schools, child legislation, reform schools, home economics, to international relations. Some were initiated at the local level and others at the national level. Additionally as early as 1928 AAUW prepared and distributed its first "Handbook for Leaders" (p. 401-415) to help branch leaders understand how to run their branches effectively.

1929-1979, The second history

The second history written by Levine, (1995) covers the period from 1929 through 1979 by focusing on the transformation of AAUW to a prominent national women's organization with a "unique emphasis on equity in education, equal opportunities in professional careers and public service, and equal rights in law and politics" (p. 1). She tells the story in three parts: The first relates to the period from 1929 to 1945 when AAUW "consolidated its national headquarters in Washington, D.C., and became an important resource center for Educational policy and women's concerns"(p. 4); The second covers the period from 1945 to 1960 when AAUW like other similar women's groups "retreated into politics that avoided conflict"(p. 5) while at the same time amassing large amounts of money in the Educational Foundation to support women's higher education; The third covers the period from 1960 to 1979 when AAUW began to "adopt an activist legislative agenda and a program of grassroots mobilization and leadership training"(p. 5).

Leadership training

Leadership training is the focus of Spath's (1981, pp. 99-101) article on the social change work of several AAUW branches in the seventies. She told that AAUW had for many years solicited input from members on topics of interest and had followed up by selecting up to four of those each biennium for study and action, many branches had studied one or more topics but few appeared to be actually taking action in the community. This observation led to the development of workshop materials on "Women as Agents of Change." The material, distributed to each of the branches by the national office, focused on everything from effective group processes to planning strategies for changing target systems to guidelines on working in coalition. She identified a number of projects carried out at the local level as a result of the association programming. One branch expanded its high school parenting curriculum, another instantiated a volunteer tutoring program into the school system, and yet another branch equalized the local United Way funding between agencies sponsoring boys and girls activities.

CHAPTER III.   METHOD

Introduction

This chapter describes the research design which includes how cases were chosen for interview, the data collection and recording procedures, and the process used for analyzing the data. The analysis was undertaken utilizing the transcripts of interviews from ten participants as the basis for employing grounded theory methodology to develop a theory about how women experience branch membership.

Research Design

The qualitative, grounded theory method--an exploration of multiple entities, bounded by time and activity--was used to perform this study. The grounded theory method was selected because the topic of inquiry, how members experience participation in the local unit of a national voluntary association with regard to the national agenda, is broadly defined and requires that contextual conditions be covered in addition to the phenomenon of study (Yin, 1993, p. xi). A theory was derived using multiple opportunities for data collection and continuous refinement of categories and information.

The nature of the research issues is such that an hypothesis was not possible nor appropriate. The primary focus of this study was on a full and complete description how individuals experience membership particularly with regard to the national agenda. The unit of analysis for this study was members of the branch. The inferential process is directed at the members of the branch but within the branch as a social system. The contextual conditions were considered to be indicative of the attributes of the member in relation to the social system, and the intervening conditions were determined to be aspects of the social system, like the dominant coalition and the culture.

Case and Participant Selection

Case selection was first limited to those branches in American Association of University Women (AAUW) of Maryland for convenience based on the researcher's proximity to and familiarity with the domain. AAUW Maryland has twenty-five branches ranging in size from six to one hundred and fifty members. They are geographically distributed across the state with two-thirds of the members residing in the Baltimore/Washington corridor and the rest of the members in the less metropolitan areas of the Eastern Shore, Southern Maryland, the Northwest and the Western Panhandle.

Sampling from two characteristically different groups was used to maximize the similarities and differences of information derived from the participants. The first branch selected was Lincoln because it recently became inactive and is struggling to remain a viable organization and the second branch was Milford because it was the largest branch and had used the national Initiative for Educational Equity program within the community. These branches

represent different geographical areas within the state and also different organizational orientations with respect to the programs and policies of the association. The branch names have been changed to protect the anonymity of the participants.

The Lincoln branch had just become inactive and is in an urban setting near the state capital. It has been in existence for forty-six years and has had difficulty attracting new members for a while. The majority of the members are in their sixties and seventies. Although there had been some recognition of the national agenda by this branch, they had not conducted an Educational Equity Roundtable in their community, utilizing the AAUW research and program materials on gender bias in education. They had, however, recently raised money for the Educational Foundation and a local scholarship through theater parties and a yard sale and they did have regularly scheduled monthly meetings. The president was new to AAUW and the branch and there were several members who helped her in the administration of the branch activities and business although their procedures were less formalized than the Milford branch. There were about twenty members.

The second branch is the largest branch in the state and has been involved in the national agenda for a number of years. There are about one hundred and fifty members, and they have a major book sale fund-raiser annually, an event by which they are known in the community. They provide money from the book sale to women for local scholarships, the local shelter for battered women, the library, the Educational Foundation, and many other organizations in the county. The branch is run by a board of officers. There are about ten people who regularly attend the board meetings and make decisions for the branch. Issues that require substantive change to the bylaws or procedures are brought to the members for adjudication. The branch was one of two in the state that conducted an Educational Equity Roundtable, after the national association performed one in Washington, DC and supplied material to the branches which described how to do the same in their communities. The material included the research report, "How Schools Shortchange Girls." These two branches were chosen because they appeared to represent opposite ends of the spectrum in terms of member involvement and attention to the national agenda.

Open sampling was used to select the first participant since concepts had not yet been generated. An individual member of the first branch was selected to be interviewed with no particular criteria other than her availability to participate. Profiles of the participants are represented in Table 1: Participant Profiles - The Lincoln Branch and Table 2: Participant Profiles - The Milford Branch on page 37. They are represented in the order in which they were interviewed with the exception of Frances who was interviewed after Abigail. The names of the participants have been changed to ensure anonymity.

Table 1: Participant Profiles - The Lincoln Branch

Name	Age range	Degree	Years	Branch roles	Occupation
Abigail	Early 60s	Education	14	Treasurer, Committee Chair	Accountant
Beatrice	Early 70s	Education	45	Secretary, Treasurer, Legislative, Educational Foundation	Retired school administrator
Camille	Early 50s	Education	2	President	Homemaker, aspiring journalist
Daphne	Early 70s	Education	40	President	Retired art teacher
Esther	Early 50s	French, Spanish, Education	24	Program, Educational Foundation (state)	Homemaker

Table 2: Participant Profiles - The Milford Branch

Name	Age range	Degree	Years	Branch roles	Occupation
Frances	Late 50s	Education	30	Public policy	Teacher
Gabrielle	Early 70s	Radio	32	President, Secretary (state)	Retired copywriter, Director of Personnel
Hannah	Late 50s	Education	22	President, Educational Equity, Educational Foundation (branch and state), Committee chair	Home economics teacher
Iona	Early 40s	Education	18	Educational Equity, Membership, President elect	Middle school principal
Jane	Early 30s	Business	6	Historian	Business manager

Data Collection and Recording Procedures

The data collection strategy involved interviewing each participant for about one and one half hours. The interviews were tape recorded, the data were transcribed using a text processor and then imported into The Ethnograph and coded. Over twelve thousand lines of data were transcribed based on the interviews. Analysis of the codes was performed using a relational database.

A set of broad open-ended interview questions was initially designed to gain insight into the individual member's experiences within the context of the branch. It was used to guide the interviews with each of the members and modified after each interview as new questions

evolved. First, members were asked to talk a little bit about themselves and their backgrounds. Next they were asked to talk about their branch including its purpose, goals, organization and leadership, and business and programs. Then they were asked to talk about the community from which the branch draws its membership and how the branch operates in the community. Following a discussion on their perception of the national association, they were asked to talk about their own affiliation with AAUW and with the branch. The interview schedule can be found in Appendix B. By using an interview approach, respondents were not limited to a specific set of questions and they were permitted to elaborate when the researcher heard something that seemed germane to the study and probed with further questioning. This process allowed for discovery to take place as opposed to limiting the amount and type of data collected.

The data were coded with the concepts that emerged from the data. Coding was an iterative process. As each set of participant data were coded the previous sets were examined to develop an ever evolving picture of how the individuals experience branch membership. Ultimately the files were combined such that segments coded in the same way could be analyzed for meaning. Patterns and themes regarding the research issues emerged and were identified during this process. These relationships were then highlighted through the use of a set of graphic representations wherein the results were visible and contrasts and comparisons noted.

Data were maintained on the researcher's personal computer and were password protected. Data identifiers in The Ethnograph were not related to the people providing the information and names were changed. Participants were invited to discuss findings to verify or extend interpretations and conclusions and also to ensure that anonymity was protected.

The researcher fostered trustworthiness in two ways: The first was by sharing the findings with some of the participants to ensure accurate interpretation of the data, the second was through the use of the informed consent letter (see Appendix A) with each of the participants. The informed consent document covered the following areas (Miles & Huberman, 1994 p. 291):
1. The focus of the research, the guiding questions, and why and for whom it why being done.
2. How the data were to be collected.
3. Who was asked to participate in the research.
4. What role the branch members were be asked to play in this research.
5. How the participant's confidentiality was protected.
6. How the participants assisted with corroboration of the findings.
7. What feedback they received and what form it took, and what stage of the research process it was provided.

Analysis

Information gathered from the participants was checked and cross checked to develop inferences and verify accuracy. Wide data sampling from a range of informants permitted the researcher to triangulate findings. Meaning was generated through the following procedures:

1. The Ethnograph was used to code, memo, and query the data;
2. Categories with properties and dimensions were developed by combining the codes into higher level constructs. A database was used to record the relationships;
3. Axial codes were then produced from the categories, which included the causal, contextual, and intervening conditions, the action/interactional strategies and the consequences of the phenomenon;
4. Selective codes were then developed for each of the participants which included the storyline for each member.

This approach was based on the grounded theory methodology described by Strauss and Corbin (1991).

One participant from the Lincoln branch and two from the Milford branch read the completed dissertation and reviewed their comments with the researcher. All three members corroborated the integrity of the findings based on their experiences. Two hours were spent with Camille discussing the representation of her experience. She felt that the model reflected her levels of engagement with the branch, and the commentary included from each of the members of the Lincoln branch was consistent with her involvement. One-half hour was spent with Iona. She felt that the findings accurately reflected her experiences in the branch and said that she hoped the information would be shared with the national officers and other members so they could benefit from the research. She also said that reading the document made her think about the importance of the branch in her life. One and one-half hour was spent with Hannah. When asked if she felt that the model reflected her experience in the branch, she said, "absolutely." She said she felt the relationships between the work of Miller (1986) on women's development, and that of Smith (1997) on grass-roots organizations, were important notions in understanding how women experience membership in the branches.

CHAPTER IV.   FINDINGS

Introduction

Qualitative analysis of the data from each of the ten participants resulted in a model of increasing stages of social activism and responsiveness to the national agenda. Each stage is indicative of participant movement towards authentic member engagement with the issues addressed by the national agenda. In some cases the movement is non-sequential. After an overview of the model, each of the stages are addressed by an in-depth description. The causal, contextual, and intervening conditions, actions, and consequences are described for each participant who functioned at that level. After each of the detailed descriptions, a summary of the phenomenon is presented. Following the discussions on the stages of the model, non-sequential movement is discussed.

Overview of the Model

The four stage model which emerged from the data indicating increasing levels of engagement with the national agenda is described in Figure 1.

The four stages of experience for branch members were participates, supports, facilitates, and advocates. When members first joined a branch of AAUW their *participation* was usually limited to attending meetings of the branch. At this point, their connection to the agenda was usually quite remote. Attending meetings, primarily a mutual benefit experience, generally consisted of a social time with refreshments, a short business meeting, and a speaker on a topic which may have been of interest to the members, although not directly related to the national agenda. It may even have been entertaining as opposed to educational, although most branch meetings were a source of learning for attendees. Although the timing varied, several members became more active by assuming specific roles in the branches, including work on fund raising projects. Within the context of participation in branch meetings and activities, however, an increased sense of the value of lifelong education was felt by some members.

Advocates

for change based on the national agenda

Roundtable, Sexual Harassment Workshop & Policy
Hannah, Iona

Ready to promote positive societal change
Ready to demonstrate leadership in the
community regarding issue on national
agenda

Facilitates

the dissemination of information about the national agenda

CMS Fair, Videos, Sexual Harassment Issues, Voter Education
Camille, Frances, Hannah, Iona

Ready to promote equity
Commited to issue on national agenda
Decide to use AAUW materials in
fulfillment of branch role

Supports

educational opportunities
for specific women and girls

Aviation Invasion, GEM, Local scholarships, Study groups
Abigail, Camille, Esther, Frances, Hannah, Iona

Relationships established
Ready to promote lifelong education

Participates

in branch meetings and activities as a member

Meetings, community projects, fund raising
Abigail, Beatrice, Camille, Daphne, Esther, Frances, Gertrude, Hannah, Iona, Jane

Figure 1: Increasing Stages of Social Activism and Responsiveness

As the members experienced personal growth and confidence, within the context of the branch, and relationships were established with like-minded people, particularly with respect to the value of lifelong education they moved to the next stage. Some members actually promoted lifelong education for specific women and girls by *supporting* them through involvement in a branch event or activity. In so doing they became committed to some aspects of the national agenda, usually because they performed a branch role, or had had personal experiences with the issues, and decided to use the program and policy materials prepared by the national staff to promote equity by *facilitating* the dissemination of information, in the community, concerning these issues. Since 1992, the emphasis of the program and policy agenda has been on the Initiative for Educational Equity, encompassing such issues as sexual harassment, gender bias in education, careers for women and girls, and equitable representation of women on boards and commissions

After facilitating, the members were empowered to publicly express their commitment to positive societal change by *advocating*. Although the progression through the stages was sequential for some members, others appeared to skip stages and most returned periodically to previous stages, particularly participating. When returning to a previous level, however, that stage took on a new meaning for the participant.

Stage 1: Participates in Branch Meetings and Activities as a Member

Overview of Stage 1

The model for Stage 1 is described in Figure 2. Branch members joined either because they were invited or they wished to be associated with interesting, college educated women. Contextual conditions which mediated their participation included several member characteristics: (a.) Interests and expectations; (b.) Perspective on feminism; (c.) Age; (d.) Branch role; (e.) Preference for use of leisure time. The actions which members took to participate included attending branch meetings, performing a role in the branch, attending board meetings, and participating in branch fund raisers.

Figure 2: Participates in Branch Meetings and Activities as a Member

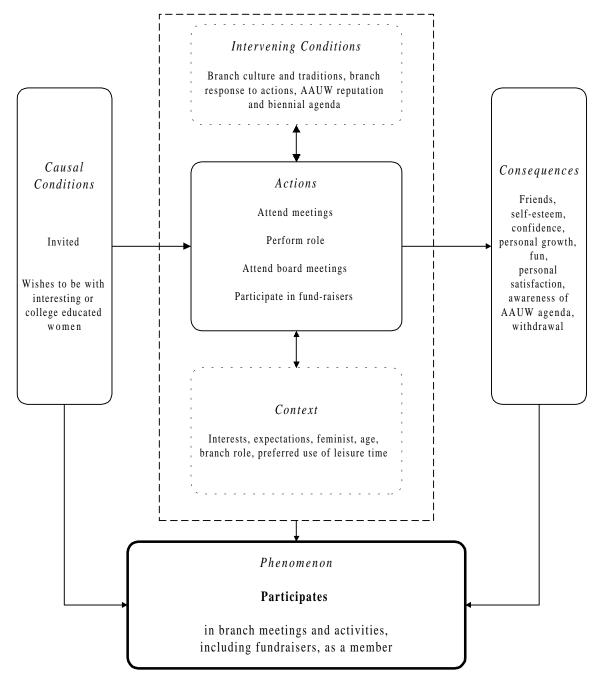Conditions which intervened to either facilitate or constrain member participation included the compatibility of the branch culture and traditions with her values, and whether she was part of the dominant coalition in the branch and if not, their receptivity to her. Additionally, the reputation of AAUW, and the items on the biennial agenda also affected her participation.

The consequences of participation for most members included making friends, and enhancing self-esteem and confidence. Personal growth and having fun also frequently resulted from participation. Other consequences were personal satisfaction, increased awareness of issues on the AAUW agenda, and in some cases withdrawal from the branch.

All ten of the participants functioned at this stage. Their experience is elaborated below.

Abigail

Incidents
Abigail, attended branch meetings, performed the role of treasurer, chaired the yard sale, helped with the 40th anniversary celebration, and the fund raisers.

Causal Conditions
Elements: Invited; wishes to be with interesting or college educated women.
Abigail's close friend, who had been a member for many years, took her to a branch meeting because she felt it would be a good opportunity for her to branch out after unexpected life course changes. Her friend thought that now that Abigail was out in the work world, being a member of the branch would allow her to "meet people" and "enhance her life," since prior to then her life had been "telescopic with kids" while she was a "stay-at-home-Mom." At the first meeting, Abigail met "exciting women" and listened to their stories, then joined the branch.

Context
Elements: Member interests; expectations; personal beliefs relative to feminism; age; branch role; time; previous branch experience.
Abigail was interested in the lives of the women who were members of the branch. Even though they were older, she felt that they were "vivacious, winners," and in this transition period in her life she liked listening to what the members "had gone through in their lives, and what they had done." She said, she and her friend, who were in their forties, "were probably the youngest ones there." During the interview she reflected on her youth in the fifties, when she used to participate in "math/science runoffs," and said, "Women didn't do that!" She identified with the branch members because, she "liked seeing what things they had done twenty years before" she had started to do them.

Although Abigail received her bachelor's degree in education, she had majored in chemistry and math for the first two years and used those skills in her branch activities.
During her life course transition, Abigail became acutely aware of gender based inequality. When talking about being on her own again after having been married for many years, she

said, "So as far as AAUW mindset. All of a sudden I'm out there all by myself. I have no credit. I've paid all the bills my entire marriage, kept the checkbook, kept us out of the red, budgeted everything for the household, but then I divorced. Nothing was in my name so I went to Penneys and tried to get a credit card and they turned me down!"

At the time of the interview, Abigail was considering options, other than branch participation, for her leisure time. She was injured a few years ago and couldn't walk or drive. She found she liked having a more relaxed life so she backed off from her tutoring. She particularly liked working on local archeological digs because she could do it at her leisure. Now that the Lincoln branch has become inactive, she was considering whether or not she wants to join the Webster branch. She did not want to be obligated. She wanted to do things where "they don't point a finger at you and say, you're naughty because you didn't show up."

While the branch is in inactive status, Abigail is the point of contact to the national association. Inactive status was selected by members rather than disbandment because some of the members, including Abigail, were not quite ready to give it up, even though none of them wanted to be president.

Actions
Elements: Attend branch meetings; perform role; attend board meetings; participate in fundraisers.
Abigail said that the branch had meetings, "September through June." They met on Thursday nights and periodically they had luncheons on Saturday. She said that one year the theme was Title IX and the speakers talked about sexual harassment, the things women had done in the military starting with the revolutionary war, women's health issues addressing where women were slighted, and inequalities for women in the navy." She felt that the programs were "excellent, excellent." The meetings reinforced her understanding of gender based inequality.

Abigail used her math skills as treasurer of the branch. She was also in charge of yard sales, and worked on a luncheon commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the branch.

Although the branch gave some money to the Legal Advocacy Fund, they gave more, "at least five hundred dollars each year" to the Educational Foundation. She said she attended the branch fund raising events which were evenings at the theater.

Intervening Conditions
Elements: Branch culture and traditions; branch response to actions; AAUW reputation and biennial agenda.
For meetings, Abigail said that meals drew the biggest crowds because, "a lot of these people live alone, so it was a chance for them to get out, and eat, and have friendship, and a good speaker." She said, however, that "it's been a real challenge to get people to come out." Abigail said the theater party fund raisers had become a tradition in that they were held, "every year."

Consequences
Elements: Friends; enhanced self-esteem and confidence; personal growth; fun; personal
satisfaction; prestige from AAUW association; awareness of AAUW agenda; withdrawal.
Abigail said "We've had excellent programs for the last two years." Furthermore, she said
that "AAUW gave me the confidence to pull myself up. I think working with them just being
part of the branch and getting support from people saying "Yea, that's great what you've
done!" At age 50, I was offered the opportunity to do the office billing which I had never
done, which meant that I had to work on a computer which I had never done before in my life
and my first thought was no. I'm not going to do that. And then I thought no, I'm going to try
it. And so when I would go to a meeting and say this is what I'm doing now. It's all of that's
wonderful, that's great!"

Abigail thought the fund raising events were, "very painless " and "extremely enjoyable."

She was impressed that a video developed in Maryland about non-traditional careers for girls
had received national coverage. She said, "It's been shown on PBS, ...they are discussing
junior high girls and what we've got to do." She said, "It's very exciting to say that the
program they had at the mall was part of the ground work of that video."

Another consequence of her membership, was that her family was more aware of gender bias
as indicated when she told this story, "My children had no concept of what AAUW was when
I joined. I still had two at home. I tried to explain and they didn't care. She explained that
her daughter became aware of AAUW when "the video made it on TV," and by that time had
her own girl child, and was thinking what are we "going to have for this daughter." Her
daughter also heard about "the Barbie who said, I can't do math," and was aware that because
of AAUW, "it was taken off the shelf." She said, "my daughter now has two daughters so she
is very interested in girls' rights."

Beatrice

Incidents
Beatrice attended branch meetings, performed the roles of treasurer, secretary, legislative and
Educational Foundation chair, and was on the arts committee. She also participated in the
establishment of the first co-operative kindergarten in Lincoln. While public policy chair she
talked to legislators about women's issues, and she still meets with members since the branch
became inactive

Causal Conditions
Elements: Invited; wishes to be with interesting or college educated women.
Beatrice is African American. She joined AAUW in 1952, not long after the association had
officially taken the position that having a degree was the only requirement for membership.
She said that a black man who was running for councilman wanted the black vote so he asked

Beatrice if she and her friends would like to join AAUW. She said, "Yes," even though she "didn't even know it existed." She did recall in school, in her education classes, however, that her teacher told her "always keep abreast with your professional groups. Always keep your finger in the pie, and be part of your profession." The councilman spoke with the branch president who told him that as long as they met the stiff qualifications, they were welcome to join. At that time the schools were still segregated and there were no black colleges or universities in Maryland that were accredited. Beatrice, however, had gotten her degrees from Hunter College, and New York University, both of which were on AAUW's approved list. She and five of her friends joined, and although she was discriminated against at first, she persisted and became one of the dominant coalition in the group. She's been a member of the same branch for forty-six years.

Context
Elements: Member interests; expectations; personal beliefs relative to feminism; age; branch role; time; previous branch experience.
Beatrice is retired. She had been an educator and administrator in the public school system, in fact, she was one of the first teachers in an integrated school. She told the story of how she decided to become an administrator when she was assistant principal, but was in charge of the school because the principal was at another site. She said "the supervisor came and said why don't you take the supervisor's exam?" Her answer was "No," because she loved teaching. She soon became aware of her own leadership skills, however, and took the exam anyway. She said, "these teachers would send children down to me when I'm teaching. I found myself constantly going back upstairs to different classrooms with these conduct problems, and that's what convinced me to go into administration." She used her leadership skills in the branch for many years.

In the early fifties, AAUW promoted the idea that women needed to be informed about, and involved in cultural arts. Beatrice was very interested in cultural arts and "was one of the first officers in the Arts Association," in the community, so she served on the arts committee for the branch and kept the members abreast of cultural events in the community. She said, when she first performed this role the Lincoln Symphony had just been formed, and later there were several theater groups in the town that she also "kept tabs on" for the branch. She maintained her branch membership primarily because, "the topics were interesting."

When asked about how she felt about the educational equity initiative, Beatrice said, "Now let me put it this way. You get tired. I'll be honest with you. The issues are almost the same as they were forty years ago, as far as that goes, and you get tired. Because the first thing they'll say is "Will you lead this committee?" and you'll say "No," I don't want to, I'm too tired."

Actions
Elements: Attend branch meetings; perform role; attend board meetings; participate in fundraisers.
Beatrice served as treasurer, secretary, and legislative chair.

When she was treasurer she said she kept meticulous records and they almost had "100% people renew" their membership, indicating that she took the role seriously.

As a member of the legislative committee, Beatrice kept the branch up to date on legislative issues. She attended board of education meetings periodically, reporting back to the branch, and she also helped host AAUW day in the state Capitol where members came from all over the state to talk to their legislators about AAUW issues.

When Beatrice served on the arts committee she kept the branch abreast of cultural arts in the community. This included the local symphony and events at the theaters in the area. She said that each year the branch fund raiser was to "get a block of tickets and the profits from that would go to the EFP."

In the late fifties Lincoln did not have a kindergarten so the branch started one and each of the members who had children of that age, including Beatrice, helped the teacher on a regular basis.

Intervening Conditions
Elements: Branch culture and traditions; branch response to actions; AAUW reputation and biennial agenda.

Beatrice felt that AAUW was a professional organization, particularly for educators.

With regard to the national agenda, Beatrice felt that it is, "not quite as interesting as it used to be. I can't put my finger on it, but the interest isn't there as much. It's kind of a repeat, old hat kind of thing. Unless you can cater to some of your older folks, the interest wanes, especially if you're not working with people and you're not in the business world. A lot of the issues that come up are with the people in business." Beatrice felt that the programs were "way ahead of some of those old folks with computers and the different electronic age things." She said, "we just haven't kept up with them."

As a member of the dominant coalition, Beatrice was unhappy about the fact that the branch was inactive. She felt that the immediate past president was too concerned with the size of the group. When talking about the fact that the branch was inactive she said, "You know, we were a group. I think her idea is big. Big is better. But big is not always best. In fact right now I'm working with the Frontiers and we're a small number, but I'm holding on to them."

Consequences
Elements: Friends; enhanced self-esteem and confidence; personal growth; fun; personal satisfaction; prestige from AAUW association; awareness of AAUW agenda; withdrawal.
Beatrice said that the branch maintained their cooperative kindergarten until the county finally took it over.

She became the Educational Foundation chair because the branch had honored her the previous year with a named gift award, by presenting five-hundred dollars to the Educational Foundation in her name. She said that she was never president even though she'd been asked several times because, "belonging to several organizations, there was always a conflict when AAUW had its state meetings." She said that eventually she stopped being active, but "would attend meetings, but not take on responsible positions."

Beatrice remembers one instance in particular from when her branch used to host the AAUW Day at the Capital when branch members had an opportunity to talk to their legislators. She said, "...they were going to cut funding for the arts. We came together with petitions and told them how good it was for everybody. And it helped."

When asked if it helped her personally to be a member of AAUW she said, "I think so, and the reason why I say that is the kind of things they did and are still doing are the kinds that are very uplifting, but I found also today that their goals are the same as many other organization's goals."

When expressing her loyalty to the branch, Beatrice said, "We're still loyal to the name. Let's put it that way." "...I stay faithful to AAUW but we're in the middle of trying to decide. The ladies, they love the Lincoln AAUW, and they don't want it to fold." "Now the group that came in when I came in, that's about 45 years ago, we're still meeting, but they don't have that type of energy."

Camille, the immediate past president, described the group Beatrice refers to, when indicating that there "were maybe a dozen women who had belonged for twenty years or more, and they knew each other back then, and that's when they formed their friendships and now twenty years later they're still friends."

Camille

Incidents
Camille performed the role of president of Lincoln branch, participated in fund raisers, joined the Webster branch, and withdrew from Lincoln branch.

Causal Conditions
Elements: Invited; wishes to be with interesting or college educated women.
Camille joined the Lincoln branch, having never been a member but, having been exposed to members of another branch when she was working on a Planned Parenthood project with them. She said, "They were balls of fire, so energetic, so enthusiastic, so involved and knowledgeable." She said, "so when we moved down here I thought, well, I'll look for an AAUW group down here." She saw the notice in the paper and called with the expectation that, she would get to know people, get more involved in the community, and do more than

socialize with the group. She also wanted to do something for the community, and since she had a background in education, she wanted to "get involved with a group of dynamic women who had different interests, and different ages, and different backgrounds, and yet, they have this commonality that they are interested in education and helping others."

Context
Elements: Member interests; expectations; personal beliefs relative to feminism; age; branch role; time; previous branch experience.
For the last year Camille had been on an "odyssey of you know, where am I, and who am I, and what do I want to pursue, and how do I get from here to there." Most recently, she decided to try her hand at journalism again and write some "serious pieces." Toward that end she produced an article, "drawing on some of the AAUW reports and research," about the benefits of getting your daughter into team sports and then how parents can get involved.

Camille joined the Lincoln branch the year before she became president. She hoped to find sistership where "you can come here and talk, or you can come here and network, or you can come here and get ideas." She felt that, "What's really been important to me has been the work that AAUW has done. I hate to use the word self-esteem because it is so overworked and it has so many connotations and baggage with it, but having people believe in themselves, and recognize the strengths they have, and just knowing that it's possible even on the wide scale. You know you can do, and be, what you want. Plus being able to help them to resources, whether financial or legal." She likes helping women and girls, "specifically women that we're helping catch up and reach out."

Actions
Elements: Attend branch meetings; perform role; attend board meetings; participate in fundraisers.
Camille took on the presidency of the Lincoln branch, after having only been a member of the branch for a year. She felt that there wasn't an established process to help guide her in the new role, that she was "having to invent the wheel over again." There were, however, "a half dozen or so who had been long-standing members and were willing to help in any way they could."

To get started, she called together a group of people who had served as officers or who had been long term branch members, and had a planning meeting. She felt the meeting resulted in a good "goal directed program." Their highest goal was to have "really good, strong, programming and good meetings so that people would want to come and they would want to get engaged." After that initial meeting, she had a get-together for the whole branch to which they, "had a pretty good turnout." At that meeting she showed the newly released Legal Advocacy Fund video about recent cases. Subsequent to that they met at different places every month, in restaurants, libraries, or homes.

As president, Camille received material from the national and the state which she used when she published the branch newsletter, with the help of the editor. Her philosophy was that branches need a good newsletter for communication both within the group and to "pass on."

While she was president she supported the fund raisers at the theater and the flea market. The money went to the Educational Foundation. She said, "We did projects that would make it painless, and fun for people to make a contribution."

At one point Camille, tried to set up a meeting on how women are treated in the judicial system to determine if there was inequity or unfairness. She wanted to know if there was "something we can do to change that."

Intervening Conditions
Elements: Branch culture and traditions; branch response to actions; AAUW reputation and biennial agenda.
Camille was impressed by the studies and publications of the national association. She said, "I thought some of the studies were absolutely wonderful and I just want to throw them from an airplane to people."

As president, Camille was struck by the reputation AAUW carried with the people she spoke to. When talking about the responsiveness of people she called with inquiries, she said, "I was very surprised at this. That AAUW really does have an excellent reputation. And people do call back, and do respond, whether they're local politicians, or people in the military, or they're just professors at the community college, or people working in social work at the Y, or people working with programs for battered women. Whatever it was they knew about the organization and they respected it enough, and my saying that I was president of this particular group. You know you say you're the president of the Lincoln branch and they felt like it was somebody with power and lots of people behind me so it was great." Camille said, "I think AAUW had a very good reputation before feminism and I think they came through feminism with that reputation intact. They're still intelligent women who are part of our community, and they're doing good things for our community, and so I think they still enjoy an excellent reputation. I was surprised. I thought that since AAUW had gotten engaged in the political process, and they've been involved with liberal causes, and liberal philosophies, I thought that I might get a response. You know you're from that feminist group, or that woman's group, that ultra liberal group, so I was pleasantly surprised."

With regard to her presidency, although some members were very helpful to her especially one member who would not take an office, others who had accepted roles did not perform them, leaving her responsible for their work.

With respect to the Legal Advocacy Fund video about plaintiffs, distributed by the national association, she said she was amazed that members actually didn't know about the fund even though they said they did. She said, "They don't understand what it is, what it does, and how

it functions." The women even questioned why it was only for college professors saying, "Why aren't we doing this for women in all the professions?" She also said that she was, "very surprised at the number of women who are very opposed to the stated policy issues."

When Camille moved to Lincoln and assumed the presidency, she had thought that it would be a good town to "draw interested people and varied people." She found out that it is "essentially a tourist town." It is also a service oriented town and even the ones who qualify to be members "don't have the time." She was surprised because "she expected it would be a real thriving community."

In the end, Camille felt that there were just not enough people interested in the goals of the branch, because the main group was getting older and they weren't drawing in new members. She felt that one of the problems was that the group was, "really narrowly focused and not even on the community." Camille also believed the members did not want the branch to go inactive and they didn't want to join the Webster branch because of "history, tradition, pride and loyalty."

Consequences
Elements: Friends; enhanced self-esteem and confidence; personal growth; fun; personal satisfaction; prestige from AAUW association; awareness of AAUW agenda; withdrawal.
After submitting her article, using the AAUW reports as background information, to Ladies Home Journal, she received a call from the editor who gave her advice on where to place it. Camille felt she had a "really good conversation." She felt "good that she took the time to call" and talk to her.

Camille felt that by working within AAUW, and the branch, she was able to have a bigger impact. She said "In other words instead of skipping a stone to make ripples, you're throwing a boulder to make a splash and really affecting. By working in this one branch you're affecting things that the whole community...you're reaching out way beyond."
Camille thought that one way to increase membership was to "form associations with other groups that had similar philosophies, or to work on projects with another group that would maybe spin off and also join our group." She felt that they did get some members that way.

When none of the branch members would help set up the meeting on women and the judiciary, she said she canceled it because she, "thought I'm doing something and nobody wants to put it together." After that, Camille decided to cancel the other meetings. Although she set up a meeting to discuss the issues, only two people came, so she sent out a letter of options with corresponding consequences and let the members know if they wanted the branch to continue they, "had to be willing to take an active role in seeing that that happens, and so that's when they all voted to go inactive."

With regard to what it was like being a branch member, she said that "her perception was very different from what it actually was " like in the Lincoln branch. This situation eventually lead her to join the Webster branch. She contends that being a member of AAUW is a "fascinating and a great experience." Although she has been a member of many other groups, she hasn't been able to find this type of sistership in other groups. Therefore, she is retaining her membership in the Webster branch "to continue meeting people, and to continue to branch out, and to continue to be actively involved."

Recently, she helped with the booksale in the Webster branch and said, "it was the most fascinating thing, I mean these were such different people and yet we all had this commonality, we were interested in books for some reason and we just had the most fantastic two hours, having this auction, and we started to get to know each other. "I just find that with the AAUW branches, I've been connected with, and even when I went to that Middle Atlantic Region conference, I mean that was just a fantastic experience for me." She feels that, being a member of AAUW, particularly as the branch president, has enabled her "tremendously to make contacts," and "to know more and more people."

Daphne

Incidents
Daphne was previously a member of several branches where she worked on projects. She performed the roles of community chair, secretary, vice president of programs, and was a two term president and on various committees. She performed the role of president of the branch in the early eighties and continued to meet with branch members after it became inactive.

Causal Conditions
Elements: Invited; wishes to be with interesting or college educated women.
Daphne joined her first branch in California and worked on projects there. One project involved teaching English to migrant workers. Of that experience she said, "We were housewives syndrome. There's more to being a woman. There is more to do." When she moved to Maryland she was working with another organization and she met a woman who was talking about AAUW, and that was how she joined the Lincoln branch.

Context
Elements: Member interests; expectations; personal beliefs relative to feminism; age; branch role; time; previous branch experience.
As a member of AAUW, Daphne expected to continue to grow and "to have a place where we could all put information in and take out, and of course the second part is to make friends." She still believes strongly in equal rights. She said, "the growth of woman, that was the most important thing. The upgrading the field of education."

Daphne believed that if you're going to be part of an organization, "you have to give time. You have to help develop it. You have to be on different committees." She felt that younger

people are joining professional organizations now, and don't have time, but the older ones cannot continue to be the leaders because of "physical things" that hit them. She said that when she was president, she "did strong arm a little," when she met people for lunch to get them to help out.

Daphne felt presidents needed to, "follow the way, the structure of AAUW," indicating that there were norms she associated with how the branch was supposed to operate.

Actions
Elements: Attend branch meetings; perform role; attend board meetings; participate in fundraisers.
Daphne had been working on the Fine Arts Festival for Lincoln with her friend who invited her to join, so being community chair was a fitting extension of what she was already doing, and the branch members benefited from her participation in another group in the community.

Daphne was president of the Lincoln branch in the eighties and remembered that experience well. She said, "We gave to the AAUW Educational Foundation. We still continued to work on on-going projects. We kept the branch going. My basic fight during that period was to keep the branch together so they could keep going, and I did."

Daphne attended the national convention, as branch president, when it was in San Francisco. She said she was also politically active by working at the voting booths. writing letters, and she attending sessions of the state legislature. She said she worked hard on issues involving education, and women's rights.

Daphne sent pottery and things for the yard sale which was one of the fund raisers for the Educational Foundation. She also said they had teas for the first women who entered the local military academy to introduce them to AAUW. She felt it was an interesting project.

Intervening Conditions
Elements: Branch culture and traditions; branch response to actions; AAUW reputation and biennial agenda.
Daphne was an art teacher. She was very interested in art. She said that, "There was a group of us, the ultimate of our work through the Fine Arts was Maryland Hall. The high school moved and we fought to get the old high school and we made it a place of art, and music, theater, drama, everything. And it's operating now with different instructors and they have different programs."

Daphne was president during a time when it was difficult to find presidents. Although an ardent advocate of equal rights, she indicated that as president she felt she was expected to represent AAUW's position, but she felt pressure. She remembers thinking "How can we do this, how can we say this" because we were "still in the world of mommy, baby, and husband

is the boss." Some of the members did not support equal rights. She said, "I'm still hearing women in our branch who are very upset about it."

Daphne, when critiquing an entertaining meeting, says "I'll say a lot of the members liked it, the older members, they really did. Because they're tired. They're too old. No they're not too old, but they just want to play. We're the old regime. We're the ones that fought, did, and if you said march with placards, we did."

Consequences
Elements: Friends; enhanced self-esteem and confidence; personal growth; fun; personal satisfaction; prestige from AAUW association; awareness of AAUW agenda; withdrawal.

Essentially, Daphne feels that while she was active in AAUW they did the work for "women's rights." She said, "we've done all the things that women had to do." The main thing that Daphne appears to have gotten out of her membership is friendship. She said, "There were a whole bunch of us like that. We also were comfortable with the members because we had common interests. I mean the girls I know are from the branch when I joined in 1966. In fact, on the 27th, we're all meeting here. We've been going out about every six weeks. Maybe to lunch, talking."

Esther

Incidents
Previously a member of several branches, Esther has always belonged to the book groups. She joined the Lincoln, Webster, and Chester branches at about the same and performed roles of vice president of programs, and state Vice President of Educational Foundation while member of the Lincoln branch. In addition to performing her branch and state roles, she also started book group.

Causal Conditions
Elements: Invited; wishes to be with interesting or college educated women.
Esther had belonged to branches in several states prior to joining the Lincoln branch. Before joining the first branch she had called her mother telling her she was lonely and her mother suggested that she join an AAUW branch because it was just right for her. Although she was not very active in that branch, when she moved to the next community, she "joined for the book group" and was "really much more active there."

Context
Elements: Member interests; expectations; personal beliefs relative to feminism; age; branch role; time; previous branch experience.
When asked what her expectations were when she first joined AAUW, she said she really didn't know, she said, "I hadn't a clue what was going on. I just knew that I had friends and I had this book group. I was having a good time. I had a small child so it was basically get out

a little bit." Of herself, she said, "Yes, I'm always a member of the book group." When she joined the Lincoln branch she expected the branch to be more political because it was near the state Capitol. She thought that there would be people "who would really have a political bent, and there would be a lot of involvement."

Esther remembered how AAUW used to switch between topics every two years. She felt that "people miss that because it gave it form. And the form is gone. They feel that gender equity had just gone on and on and if you're older you just don't see the issues."

Esther supported the policies of AAUW. She believed that women should have access to higher education, and she was also pro-choice.

Actions
Elements: Attend branch meetings; perform role; attend board meetings; participate in fundraisers.
Esther joined three branches when she moved to the area and participated in activities in each of them. She was program chair in the Lincoln branch and started a book group.

Esther felt she demonstrated support for the mission of AAUW when, as program vice president, when she got the executive director of the Maryland Education Coalition to speak about emerging issues in education in Maryland's public school system.

Esther liked going to the state meetings because, "there is this level of energy and interest and you pick this up when you go there and when you come back to the branch it just kind of falls dead because a lot of the people in Chester will say, "Oh, we've been there, we've done that. We were activists once but we just want to have fun. This was the same in Lincoln, only it was worse because I was arranging meetings for a while and asking people to bring a cake and I couldn't even get a person to bring a cake."

Esther didn't vote on whether or not the branch should go inactive because by that time she was already active in Chester, and she didn't want to "adversely affect anyone else if they still wanted to be there."

Intervening Conditions
Elements: Branch culture and traditions; branch response to actions; AAUW reputation and biennial agenda.
While Esther expected branch members to be political, she said, "It didn't turn out to be like that. It didn't turn out to be like that at all." She felt that the branch had an "image of being a few older ladies who are not physically active."

One cultural consideration for the Lincoln branch is its proximity to a military academy where some of the members' spouses have been stationed. When talking about the Officer's Club,

Esther said that "Those ladies liked that, to have lunch at the Officer's Club. It's a nice atmosphere."

Esther stayed in the branch for a while because there was one person who wanted her to, but when she became the state Educational Foundation Vice President, the woman no longer talked to her, so she became more active in Chester. At one time some of the Lincoln branch members had tried to help another member get money from the Foundation to pursue studies related to a non-traditional career. The request was denied and some of the members were still angry about it. Esther felt that members don't understand how competitive the fellowships are, or "how it works."

When talking about programs on AAUW issues, Esther feels that, "the older members don't support the mission of AAUW. They're not interested anymore, they're not in that fight and you can't get them to come out for it." Although she thinks the educational equity initiative is a good issue, she said that the "problem seems to be how can the local branch do something with it." She said, "not that many branches know what to do. There should be some way to get it at the branch because it just dies." Esther felt quite alone in her previous branch because she was "the only one in her branch who would talk pro choice." She says "I got the feeling that a lot of people, even though that it is supposed to be the policy in AAUW, a lot of people, they just don't like it. I guess. They won't talk about it."

Esther told the story of Millicent, a long-time member of the Chester branch who, "took her out to lunch and wanted her to do this and that and it was really hard to say no to Millicent." Therefore, she had divided loyalties, but she knew she was "going to be heading over to Chester" because that's where her support was. "Millicent, basically." Esther feels comfortable with the support that she gets from Millicent. She said that without her she couldn't function, because she's doing the programming for the Chester branch and she hasn't lived in the area very long. She said, "If I'm stuck, I call up Millicent and I say I don't know what to do. Millicent has 110 ideas. She's been everywhere. And I'm going to become unstuck. So am I going to go over to Lincoln, or am I going to go towards Millicent? That's where I headed, because I had no choice. She's amazing."

Consequences
Elements: Friends; enhanced self-esteem and confidence; personal growth; fun; personal satisfaction; prestige from AAUW association; awareness of AAUW agenda; withdrawal.
Esther felt that she had had "quite a few successful programs" as program chair of the Lincoln branch.

Eventually, she found what she was expecting of branch membership in the Chester branch. She said, "After a while I found the book group that I wanted and the level of friendship that I wanted among certain people." She also got the kind of mentoring from Millicent that she needed to be successful in her positions of vice president of branch programs, and the state Educational Foundation.

Esther feels that the main purpose of AAUW is the Educational Foundation. She says, "That's the force, first of all its the money that gets people to go to graduate school to get these higher degrees, and the second thing is the research that's done. So I think that gets AAUW's name out there. That's the basic force of AAUW. That's the part that fosters education." She also felt, however, that participating in lifetime education and being in companionship with other women is nice. "It's another reason for AAUW to exist." For her, AAUW has been a source of friendship through people who are like minded politically. She said that being a member of the branch means, "friendship and being with other people who are interesting" to her.

Frances

Incidents
In the early years she attended branch meetings, study groups, and held most of the offices. More recently she attended branch meetings, was Public policy chair, and a member of the scholarship committee. She also participated in the book sale.

Causal Conditions
Elements: Invited; wishes to be with interesting or college educated women.
When Frances moved to Milford from a metropolitan area she was miserable because she felt she would "loose all culture and everything else." She said, "It was really interesting because one of the reasons I became acclimated to Milford was because of AAUW. I went to the meeting totally by myself, and sat there totally by myself, and luckily some friendly people came over and talked to me, and I started going to things and that was really good."

Context
Elements: Member interests; expectations; personal beliefs relative to feminism; age; branch role; time; previous branch experience.
Frances felt the purpose of AAUW was twofold. The first purpose was to be with people with like backgrounds who are stimulating. She said this is, "very important," particularly when you're in a town like Milford "which is not a metropolitan area." The second reason was "philanthropic," so Frances participated in the book sale to help the branch and to help people.

Frances is very interested in outreach, and she considers AAUW an outreach organization. She said, "otherwise I wouldn't belong to it." Furthermore, she said, "I think I sound like a real snob, but if we didn't do things that helped people, I wouldn't do it. It would be a waste of time." Toward that end she sits on the scholarship committee, a group which interviews candidates and decides who will be awarded the local scholarships.

Frances is amazed at the commitment of the active members. She said she could "never be that dedicated to any one cause. My thumb in lots of pots is how I do my stuff." Frances would like to see "more study groups of issues."

Actions
Elements: Attend branch meetings; perform role; attend board meetings; participate in fundraisers.
Frances was very active in the branch twenty years ago. She said, "I had every job there was. All the vice presidents and everything and it got to be sort of like, OK Frances, you're next, and I quit. I quit the branch. I couldn't find any other way to get out of it. But I mean I had four teenagers at the time! And it was just overwhelming. So now, I'm back in it. I've been in it maybe six or seven years and I'm slowly working around the jobs again! I don't know what's going to happen this next time. I don't want to quit again." When asked why she quit, she said, "Oh, I'm a very good committee person--very good--and I'm really a good worker, but I don't like to be in charge."

In the early days, Frances was a member of the literature group, and she worked on their big fund raiser at the time which was card parties. She also served as public policy chair. She participated in the meetings in that capacity and she loved being on the board. When Frances is involved in the board she reads the AAUW material, but when she's not on the board she throws them away. She does not participate in the study groups right now because she is too busy. Later Frances served on the scholarship committee where they selected the winners, who are mostly women, high school seniors.

"Now of course the book sale, everyone helps with the book sale." She spends an "hour here or an hour there." She helps with set up, is cashier, and then, helps break down. She said, "I do all those things in a couple hours here and a couple hours there."

Frances goes to the monthly branch meetings as often as she can and she "really likes" them. Recently the branch met at the Good Will Industries to learn about their contribution to the community. Frances was "flabbergasted" by what they do in the community.

One time Frances tried to help tutor with Girls, Inc., through AAUW, because as a teacher, that was her "comfort zone," but they didn't really have a program set up. She said volunteering has to be "meaningful," you have to feel like you're helping someone or something. "Growing isn't always the answer by itself."

Intervening Conditions
Elements: Branch culture and traditions; branch response to actions; AAUW reputation and biennial agenda.
The organizations in the community perform different functions for members. According to Frances, "we had an active League of Women Voters in Milford and it was disbanded now, and we had a lot of people who were in both those organizations, so that's where the political things mostly went." She also said the Business and Professional Women is a pretty active organization and people are church oriented so they don't do things on Wednesday nights.

Frances said, "Basically the same things are going on you know there is the bridge group still and the garden club and all the sort of things that people...You almost feel like you're in the fifties, because that's what our mothers used to do. But that's what people here still like to do. Which is great. I'm happy with that. They did it then, they do it now."

When referring to AAUW's diversity initiative, Frances indicated that they've, "not had very much success with black members. We've had a couple but I don't think we serve them right. I don't know if they feel uncomfortable. It is so hard to know, when you're in the majority, exactly what, how you transmit your feelings. We always try to be nice and friendly and welcoming but maybe we make them feel different."

When talking about the Educational Equity Initiative, Frances says, "I'm of the old school to some extent. I think maybe women are not helping themselves by wanting to I think that we're so much smarter than me and we can do things. I think we need to balance things a little better, about what we're trying to gain. We've given up a lot of the nice things in our lives by fighting the battle." She also says that she feels "that educational equity is really worth it but maybe not every little issue. Some things we just have to sort of let flow."

Frances, however, has internalized gender bias sufficiently to recognize it when her grandson told her granddaughter that she didn't have to worry about all this college stuff because all she had to worry about was getting married. Frances said, "So I had to stop the car and give a little lecture."

Frances said that the Milford branch, "projects don't change from year to year because it is like, if it's not broke don't fix it type of thing you know. When you do as big a thing as the book sale. I hate to keep coming back to the book sale, but we work on that book sale all year long. When you do a huge project like that you really don't have room to do something else. Especially when everybody works or does other things besides AAUW."

Consequences
Elements: Friends; enhanced self-esteem and confidence; personal growth; fun; personal satisfaction; prestige from AAUW association; awareness of AAUW agenda; withdrawal.
Frances was looking forward to the future meetings because she thought they would be "fun." She did not know anything about the Legal Advocacy Fund.

Frances retained her membership because she appreciated the branch members and what they did. She benefited personally from the people she knew. She also derived personal satisfaction because she thought "it benefits the community." She expected that the branch will continue to be a service organization in the community and also help the members.

AAUW makes Frances feel "capable" and she thinks that's important. She thinks all the AAUW things make you feel that way, even meetings like the one featuring the Good Will. She said, "I just left there with a really up feeling," because I like it when other people do

things to help other people. She also enjoys when they have meetings where she just listens, because, "where else do you go and just get information. You just know more and that's always good."

Gabrielle

Incidents

In the early years she was recording secretary. In the later years she was president and state recording secretary. She also participated in the booksale each year and was the publicity chair for many years.

Causal Conditions

Elements: Invited; wishes to be with interesting or college educated women.

Gabrielle was introduced to AAUW in college when the local branch had a dinner for graduating seniors. It was not until 1968, however, that she joined a branch. She had a good friend who belonged to AAUW who asked her if I would like to go to a meeting at her house. When Gabrielle joined the Milford branch she said that she expected "to meet people who had a common goal, and a common background, to develop friendships, and to learn something in the study groups." One study group that she remembers, from the early days, was about how the media projected candidates for the 1968 elections. She said it was "fascinating."

Context

Elements: Member interests; expectations; personal beliefs relative to feminism; age; branch role; time; previous branch experience.

Gabrielle's degree was in radio. She said "I've been publicity chair almost every time that I wasn't something else. That was very easy for me. That was no problem for me, because of having worked for the radio, having mainly been a copy writer." As publicity chair she has been involved in the branch book sale, buying ads in the paper, radio and television time, getting the photographer, and writing press releases. Gabrielle indicated that the most important aspects of belonging to AAUW are the friendships she's made and "working together on the projects." She said that she does not consider herself an activist.

Actions

Elements: Attend branch meetings; perform role; attend board meetings; participate in fundraisers.

Gabrielle has participated in study groups and the book sale since she joined the Milford branch. She's also held offices in the branch including corresponding secretary which involved sending out newsletters and invitations to branch events. She's served on committees, and is currently the co-chair of the scholarship committee. She served as president within the last few years. Part of the reason she agreed to be president was so she could attend the national convention in Orlando, since the branch pays for two members to go each biennium.

During her presidency she presided over the board and she said that, "Most of the branch business is conducted at the board meetings." She also said that, "If there is any motion for changes then that goes to the next branch meeting, but internal things, and the public policy vice president reports, we kind of decide what we will bring to the branch." She said they usually have about ten officers attend the board meetings.

As president, she also participated in meetings with the legislators and the county commissioners, put on by the Women's Commission of Jefferson County. While there they talked about the Legislative Agenda for Maryland Women.

Gabrielle talked about being on the allocation committee for the book sale. She said the group is composed of the president, the treasurer, the book sale chair and anyone else in the branch who wants to serve. She said that the decisions are made by consensus and they don't have any guidelines to follow. "Somebody takes a calculator out and starts subtracting from our proceeds."

A couple of years ago she started an afternoon literature group. Of that group she said, "Somebody comes and talks about a book, or an author that they've liked and everybody joins in and talks about similar ones. In May we always go to a book store. We're a more informal group, but a smaller group, and we exchange books. This afternoon group is all older women who've retired and so we're strictly reading for pleasure. We said we've gotten our education, and now we're out for pleasure. One person said she would never come to the afternoon group because they weren't serious enough. Well that's what we said, we're not that serious! We enjoy our reading and we enjoy exchanging ideas on what to read."

Intervening Conditions
Elements: Branch culture and traditions; branch response to actions; AAUW reputation and biennial agenda.
Over the years, Gabrielle has had some periods of high activity in the branch and other times when she was not as involved. She said that when she went to work full time she didn't do anything except for publicity.

When asked to describe the relationship between the program and policies of the association and that of the branch, Gabrielle said, "Our branch really probably doesn't have much to do with that other than special things that come up like educational equity. Something that we can take to otherwise our branch members really don't pay that much attention to what is going on at national." She said that, for "some of our membership, pro-choice is not popular" even though "to the majority of our membership" it is. Furthermore she said, "We're not a very liberal group. When AAUW was opposing the English language for Maryland. That didn't go over here. This area is for English only. And all I would do (as president) in that case, is state that this is AAUW's policy and as a branch we cannot oppose it. We don't have to come out it in a great way, we'll just not do anything if that's the feeling of the people

because at that people I would get the feeling of the members." When asked about her use of the national magazine she said, "I look through it. Sometimes I read things in it.

When asked why some members don't connect with the educational equity initiative, she said, "Well, I would say that the people who connect with it have some knowledge of the inequity. Either through a child in school, or as a teacher through their own experience. If you haven't had an experience well you don't really understand."

Gabrielle said that the branch does not support the Legal Advocacy Fund. She said, "Our branch is not the least bit happy with the legal advocacy fund. They think it is too narrow in its field. We had a teacher here who called and asked for some advice and they would have nothing to do with her. They wouldn't even give her someplace else to go or anything."

Gabrielle was concerned about the booksale because "the only people working are the old ladies and it's hard to pack and lift books when you're that old. We're hoping that as some more retire we'll get some new people." She said this past year everyone in the branch worked on the book sale, except for those who were sick, because the co-chair called every one and asked them to volunteer for at least a half a day. Gabrielle feels strongly about the book sale, she says, "It's one way that AAUW has become known in the community, the publicity we get, and people bringing in books, and of course the outlay of the money both to the Educational Foundation, and to local scholarships, and other organizations that we contribute to."

When asked if she thought the branch was better in the old days, she said, " I think the branch was more active before all the women went to work. To me that's the change from the time I started until now. That time we had time to do things, to be active, to meet, to have study groups. Now, that's the time they spend with their families."

Consequences
Elements: Friends; enhanced self-esteem and confidence; personal growth; fun; personal satisfaction; prestige from AAUW association; awareness of AAUW agenda; withdrawal.
In Gabrielle's opinion, "One thing that has brought up our attendance this year at our meetings is because we've stopped doing so many of our programs on education, because many of our members, even our retired teachers, aren't particularly interested in going to a meeting on education."

Gabrielle has been a leader in the branch for several years. She felt that if you are a leader rather than just a participant that, "You certainly get a lot more out of it." You make lots of friendships, you work more closely with people, and you know more what's going on in both national state and the branch level if you participate in the board." Although she has enjoyed participating in the state meetings, as recording secretary, she thinks that the workshops are sometimes "a little repetitious."

Gabrielle felt that her expectations of AAUW membership have been met and now she retains it in order to, "stay active with the same people, to pursue some of the goals, to work on the book sale, and to play bridge." In terms of the personal consequences of membership, Gabrielle said that it has certainly "honed my skills in some ways, like in my writing, because I've kept up with it, and in speaking before groups, and it's made me more aware of the educational equity and gender equity and all that. Something that I probably would not have been as aware of without AAUW."

The branch makes over twenty thousand dollars each year from the book sale and they give five-thousand of it to the library. They also contribute to a host of other organizations including the AAUW Educational Foundation, the local museum, a children's theater, the local women's shelter, and a junior college fund for women. A sizable amount of the money goes to local scholars. Although they've had a number of the scholars come back and speak to the group, and some of them have helped with the book sale, none of them have joined the branch.

Since Gabrielle is the publicity chair she ensures that the branch gets good coverage for meetings and the book sale. As a matter of fact, she said that "for the book sales for a couple of years they've been out there early on the opening morning to take pictures of the crowd waiting for the thing to open. We've had front page coverage on the booksale several times."

As a consequence of the educational equity initiative Gabrielle has taken information to the private school where she works part time and felt that in this way she promoted the educational equity initiative.

Hannah

Incidents
Hannah was Educational Foundations chair of branch and state and performed the roles of membership chair, president, and educational equity chair. She also participated in book sale fund raiser and other branch activities.

Causal Conditions
Elements: Invited; wishes to be with interesting or college educated women.
A colleague of Hannah's invited her to become a member of the branch. Her friend thought she would like AAUW, and after she shared the purpose, Hannah decided to join. She said she would, "appreciate having other women who have the same vision." She wanted to work for the community and be a significant part of it.

Context
Elements: Member interests; expectations; personal beliefs relative to feminism; age; branch role; time; previous branch experience.
During her college years, Hannah had two women who served as role models, and mentors to her. Her experiences with these two women have influenced her in her work with girls, both

through her teaching and her AAUW work. Hannah said, one of the women was, "...a home economist. And I wanted to be like her because she was my idol.   She was one person that I could talk with, and share with, she became the person that I still to this day, sit and talk with for hours."

When Hannah joined the branch she expected to "see them focused on working to help the young girls...That was the big thing I really wanted to see them doing." She also expected that the women of the branch would work together to "try to obtain the monies that we could use for scholarships." Additionally, she believes that the purpose of the branch is to "make money so we can support national--send the money to national for the Educational Foundation."

Even though the national association is a feminist organization and espouses feminist positions on equality in women's education, health, and occupations, not all members share all of these beliefs. Hannah is a strong advocate of educational equity and has led the branch efforts in making the community more aware of gender bias and sexual harassment issues however, she does not believe in reproductive choice. When friends who are opposed to reproductive choice tell her that they will not join AAUW because of the organization's position on choice, she says "Well, do you realize all the other facets of AAUW?" She feels that she can ignore AAUW's position on choice because she believes strongly in fighting for Educational equity.

Actions
Elements: Attend branch meetings; perform role; attend board meetings; participate in fundraisers.
Hannah has held several branch positions including, Educational Foundation chair, membership chair, educational equity chair, and president. She said that as Educational Foundation chair of the branch she learned so much from her mentors that she " decided, OK, I will take the state position." Furthermore, she said she, "...enjoyed it very much," because she felt like she was doing what she always wanted to do which was to, "...earn some money, or get the money, so that these girls who haven't had the opportunity, or means to go to college could do so." And that was primarily my goal. She also co-chaired the Educational Equity Roundtable at the junior college.

When asked if she helps with the book sale, she said, "Definitely! There isn't a member who gets out of it. I have the art books to do." She said that some of the members sort the books into piles, and there are stacks of art books, at the library, for her to price, put on the shelves, and box to get them ready for the sale."

Hannah told of a new project that the branch has undertaken. She is the lead for it. She said, "Last year we took a tour through (the local museum) because they had made some renovations of the building and it is just exquisite. So we were all so pleased and this man was showing us the lobby...And he said, we would just love to have somebody do a stained glass or something nice for the skylight. So, I brought it up at the Fall meeting. I said,

wouldn't it be something if we could save a little bit each year and do this project with the stained glass. This would be something that would be there for as long as any of us can remember and maybe beyond that. So this is our new project. We have people who are giving us bids now. And they're also giving us the drawings, along with the colors. We're visiting different artists of stained glass?"

At a recent meeting, a local delegate to the state legislature spoke to the group. Hannah thought she was ,"...really very encouraging to individuals to consider becoming politically involved."

Hannah is also an active member of the garden club, the bridge group, and the evening literature group. She also sits on the scholarship committee.

Intervening Conditions
Elements: Branch culture and traditions; branch response to actions; AAUW reputation and biennial agenda.
The branch has contributed to an AAUW Educational Foundation named unit for a number of years. It will provide for Research and Project Grants, in the name of the branch, when fully endowed at thirty-five thousand dollars. She said the branch is eager to finish it off. Although the branch gave money, from the book sale, to this fund every year, Hannah said they, "feel very strongly that some of this has to go back to the community. Support of the booksale is from the community because they know who we are going to help."

Hannah agrees with Gabrielle that the branch does not support the Legal Advocacy Fund. "Well, the problem that they see is that it is only supporting college professors. They don't feel that that's fair and right."

Hannah thinks the reason why branches have trouble getting presidents is because of the amount of responsibility and the necessity to put so much time and commitment into the organization. Furthermore, she says, "And with women working today, it's very difficult to come home and do your work at home and at the same time answer six phone calls in the evening regarding AAUW. That gets to be heavy. It seems like we've been going through people who have retired right now. They have taken on two year terms."

Hannah does not feel that teachers are being adequately served by the school board. She mentioned that teachers in Jefferson County have not gotten increases for several years, and as a result some of them have left to go to other systems. Therefore, she is considering running for a school board position, after she retires, because she wants to see some changes made, "where there would be some real support for education in their community." She feels that the branch would be very supportive of her if she did run.

Consequences

Elements: Friends; enhanced self-esteem and confidence; personal growth; fun; personal satisfaction; prestige from AAUW association; awareness of AAUW agenda; withdrawal.

Hannah said that the Milford branch is a "very social branch." The members look forward to the social functions...We have a big Christmas get together and we get together in the summer for the picnic." She feels that the branch programs are "excellent." They are very educational and that's a high priority, I have to say that because we really work to have good programs. "One year we did nothing but health issues." "This year we are trying to learn more about different individuals within our community, so we've invited women clergy."

Hannah likes to find out what other branches are doing so that she can learn from them and share with them.
Being a member of the branch has been a, "pleasant experience," for Hannah. She said, she's enjoyed going to state meetings. Although she'd like to spend more time, she can't right now because of family and work obligations.

When asked why she retains her membership, Hannah said, " I've been a member since 1986. And the reason I stayed with it is because we have a very strong branch here and we're very active and I find that there is always some area in which I have an interest.

Hannah feels that the branch has enabled her because it's "an encouragement, I have to say that it is just an encouragement to me and that we encourage one another. If somebody's down, it doesn't matter what it's about, we're willing to encourage one another. Hannah believed that, "...each individual in this branch receives personal satisfaction. They become very close friends and many times we'll do other things together."

Iona

Incidents
While Iona was inactive for several years, she quickly became active after having been asked to perform the role of Educational Equity chair. After serving in that role she was membership chair and president elect. She also participated in fund raisers.

Causal Conditions
Elements: Invited; wishes to be with interesting or college educated women.
A teacher friend and colleague of Iona's asked her if she would like to join the Milford branch right after she graduated from college. Her friend had been a long time member of the branch and had actually been Iona's teacher when she was in middle school. Iona said she was familiar with AAUW because of the book sales. As a child, her parents had taken her to the book sales each year when she was growing up. Even though she had joined to meet people, Iona said, "The first couple of years I wasn't very active." At the time she was working on her master's degree and although she would attend some things, she never felt, "real comfortable." She always felt like she was "too young," or the other members were, "too old." Even though

there was no one in the branch who was her age, she continued her membership because she felt like she, "should."

At some point she said she "...just started to become more involved." She went to a couple branch meetings and got a couple other friends to join. In the last few years "just some natural things happened, like Hannah asked me to chair the Roundtable." Iona was pleased that the branch also worked very hard to recruit younger members.

Although she knew the things that national was doing, she really didn't know much about the branch because they weren't "politically active." She said that, "If you wanted to be politically active in Jefferson county you would belong to the young democrats." As principal, Iona saw how her students benefited from the national research.

Context
Elements: Member interests; expectations; personal beliefs relative to feminism; age; branch role; time; previous branch experience.
Iona did not consider herself an activist because she didn't feel that she brings about change intentionally. She said, "I definitely have opinions, and I work on things, and I take a leadership role in issues, but I don't see myself as an activist. I guess in my position professionally, I have to be very careful in some areas." Iona was involved with a two year internship with the Maryland State Department of Education which took her out of the classroom. She traveled all over the state and did a lot of networking with educational leaders. She said, "It was a great experience." She also said that those experiences helped her to get the principalship in Madison County. She had applied in Jefferson, but "just never got the school based position."

Iona was not as committed to going to the monthly meetings as she was to the smaller study groups. She said that the leaders got very frustrated with that attitude but she felt they need to understand that, "it's either because they're not interested, or they have other commitments." She said she, didn't "get all hung up on that." She was "more interested in making sure that at least that member has something that they enjoy and they participate."

Actions
Elements: Attend branch meetings; perform role; attend board meetings; participate in fundraisers.
Iona was co-chair of the Educational Equity Roundtable. After that she was membership chair and then President elect. She decided, after being president elect for a year, she could not become president of the branch at that time. She said she "...just couldn't do it," because she is a middle school principal and has a lot of evening activities. Right now she doesn't have any leadership role except for the investment study group and she and her sister work that together.

The single most important thing about being a branch member to Iona was friendship, however, she talked about the importance of participating, even if only in the smaller groups. She said, "I've met some people that I've become very close to over the years. Obviously this is a large group, not as large as it used to be, and I don't know everyone. Some of them I know in other ways, other groups that we belong to. Certainly I've recruited alot of people when I was membership. Well, I still do. You know encourage them to belong. The hook I think for younger people is having these little study groups, certainly the investment one, literature, garden, bridge, whatever is a hook for people. The large groups because our branch tends to be very large and tends to be older is very scary for alot of people, but I think the big piece is the small group."

Although Iona does not go to all the monthly branch meetings, she did go to the one at the Good Will. It was there that she put forward the change to the branch membership requirement, that permits people with certificates or associate degrees to be members of the branch. She said she thinks that, "Part of the reason for belonging to AAUW is the support system to other women." She felt that by allowing the new membership category for the branch that they would be mentoring and encouraging women to continue their education. She also felt that the branch would benefit from having them as members particularly because of the book sale.

Like all the other members of the Milford branch who are able, Iona helps with the book sale. She said, "This year I'm not going down to price books. In years past I used to do that a couple times a year." She will carry the books out though, because she is one of the younger members. This year she said she will do that both weekends because she is off work.

Intervening Conditions
Elements: Branch culture and traditions; branch response to actions; AAUW reputation and biennial agenda.
A further cultural consideration for the Milford branch is the fact that bridge is a very important activity. Iona surveyed the branch when she was membership chair to find out what their interests were so that the branch could be more responsive to them. Of that experience she said, "Well, basically you know the Milford group very well. Bridge is a big deal. They must have four or five groups and some of them play in all of them." Based on the survey they started another bridge group for beginners. When talking about becoming more comfortable with the branch because they actively recruited younger members like her, Iona said, "You know I also started to play bridge. I'd never played bridge before, I hate cards. And the president kept saying "Oh, come on," you know and a couple of my friends said, "Oh, come on," so I did. We take trips together. We go off and play bridge all weekend. We went to the lake one weekend in September. We went to a town with many antique stores one weekend. Nine of us went. We have great weekends."

According to Iona, the leaders of the branch, coordinated events, planned, organized and made decisions. She said that major decisions were made by the branch but, "The bottom line

is a lot of those decisions are made in the board meetings, which is fine." She felt, "that's why we have those positions because we trust those people to make those decisions for us." She also saw the leaders as the active members of the branch. She said once you take one of those active roles, "they scoop you up and they want you to be a leader. Not all people are willing to do that. Some of them will say, well, I'll be willing to head this up but don't ask me to be president, you know."

Although Iona was proud of the Educational Equity research, she did not agree with the limitations of the Legal Advocacy Fund. While talking about it, she said, "I understand the research and that women are not getting tenure. ...and I saw that at the University of Maryland when I was there. Some of my professors talked to us about who got it, and who didn't, and about how that process works. I have friends who teach in colleges. However I think that there are things that happen in public education that need to be addressed as well."

Consequences
Elements: Friends; enhanced self-esteem and confidence; personal growth; fun; personal satisfaction; prestige from AAUW association; awareness of AAUW agenda; withdrawal.
When asked why she retains her membership, Iona said, "First of all I need to show my support in a women's organization." She thought it was important for women to be part of a women's organization for friendship and for lifelong learning opportunities. While she dropped several memberships in organizations this year, she maintained her AAUW membership because she felt it was educationally beneficial for her to do that.

Jane

Incidents
Jane performed the role of branch historian and coordinated a holiday gift project between the J.C.s and AAUW. She also worked on the book sale in charge of set-up.

Causal Conditions
Elements: Invited; wishes to be with interesting or college educated women.
Madison is a county adjacent to Jefferson. Jane joined the Madison branch after seeing an ad in the paper about a group of college educated women who were looking to expand their membership. Subsequently she joined the Milford branch after receiving an invitation from Iona, the membership chair. When she joined the Madison branch she expected to meet other women, with college backgrounds, who lived in the area. She was also interested in learning more about the women's careers. After she joined, she found some of them were retired. They had been in a variety of careers. A lot of the women had been in teaching in some capacity or another. Jane had a degree in Business Management and worked for her father who is a "registered architect." When her family moved to Milford she decided to join the branch.

Context

Elements: Member interests; expectations; personal beliefs relative to feminism; age; branch role; time; previous branch experience.

Jane thinks the branch programs have been excellent and she believes that they provide, "a place for people who have higher education to meet, and to socialize, and to attend programs that are intellectually challenging."

Jane agrees with branch members who decided to add a membership category for the branch to include people who have certificates or associate degrees. She said that one of the reasons is because they need help with the used book sale. She said there are a lot of people who would like to join, but they don't meet the membership requirement. Jane said, "I think it was certainly appropriate that it was aired and voiced. I think you have to look at your area in the community and what people type of people you have living in the area and what backgrounds do they have. And certainly that has become a growth area. Here we've had a huge growth in the medical field like med tech, nursing."

Jane does not participate in any of the study groups because she is so involved in other organizations that she doesn't have time. She would like to participate in the garden club. She is a member of the Milford Junior Chamber of Commerce and she also belongs to the Jefferson County Museum of Fine Arts in the Singer Society.

When asked if the educational equity initiative was important to her she said, "I think to a certain degree it is important, yes. Gender bias and sexual harassment, these are things that you're going to face in any setting and I think probably the more aware people are of it and it certainly the younger age who are conscious of it."

Our branch has had some difficulties with LAF. I think that it should certainly be expanded to other areas besides just professorships"

Actions

Elements: Attend branch meetings; perform role; attend board meetings; participate in fundraisers.

Jane talked about the branch meetings, saying that "the Milford branch does not have any specific place where they meet for branch meetings. Every branch meeting is generally held in a different location. Some of the meetings are luncheons, some of them are, you know the holiday reception, that's always held at a member's home in December. When asked what she thought about the program on the Good Will, she said, "I thought it was very interesting. A lot of the members also commented about the fact that they were not aware of the fact of how involved Good Will is really in the county. They are one of the largest employers in the area which nobody really realized. It was quite an awareness program."

This year Jane is in charge of organizing the set up. It will take an entire weekend. There are about one hundred tables that have to be set up with signs indicating all the categories of the books. She arranged reciprocol projects with the J.C.s to help with the set-up. AAUW members contributed gifts for nursing home patients to the Operation Santa project run by

Jane through the J.C.s. In return, the J.C.s have offered to help move the books from the library to the agriculture center for the sale.

Jane relayed the following information about how she performs the role of branch historian. "In every branch meeting I will take photographs of whatever the events, and then once I've taken the photographs, and had them developed, I put them in an album and I label every single photograph as to who the person is, where it was taken, when it was taken. Then I put them in an album, and the album is segmented down in terms of the month, and in every month I also put the agenda for the board meeting, the treasurers report any other literature anybody has that wants to give me. If I receive any of the AAUW magazines or the state newsletter it gets filed under there, with any literature that the president wants to put in." She said she enjoys being historian because it has allowed her to become familiar with all the branch members. "By taking their pictures, I know who they are and I can address them by name."

Intervening Conditions
Elements: Branch culture and traditions; branch response to actions; AAUW reputation and biennial agenda.
Jane says that the Milford board meetings "...are always conducted in a very formal manner. There is always an agenda presented. And we pretty much follow it. Most everybody on the board is very organized so everything is usually presented in a very organized manner." Jane is a member of several other organizations and works part time. She said she would like to participate in the garden club, because she enjoys gardening very much but "every time it seems they have an event planned, I have something else to do."

Jane said that when she first joined AAUW, she found the conversations confusing, because of all the acronyms. At the time, she hadn't gotten much literature to explain them and didn't know what they stood for. By attending the board and branch meetings, she began to understand what they were talking about. While Jane gets literature from the association now, she doesn't always have time to read it all.

Consequences
Elements: Friends; enhanced self-esteem and confidence; personal growth; fun; personal satisfaction; prestige from AAUW association; awareness of AAUW agenda; withdrawal.
Jane is a member of the volunteer group associated with the museum. She tells the story of touring the museum with branch members and the architect who had designed the new addition. She said, "At that time, we were standing in the foyer and there was a skylight above us and he said that that was his dream to put a stained glass window piece up in the skylight. Well, Hannah is a member of the branch, and she heard this, and because she was interested, and also because she is a member of the museum volunteers, she thought that would be a good project for the branch to have some permanent piece of art work on display all the time. The branch would have a nameplate."

Jane felt that participating in the branch "pretty much" met her expectations, since they were older members and "they certainly had experiences that were different from mine which were interesting." She felt that because she had been raised as an only child and her parents were older it was not really hard to socialize with older members. She said she benefits from branch membership because she's grown as a human being. She said she's, "met people from all different walks of life," and she's enjoyed that because it enables her to learn about different professions and occupations and has, "broadened" her knowledge.

Jane also said, "It's been an awareness." Having just moved to the area, being a member has helped her learn more about it. The single most important aspect of participation, however, has been, the camaraderie," that she's gained from working with the branch. She also felt that being the historian allowed her to get to know all the members. Jane retains her membership because she enjoy being a member, "...participating in the activities, whether it be the programs, or the board meetings." She said, of being the historian for the branch, "I love it." She especially likes socializing. She said, "I like organization so it just fits me to a T."

Furthermore she said, "Just in general what I really enjoy being a member, I love it. It's a large branch. I really had no idea what to expect. I had known about the booksale when I was a member of the Madison branch and I was very eager to see what they did. How they could collect all that money. It just amazed me. I had never heard of a fund-raiser like that before. And to this day, I'm still amazed."

Jane also felt that she had contributed to community understanding because, although the members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce knew of the book sale because it has been in place for thirty-six years, they "were not really aware of what AAUW does,." until she told them. She said they were surprised, "who benefited from the sale and that almost all the money with the exception of about $3500 stays in the community."

Although Jane does not feel that she is an activist, she does think that working on the book sale is a way of promoting education, because of the fact that the branch gives so many local scholarships, and the allocation of the funds from the book sale is "made public." Jane told that, Gabrielle had created a large article for the local paper, featuring all the recipients, including the ten local scholars. She commented that, "It brings it home locally, cause people know those children who are the recipients and they can relate to that. Perhaps on the national level people don't understand it. They see it in terms of the local level. How does it affect me?"

Summary of Stage 1

A summary of Stage 1 is described in Table 3. Of the ten participants, six were invited to join a branch by a friend and four were not. All of the members joined the branch to be with interesting, or college educated women. All of the participants, also expected to meet women, with whom they not only had something in common, but

Table 3: How Members Experience Stage 1

		Lincoln					Milford				
		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
Causal Conditions											
	Invited	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Wishes to be with interesting or college educated women	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Contextual Conditions											
	Interests	+/-	-	+/-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
	Expectations	+	+/-	-	+/-	-	+	+	+	+	+
	Feminist	+	=	+	=	+	+	=	+	+	=
	Age	-	-	+	-	=	=	=	=	+	+
	Branch role	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Preferred use of leisure time	-	-	+	-	-	=	+	+	-	-
Actions											
	Attends meetings	Y	S	Y	S	S	Y	Y	Y	S	Y
	Performs role	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Attends board meetings	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
	Participates in fundraisers	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Intervening Conditions											
	Branch culture and traditions	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+
	Branch response to actions	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+
	AAUW mission and reputation	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	+	+	+
	AAUW biennial agenda	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	=
Consequences											
	Friends	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Self-esteem, confidence	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Personal growth	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Fun	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Personal satisfaction	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Prestige from AAUW association	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
	Awareness of AAUW agenda	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Withdrawal	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N

Key
* No evidence in data
Y Yes, N No, S Some
+ Facilitated actions
- Constrained actions
= No significant impact on actions

who were like-minded, so they could socialize with them and develop friendships. To some members, particularly teachers, belonging represented a professional credential, and to others it represented a place where they could network with connected women in the community. All of the participants were interested in being involved in opportunities to enhance their lives,

by learning and being intellectually stimulated through the meetings or being part of study groups. Most of the members felt that by being a part of the branch they would be able to have an impact on the lives of women and girls especially those in the community. A few of the members joined because they were sincerely interested in issues on the AAUW agenda. Some were particularly interested in supporting AAUW's program area, especially educational equity and the Educational Foundation and others wanted to be involved in public policy. Some women were not at all interested in the program or the policy agenda, either because they couldn't relate to it or their interest had waned over time. Whether or not the member's interests and expectations were met determined the consequences for the members of the Lincoln branch, in that they all withdrew from participation.

Most of the women held a feminist worldview in that they believe that there are still oppressions that must be overcome for women to realize their potential. Even so the participation of many of the women was not significantly impacted by their belief, other than for fund raising efforts. For those who felt strongly about equality, they were more likely to move up to higher stages of activism. While older members tended to be less engaged in the Lincoln branch, that was not true for Milford where the older members are still very involved in the book sale.

In every case, for those who took their positions seriously, performing a branch role catapulted the member into more involvement. This situation was particularly true of the president, the educational equity chair, and the public policy chair, because of their use of the information they received from the national association, as well as, the expectations of the branch with regard to the performance of the role.

In many instances, the member's preferred use of leisure time impacted her participation in the branch. For some, limits to the duration of time they would spend on AAUW activities affected their choice of activities and level of participation. For others, their participation was impacted by commitments to other organizations and where AAUW fell in their prioritization scheme. For others, the alignment of their interests with that of the branch program determined their level of participation.

Most of the members attended the regularly scheduled branch meetings. Exceptions were the older members from the Lincoln branch and one of the younger members from the Milford branch. Whereas, failing health and lack of interest contributed to the older members' limited participation, professional commitments and a preference for small group activity determined the younger member's attendance.

Each of the members performed a role in the branch with the exception of two of the older members from the Lincoln branch who have held many roles in the past. While many of the remaining members participate in the board meetings and therefore, are primary decision makers in the branch, some of them do not, even though all of them have in the past. The

roles of the other two are either on committees or in study groups and they are not expected to attend.

All of the members participate in fund raising for the Educational Foundation. The Lincoln branch supported the Legal Advocacy Fund, but the Milford branch does not because they believe it is too narrowly focused. Most of the members participate in fund raisers for community projects also.

The branch culture and traditions vary by branch and they usually have a positive impact on the members, but for members who expect support for activist behavior where they are engaged in political activities associated with the national agenda, the culture and traditions may have a negative impact on their participation. Branch support for their actions in these instances may also impact their future work with issues that are controversial in the branch.

All of the participants, except one, indicated being positively affected by the historical reputation of AAUW. While the current AAUW program and policy agenda, even though remote for most, had a positive impact on most member participation, two older women in the Lincoln branch felt it wasn't relevant to their current life experience.

The consequences of participation in the branch included making friends. Developing friendships with other members was noted as an expectation for the members. For all but two of the newer members strong relationships with other members had been established. The end result for these two women was to withdraw to branches where they were building friendships. All of the members experienced enhanced self-esteem and confidence as a result of their interaction with the branch. They also felt that they had grown as a result of their membership and additionally they usually had fun participating in the meetings and activities. All of them experienced personal satisfaction, particularly with regard to the results of their leadership and their work on the fund raisers for the benefit of others.

Most of the members became more aware of some of the biennial agenda items. For some members, their awareness was superficial, and in some instances incorrect. In cases where there was incongruence between the members interests and expectations, and that of the dominant coalition, the members withdrew to another branch where their expectations were met.

Within the context of participation in branch meetings and activities, however, an increased sense of the value of lifelong education is promulgated for some members. In addition, relationships are established with like-minded people, while experiencing personal growth and confidence, thus laying the groundwork for the next stage of activism and responsiveness to the national agenda.

Stage 2: Supports Educational Opportunities for Specific Women and Girls

The mission of AAUW follows: The American Association of University Women promotes equity for all women and girls, lifelong education, and positive societal change. Within the context of AAUW branch membership, the value of education, particularly lifelong learning, is often reinforced through participation in branch meetings and activities. Relationships with people and organizations supporting that value are also established. Therefore, for those who wish to promote lifelong education, the branch provides a legitimate venue for them to do so, based on their personal interests, which may, or may not be in accordance with the national biennial agenda. This phenomenon is described in the model presented in Figure 3.

Members of the Lincoln branch who performed at this stage included Abigail, who helped host the Gender Equity Model workshop for the community, Camille, who worked with the branch, and another group in the community to present a local scholarship, and Esther, who started a book study group in her branch. Members of the Milford branch who provided a similar type of support included Frances, who serves on the scholarship committee each year, Hannah who helped a new member write a grant for a program to help girls learn about aviation, and Iona, who initiated four new study groups, as a result of a membership interest survey she conducted.

Overview of Stage 2

The conditions which cause members to support education opportunities for specific women and girls are usually predicated on their participation in branch meetings and activities. They include the relationships they've established with other women who share their value of lifelong education, and a readiness to promote this value based on the self-esteem, confidence, and personal growth they've experienced through their functioning at Stage 1.

The attributes of the members which influence whether or not they provide support are the value they place on lifelong education, their personal interests, whether or not they hold a branch role, their exposure to related activities in AAUW, and their preference for the use of their leisure time.

The members either help with or lead the activities involved. The activities reflected in this study included providing local scholarships, establishing branch study groups, and conducting a gender equity workshop.

The conditions which may either facilitate or constrain the activities include the branch culture and traditions and the AAUW biennial agenda.

As a consequence of the activities, members make friends, experience more personal growth, receive personal satisfaction, and promote lifelong education for specific women and girls.
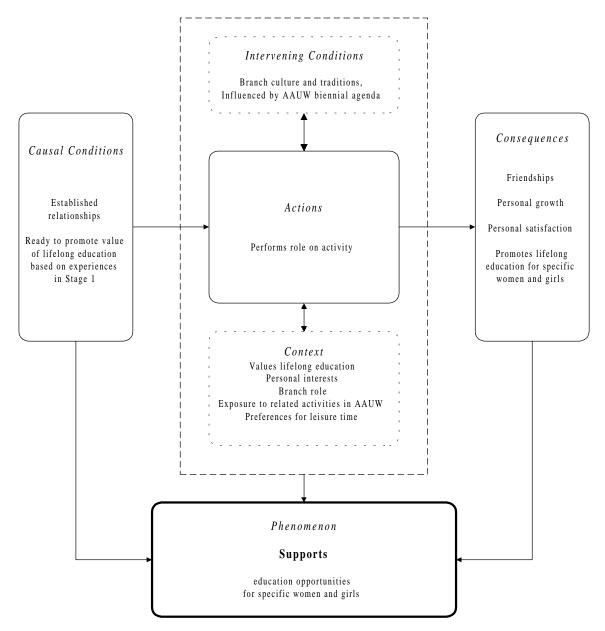
Figure 3: Supports Educational Opportunities for Specific Women and Girls

Abigail

Incident
The Gender Equity Model Workshop at the YWCA.

Causal Conditions
Elements: Established relationships; Ready to promote value of lifelong education based on experiences in Stage 1.
Abigail and the branch president helped host the event and also participated in it. Abigail had developed a compatible working relationship with many of the members of the branch who had supported her when she first joined the branch. She shared a similar educational and military background with several of them. Abigail was a mathematician who liked to help children by tutoring them. During the interview she said, "I push all the girls. I, for a while, tutored the project children here in town. I tutored math because that was my expertise. And I would always sit down and say to my little girls, "I love math.""

Context
Elements: Values lifelong education; personal interests; branch role; exposure to related activities in AAUW; preferences for use of leisure time.
Abigail's background as a teacher and math tutor provided a framework for her to appreciate the issues raised in the GEM workshop. In addition, her recent life course transition made her acutely aware of gender based inequality. Her role as treasurer, and one of the younger members, qualified her as a member of the branch leadership team.

The Lincoln branch program theme a few years ago was Title IX. Abigail talked about those meetings quite a bit during the interview. During that year she was exposed to many different types of inequity for women. She said they had a track coach come in and talk and "...it really opened up your eyes about what was going on."

Abigail preferred projects that she could get done within a weekend, so helping with the GEM workshop fit her constraints because it was on a Saturday and most of the preparation was done by the Webster branch.

Actions
Elements: Performs role on activity.
The Webster branch had decided, based on a workshop at the state conference, to conduct the Gender Equity Model workshop at the local YWCA. The workshop was presented by a member of the Pennsylvania state organization, and the objective was to enable teachers to experience gender bias, and then learn to use tools and techniques to change their biased behaviors. Members of the Webster branch arranged for the speaker, the location, and advertised the event in several county school systems. About twenty-five teachers and branch members attended.

Abigail helped prepare and clean up the facilities for the event and also attended the Gender Equity Model workshop.

Intervening Conditions
Elements: Branch culture and traditions; AAUW biennial agenda.
There were members in the branch who did not believe in the educational equity initiative, and this may have been one of the reasons why the attendance at the workshop was not very good. Daphne, who was also a member of the Lincoln branch indicated this viewpoint when she said, "We did have one problem with our equal rights. We did have members who were very against it."

Consequences
Elements: Members make friends; experience personal growth; receive personal satisfaction; promote lifelong education for specific women and girls.
As a consequence, Abigail immediately resonated with gender bias, and found participating in the GEM workshop was "enlightening" to her.

She said that one of her classic cases of using her knowledge regarding gender bias occurred with a female lawyer in her office who was also tutoring children. Abigail said, "She was one of those ones who had been brain washed. "Women can't do math, girls can't do math. So here she was with a law degree from Georgetown. Very brilliant. She was an English major. And every once in a while she would have to tutor these little kids and she couldn't even work out a number line. Math would even come up with some of her clients in her law practice. And I said, OK, it's just a sentence and this means minus, and this means plus, and this means times, and you just put this in a sentence and plug all your numbers in. And I actually taught her and she felt so badly that she had been brainwashed as a child that girls don't do math."

Camille

Incident
Camille coordinated the giving of a local scholarship by the branch.

Causal Conditions
Elements: Established relationships; Ready to promote value of lifelong education based on experiences in Stage 1.
Camille, "joined forces with *Women of Color*," to give a scholarship to one of girls they selected as a future leader. Camille likes being able to, "effectuate something right here in the local community." She had established relationships with many organizations during her year as president of the branch and *Women of Color* was one of them. Although Camille had only been a member of the branch for a year, she had also participated in other organizations and had developed a strong repertoire of leadership skills which enabled her in her branch work.

Context
Elements: Values lifelong education; personal interests; branch role; exposure to related activities in AAUW; preferences for use of leisure time.
Providing opportunities for women and girls in the community is a significant value for Camille. She expressed the desire to enable women in the community through AAUW support several times during the interview. As president, Camille was the driving force behind the programs for the branch and was able to influence the members to give the scholarship from the branch funds.

Camille's networking skills and her role, as president of the Lincoln branch, enabled her to make contacts in the community, and work with the other organization to subsequently help the branch meet its goal of giving a promising young girl a scholarship. Camille learned about branch scholarships through her involvement with the Webster branch.

Actions
Elements: Performs role on activity.
Camille worked with *Women of Color*, an organization that gives scholarships to future leaders, to give a scholarship to a young African American woman who wanted to be a surgeon.

Intervening Conditions
Elements: Branch culture and traditions; AAUW biennial agenda.
The Lincoln branch had given money to the Educational Foundation most years but they did not have a tradition of giving local scholarships like the Webster branch. Giving the scholarship was very important to Camille, but helping people was not important to some of the branch members. For example, when Camille shared the Legal Advocacy Fund video with the branch, about several of the cases of tenure discrimination AAUW is supporting, several of the members were upset with the idea that the organization helps others in that way. Camille said that one member even said "she was very opposed to helping people because she had done it on her own." Although the scholarship was provided, Camille eventually left the branch and joined the Webster branch where they provide annual scholarships.

Although lifelong education is part of the mission statement for AAUW, and branches frequently provide them, local scholarships are not endorsed by the AAUW Educational Foundation.

Consequences
Elements: Members make friends; experience personal growth; receive personal satisfaction; promote lifelong education for specific women and girls.
Camille felt that by being president of the branch and working on the programs and projects, AAUW had "enabled her tremendously to make contacts" in the community and to know many people. She expressed the opinion that the women in the *Women of Color* organization,

"are fantastic." Camille was, "...so happy that they could give (the scholarship) to her without any strings," and she was also pleased that they could give it to "such a really neat person."

Although Camille did withdraw from the branch, as indicated in the first section, this particular activity did not appear to contribute significantly to that decision.

Esther

Incidents
Esther started a book group for branch members.

Causal Conditions
Elements: Established relationships; Ready to promote value of lifelong education based on experiences in Stage 1.
Esther and Iona each lead efforts to establish new study groups in their branches. Esther, who said, "I'm always a member of the book group," decided to start a book group in her branch. The book group is the major reason why she is a member of AAUW.

Context
Elements: Values lifelong education; personal interests; branch role; exposure to related activities in AAUW; preferences for use of leisure time.
Esther had been either participating or leading AAUW book groups since the 70s so she had lots of knowledge and experience to draw from when she initiated the new book group.

Actions
Elements: Performs role on activity.
Esther advertised the book group in the branch bulletin. Two or three people participated.

Intervening Conditions
Elements: Branch culture and traditions; AAUW biennial agenda.
Many branches have book groups, but the Lincoln branch did not have one. When Esther joined the branch she tried to start one but only a few people came, so she disbanded it. She was, however, also a member of the Chester branch that had a book group and it was there that she "found the level of friendship that she wanted among certain people." She said, "If you ask what the local branch means to me. That's what it means to me. Friendship and being with other people who are interesting." After finding a branch with an active book group that she felt comfortable in, she decided to try to establish another interest group in poetry which was successful.

Although neither of these types of groups are presently on the national biennial agenda, there is a program called "Adelente," which includes a recommended set of books for about diverse people for AAUW book groups to use. In the past AAUW book groups were promoted as a

way for women to engage in cultural activities. Many members still value their engagement with their book groups, as can be seen in the previous section.

Consequences
Elements: Members make friends; experience personal growth; receive personal satisfaction; promote lifelong education for specific women and girls.
While the book group in the Lincoln branch was unsuccessful, Esther reported that one of the women in the poetry group came up to her and said, "You've changed my life, you don't know how much it means to me to have a chance to get together with my friends and read poetry." Furthermore, she said, "There are people who really wanted this, and I started it," and later in the conversation she said, "Yes, and AAUW's the only place that I've been able to find people who are willing to sit around my house and read poetry."   In the end, for this reason and others discussed in the previous section, Esther withdrew from the Lincoln branch and became an active member of the Chester branch.

Frances

Incidents
Frances was a member of the scholarship committee and helped select the winners.

Causal Conditions
Elements: Established relationships; Ready to promote value of lifelong education based on experiences in Stage 1.
Frances believed one of the purposes of the branch is philanthropy. She mentioned that she liked to help select the local scholars each year, so she frequently sat on the scholarship committee. She said the experience, "is really interesting." Frances claims she is a "good committee person," and she expressed her value of lifelong education and outreach several times during the interview. Being a member of the branch provides her with a venue to operationalize her values.

Context
Elements: Values lifelong education; personal interests; branch role; exposure to related activities in AAUW; preferences for use of leisure time.
Frances had been participating in the Milford book sales for a long time and therefore, had a vested interest in who would receive the local scholarships. She had also taught for many years which influenced her desire to participate in the scholarship committee. It was also an activity that she did not have to spend a lot of time on. During the interview she had talked about spending "a couple hours here," and a "couple hours there," on activities. This activity met that criteria.

Actions

Elements: Performs role on activity.
Frances participated in the book sale. The students sent in applications for local scholarships and the branch committee reviewed the submissions, selected candidates to interview, interviewed the candidates, and then made their selections. The criteria they use for judging is evidence of need and a certain grade point average. The criteria varies with the committee, however, there is no standard.

Intervening Conditions
Elements: Branch culture and traditions; AAUW biennial agenda.
One of the very strong traditions in the Milford branch is the book sale. Each year over $25,000 is raised and dispersed throughout the town. Some of the money is also given to the Educational Foundation. A major charitable area for the branch is local scholarships. The branch gives almost half of the money to women in need of money for education. Frances always participated in the book sale and often served on the scholarship committee. She said she has her "thumb in many pots," so she likes to do things that don't take much time.

Although lifelong education is part of the mission statement for AAUW and branches frequently provide them, local scholarships are not endorsed by the AAUW Educational Foundation.

Consequences
Elements: Members make friends; experience personal growth; receive personal satisfaction; promote lifelong education for specific women and girls.
When discussing one of the local scholars, Frances said that "it was amazing that the girl was able to survive, much less go on to school. She had very high standards for herself, and she had goals that she really wanted to reach, and so we started off and we took her all the way through school." She said that they look for people who "aren't going to get help from any place else." While Frances had been a member for many years and she had already established many close friendships in the branch, she learned about the lives of other members of the community through her experience on the committee. In addition to having an impact on the education of the specific women, she also got personal satisfaction from having done so.

Hannah

Incident
Hannah helped with a program called Aviation Invasion where girls learned to be pilots.

Causal Conditions
Elements: Established relationships; Ready to promote value of lifelong education based on experiences in Stage 1.
Hannah helped Penelope, a new member, who was a teacher and a pilot, write an AAUW community action grant to fund a program, called Aviation Invasion, where girls learned about being pilots. Hannah was serving on the state board, as the Educational Foundation

chair, at the time so knew how to help Penelope write the grant. Hannah encouraged Penelope to join the branch and when Penelope said, "What are they going to do for me? "Hannah responded with, "they're going to help you with these girls who need to know about aviation."

Context
Elements: Values lifelong education; personal interests; branch role; exposure to related activities in AAUW; preferences for use of leisure time.
Prior to working with Penelope on the grant, Hannah had worked with the state leaders on the Computer Math Science Fair, and had served as the state Educational Foundation chair, which gave her some knowledge of the AAUW grant writing process. Hannah also had a passion for enabling girls to pursue non-traditional careers which further influenced her to help Penelope get the grant.

Actions
Elements: Performs role on activity.
After Penelope asked her, Hannah helped write the grant for Aviation Invasion. After the money was provided she supported the weekly sessions.

Intervening Conditions
Elements: Branch culture and traditions; AAUW biennial agenda.
Hannah spends a lot of her time supporting projects with the branch, and other organizations in town. Although at the time of the Aviation Invasion project, the branch had not yet established itself as an advocate for equity in education, this incident helped the branch do so when it got local and nationwide attention for the project. This may also have influenced the branch to conduct the Educational Equity Roundtable.

Consequences
Elements: Members make friends; experience personal growth; receive personal satisfaction; promote lifelong education for specific women and girls.
Hannah worked with Penelope and the girls at the local hangar, during Aviation Invasion. She said of that experience, "I can remember many a time going out and being so enthralled with the experiments they were doing." She said that, "the kids were just elated and thrilled, and they made their airplane bottles, and they did a lot with airplane measurements, whether the lift was right." Hannah is still friends with Penelope even though she moved away not long ago. Aviation Invasion enabled both Hannah and the girls to learn and make friends so it did have an impact on local women and girls. Additionally, Hannah derived personal satisfaction from having written the grant and participating in the sessions.

Iona

Incident
Iona started four study groups for branch members.

Causal Conditions
Elements: Established relationships; Ready to promote value of lifelong education based on experiences in Stage 1.
Iona started four study groups, based on the results of a survey she had done as membership chair. Iona is one of the younger members and she said she believes that "the hook for younger people is having these little study groups." She also feels that "part of the reason for belonging to AAUW is the support system to other women."

Context
Elements: Values lifelong education; personal interests; branch role; exposure to related activities in AAUW; preferences for use of leisure time.
Utilizing her leadership skills, Iona conducted a branch survey when she was the membership chair, and subsequently set up four new study groups, including an afternoon literature group, a garden club, a beginners' bridge group, and an investment group.

Actions
Elements: Performs role on activity as leader or member of the team.
Iona conducted a membership survey, decided to set up four new groups, got leaders for the garden club, the beginning bridge group, and the afternoon literature group, and is leading the investment study group herself, although she participates in the others, except the literature group.
1. The garden club meets irregularly. They visit gardens, nurseries, and each other's homes and learn about gardening. They also help each other with big garden jobs. Their primary goal is to learn. When asked about the garden club activities, Hannah said, "Yes, I'm a part of the garden club. And we do some real neat things together. We sit down and plan together at somebody's home. One person takes one month so you call that person if you're planning to go. And another person takes another month so it's not all burdened onto one person. Makes it better that way. Well, generally we go to visit shows, garden shows. We've been to the Baltimore Garden Show and we may go to the Philadelphia garden show in the Spring."
2. The beginning bridge group meets every other week. They also take trips to resort type areas and play bridge on the weekends.
3. The investment group meets at the local junior college. They have studied stocks, bonds, and mutual funds and they meet monthly.

Intervening Conditions
Elements: Branch culture and traditions; AAUW biennial agenda.
At this point in her life Iona said she needed to do something for herself and AAUW was her choice because she felt it was "more beneficial educationally," for her. She even dropped her membership in some other organizations because of her limited leisure time and the fact that she likes spending time in the study groups.

Consequences
Elements: Members make friends; experience personal growth; receive personal satisfaction; promote lifelong education for specific women and girls.
Iona's experiences with the study groups she initiated demonstrate the fact that these experiences have had an impact on women in the community by providing a venue for them to make friends and to learn. Iona is glad that she started them. She feels that they are particularly important for younger members. She said that by just starting the study groups that they had, "gotten five new members last year." Furthermore, she said, "I'm real pleased with the education. I mean people are researching. It's been really enlightening."

<u>Summary of Stage 2</u>

While the Gender Equity Model workshop and Aviation Invasion are directly related to the AAUW agenda in terms of Gender Equity, the local scholarships, and study groups are not, other than in the broadest sense of promoting lifelong education. With the exception of the book group in the Lincoln branch, each of the activities, did in some way promote lifelong education of specific women and girls in the community.

Table 4: How Members Experience Stage 2

		Lincoln			Milford		
		A	**C**	**E**	**F**	**H**	**I**
Causal Conditions							
	Established relationships	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Ready to promote value of lifelong education based on experiences in Stage 1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Contextual Conditions							
	Values lifelong education	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Personal interests	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Branch role	+	+	+	=	+	+
	Exposure to related activities in AAUW	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Preferences for use of leisure time	+	=	+	+	+	+
Actions							
	Performs role on activity	+	+	+	+	+	+
Intervening Conditions							
	Branch culture and traditions	-	-	-	+	+	+
	Influenced by AAUW biennial agenda	+	-	=	-	+	=
Consequences							
	Friendships	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
	Personal growth	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
	Personal satisfaction	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
	Promotes lifelong education	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
	Withdrawal	N	N	Y	N	N	N

Key   *   No evidence in data
               Y   Yes, N No, S   Some
               +   Facilitated actions
               -     Constrained actions
               =   No significant impact on actions

Stage 3: Facilitates the Dissemination of Information about the National Agenda

Some branch members progress from supporting education opportunities for specific women and girls to facilitating the dissemination of information in the community concerning issues on the national agenda. Figure 4 describes the elements of that process which are discussed in this section. While the mission of AAUW is to promote equity for all women and girls, lifelong education, and positive societal change, in Stage 2 the members promoted lifelong education for specific women and girls, now they not only promote education, but they may also promote equity, particularly related to AAUW biennial agenda items. Additionally, the target audience usually changes from specific individuals to a broader population.

Facilitation is the dissemination of information in the community concerning issues on the national agenda. Branch members, interviewed in this study, provided information and opportunities for people, outside of their groups, to learn about non-traditional careers for girls, sexual harassment, and voting. All of these items are part of AAUW's biennial agenda.

Overview of Stage 3

The causal conditions for facilitation include commitment to educating people with regard to the issue, fulfillment of a branch role, and a decision to use the material produced by the national association.

The context or attributes of the members which influence their actions include their personal experiences with the issue, their experience supporting education, and whether or not they were recipients of materials from the state and national.

The actions generally taken to facilitate the national agenda include locating or receiving the requisite resources in terms of information, money, and/or experts, acquiring knowledge, if necessary, coordinating or helping with the activities and providing information to the participants.

There are conditions which may either facilitate or constrain the actions and therefore, alter the consequences. They include the use of state or national materials, the receptiveness of the branch and community culture to the issue, stakeholder response, and the amount of controversy related to the issue.

The consequences of facilitation are threefold; the first is that the members sometimes withdraw from doing more work, because of the negative feedback or lack of responsiveness to their initiatives; the second is that other branch members' awareness is increased with respect to the issues; the third is that some members of the community do receive information regarding the AAUW agenda.

Intervening Conditions

Use of state or national materials,
branch and community culture,
stakeholder response,
controversy related to issue

Causal Conditions

Commitment to
educating people with
regard to the issue

Fulfillment of
branch role

Decision to use AAUW
agenda material

Actions

Locate or receive resources
(information, experts, money)

Acquire knowledge

Coordinate or help with activities

Provide information to participants

Consequences

Members of the
community receive
information regarding
AAUW agenda items

Branch members'
awareness increased
with regard to agenda

Withdrawal based on
negative response to
actions

Context

Personal experiences with issue,
experience supporting education, decision
to use AAUW agenda material

Phenomenon

Facilitates

the dissemination of information in the community
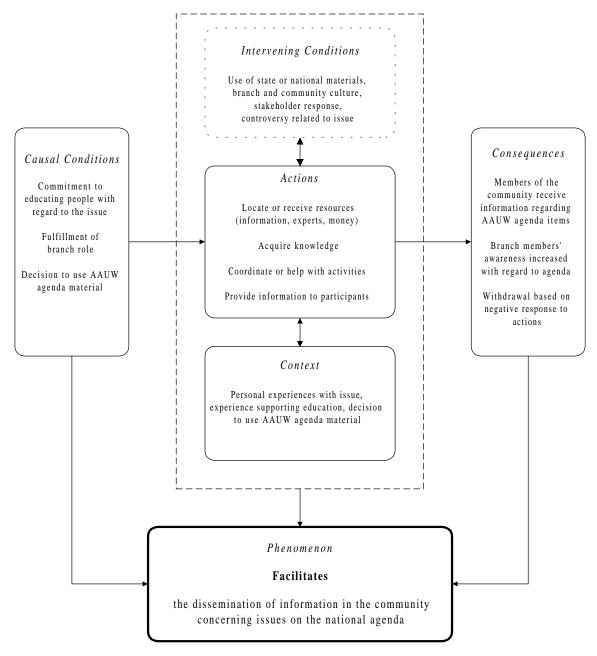concerning issues on the national agenda

Figure 4: Facilitates the Dissemination of Information about the National Agenda

Camille

Incidents
Camille coordinated a sexual harassment panel for the branch and the community and worked with the Webster branch and the League of Women Voters to conduct three candidate forums.

Causal Conditions
Elements: Commitment to educating people with regard to the issue; fulfillment of branch role; decision to use AAUW agenda material.
Camille, as branch president, coordinated a program on sexual harassment at the local community college and helped organize candidate forums in Lincoln. She indicated belief in gender equity when she spoke of members in the branch who don't believe in it. She said, "It was a surprise to me choice was not an issue, but I was almost flattened that they just don't see sexual harassment as being an issue, gender bias as being an issue! ...they did not believe that it goes on. They do not believe it happens. This blows me away!" Camille was a dual member of the Webster branch and she went to public policy meetings to work on projects there. She said it was a really, "vibrant, neat group." One of their projects was the candidate forums.

Using the prepared AAUW agenda material enabled Camille to decide what to do as president. The 5-Star program is a national incentive program for branches and has criteria which must be met to qualify for the award. Since Camille was new to AAUW and to the branch she decided to use it as a guideline for branch activities. She said, when talking about how she got started with the branch, as president, "...the 5-Star process was very helpful to me because it gave me something to organize the branch around." The sexual harassment panel met the criteria for the community action star.

Context
Elements: Personal experiences with the issue; experience supporting education; recipient of AAUW materials from state and national.
Camille expressed a desire to influence the lives of women and girls. She also had a philosophy with regard to branch membership. Each of these characteristics influenced her to facilitate the dissemination of information in the community. For example, when Camille moved to Lincoln, she saw belonging to a branch as a way of getting involved in the community, and being part of an organization that creates a "better future for women and girls."

Camille felt that the Lincoln branch needed to increase its membership. Her philosophy regarding the primary way of getting more members was that the branch had to offer strong, varied programming. She felt that by doing that, not everyone was going to like everything, but each person would find something that they would like to be engaged in, and work to

develop that area. Additionally, in her opinion "the best way to do anything was to form associations with other groups that had similar philosophies."

Actions
Elements: Locate or receive resources (information, experts, money); acquire knowledge, coordinate or help with activities; provide information to participants.
Camille worked with another Athens County branch to facilitate the dissemination of information by running a series of candidate forums and setting up a sexual harassment program at the local community college.   She established alliances with other groups, like the League of Women Voters and another branch in the county, to host the forums. Many of the members of AAUW were also members of the league, making collaboration easy. For the sexual harassment program at the college, Camille asked the registrar, who had joined the branch, to set up the program. The registrar enlisted three speakers for the event, and Camille presided over the event as branch president.

Intervening Conditions
Elements: Use of state or national materials; culture of branch and community; stakeholder response; degree of controversy of issue.
Camille claimed that both she and the president of the other branch, participating in the forums, had difficulty getting commitment from the branch members to help with the events. Even so, she felt that the forums had been very successful.

Camille also said that only four members and two people from the community attended the sexual harassment program, which disappointed her and the registrar who had set the program up. Part of the reason the members did not attend may have been that some of them do not support the AAUW educational equity agenda. At one point during the interview, Camille said, "You know, I was very surprised at the number of women who are very opposed to the stated policy issues." One member, in particular, who had helped Camille get started as the new president of the branch told her that she, "doesn't believe in this whole gender bias issue nor sexual harassment. She said, you know, I went all through that, granted it was another timeframe, but I never had any troubles. She said, if anybody had come up to me, I would have said, look, I'm not interested. Leave me alone. She said, I just don't see it. I just don't see it."

Consequences
Elements: Members of the community receive information regarding AAUW agenda; branch members' awareness increases with regard to agenda; withdrawal based on negative response to actions.
Camille provided information to the branch members and the community through the meetings and forums. She was unable to get sufficient attention from branch members to increase their awareness of the agenda significantly. When the response was low and negative, she withdrew and joined the Webster branch.

Frances

Incidents
Frances conducted voter education and registration in Milford.

Causal Conditions
Commitment to educating people with regard to the issue; fulfillment of branch role; decision to use AAUW agenda material.
Frances was spurred to action as a result of the association-wide voter education campaign and the state-wide initiative to identify and follow a "pet-bill." She did this in conjunction with fulfilling the requirements of the role she held as public policy chair.

Context
Elements: Personal experiences with the issue; experience supporting education; recipient of AAUW materials from state and national.
Frances was ardent about the need for people to use their right to vote. She believes people need to vote for candidates, "to make decisions for themselves, rather then sitting back and letting everyone else make decisions for them." Furthermore, she says, "I think voter education is important...I was on my bandwagon the last election because 12% of the people elected the governor in Oklahoma, and I yell at people all the time."

At one time, Frances worked with the teachers in Jefferson County to defeat one of the state delegates who had, "ruined the teacher's retirement system," a number of years ago. She said, "He was soundly defeated...It was a really wonderful experience to see that that could happen." This experience empowered her to facilitate the use of the political process through AAUW, in the branch and the community.

Actions
Elements: Locate or receive resources (information, experts, money); acquire knowledge, coordinate or help with activities; provide information to participants.
Frances received information from the Legislative Agenda for Maryland Women, a coalition of over sixty organizations in the state organized to support women's issues, listing the bills that the it was going to support for that legislative session. She also got information from the state public policy chair on how to follow a bill through the state legislative process. This material urged each branch to select a "pet bill" and follow its progress through the session. As a result, she put articles in the branch newsletter about the status of the bills and spoke at meetings regarding both the content and status of the bill. When one of the bills was defeated, she went to the state representative in town to see what the branch members could do about it during the next legislative session. The delegate told them to, "get some interest and try to get it going back again." A member of her public policy committee also did research on different bills to "educate the members."

An agenda item of the national association was voter education, and Frances, once again as public policy chair, received guidance and information from national, offering direction on what to do. As a result of that, she set up a candidate forum and she also registered and educated voters at the Jefferson County Women's Fair, and the branch booksale. She said, "...we usually set up a stand to offer information to people, to tell them about us, and to tell them about voting. Particularly, people who are confused about, like when they move into an area what they should do, and that sort of thing. We try to be informative that way." She also said that, of the 200 people they talked to only 68 registered to vote.

Intervening Conditions
Elements: Use of state or national materials; culture of branch and community; stakeholder response; degree of controversy of issue; whether or not the member continues to hold a branch role.
Frances takes her role as public policy chair seriously, and followed through with issues while she was in office, but when she was not in office she paid less attention to them. For example, when the pet-bill the branch was following was defeated, Frances went to their local state delegate to find out what they could do about it. The delegate told her to reintroduce the bill in the next session, but during the interview which was a year later and she no longer held the office she said, "I don't know if that's happened or not. I hope it has."

As the public policy chair, Frances received information from both the state and the national public policy officers. Although she used the material and carried out some of the actions, she did not discuss the AAUW issues with either the members, or the candidates, to influence or discern their positions on them. She may have refrained from doing this because of the branch and community culture. For example, when she talked about her position on the board she said, "One thing, we are not particularly as politically oriented right here. I was the public policy vice president for several years, and whereas, people would write letters to senators, or whatever we asked them to do, they're just really not all that interested." When talking about the voter registration process, she also said, "Of course we never are political, but I think that's an important educational process." AAUW is a non-partisan, issue based organization, but in recent years, support for the issues on the agenda has frequently come from the democratic party. When asked about the political culture in the community, she replied with "Very conservative. We always vote all the republican candidates, and of course the state is liberal so we never win."

Frances provided more insight into the Milford branch culture when she talked about a disastrous joint meeting they had with the local chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) several years ago. She said, "...our organization, whenever we have a meeting of any kind, whenever we have a program, it is never slanted. We do everything we can to have an open meeting where, if it is going to be a controversial issue, you hear both sides of the story or you don't hear it at all. And these people (the NOW members) were so liberal. And they made fun of those people, us who went to church for example."

Frances told of a new member of the public policy committee who "was really interested and she did all this research on different ideas and different bills and all this to educate the members of the branch and they simply never responded. They just weren't interested. You know we kept saying, call this number if you're at all interested in anything and we never got any phone calls. So the poor woman gave up. I don't know what she did. She needed a real active political group. We weren't it."

Consequences
Elements: Members of the community receive information regarding AAUW agenda; branch members' awareness increases with regard to agenda; withdrawal based on negative response to actions
Frances certainly provided members of the branch and community with information relevant to some of the state legislative issues and voting in the community while she was the branch public policy chair. When her term of office expired, she no longer was as cognizant of the issues.

Hannah

Incidents
Hannah solicited middle school girls in Milford and took them to the Computer Math Science (CMS) Fair conducted by the Maryland state board of AAUW. The CMS Fair provided the girls with an opportunity to talk to women in non-traditional careers and to see mathematics or scientific demonstrations. Hannah is currently the Educational Equity chair for the branch and works with her committee to provide material to agencies in the community, including the school system.

Causal Conditions
Elements: Commitment to educating people with regard to the issue; fulfillment of branch role; decision to use AAUW agenda material.
Hannah is committed to the issues, with regard to educational equity. She has held several roles at both the branch and state levels. She talked about her commitment to educational equity several times during the interview. For example, when asked why she joined, Hannah said, "Well, I anticipated to see them (the branch) focused on working to help the young girls...that was the main thing." Later in the interview when asked why she retains her membership she said that she wanted to "...continue helping young girls in middle school and high school." She particularly wanted to help them, "...get focused on a career and not to waiver from it." Furthermore, she pointed out that she does that through her position as a teacher, as well as, through AAUW.

Context
Elements: Personal experiences with the issue; experience supporting education; recipient of AAUW materials from state and national.

Hannah's personal experiences with inequity and a desire to help girls undergirds her facilitation work with the branch. While her parents believed in educating boys, they did not feel that girls should have a higher education, so she had to put herself through college. She indicated that because she was deprived as a child, she sees "these young girls who are deprived" and she wants to help them as much as she can "to see that they can go to school, and to be their encourager."

Actions
Elements: Locate or receive resources (information, experts, money); acquire knowledge, coordinate or help with activities; provide information to participants.
As Educational Equity Chair, Hannah organized the Milford branch activities in support of the state-wide CMS Fair, and she currently has a committee of members who work with her to find material on gender equity issues to supply to local agencies dealing with girls. For the CMS Fair, she arranged for a bus to provide transportation for local girls to the state capital where the event was held. She sent out flyers to all the schools in the county, inviting the girls to attend. She said, "the bus would take them down and we would escort them. Some of the parents would go...and we always enjoyed the state science fair." Hannah also worked at the fair for two years, supporting one of the women who, as a pilot served as a role model for the girls.

Recently, Hannah's committee supplied video tapes, paid for by the branch, on career choices for girls, to the Board of Education, Girls, Inc., the Girl's Club, and the Girl Scouts. Furthermore, she said, "We have to find out how well they've been used, because we've just found another one that looks very interesting about girls in math and science. We'll bring it up at the next meeting and ask if we can purchase it."

Intervening Conditions
Elements: Use of state or national materials; culture of branch and community; stakeholder response; degree of controversy of issue.
While Hannah and her committee continue to work on gathering and disseminating materials to service providers of girls, she said that she and her committee "can't do the programs because of their time constraints," however, she indicated that they do provide the organizations with brochures and names to call if they have questions. Branch members like Frances appreciate the work that Hannah and her committee do.

Consequences
Elements: Members of the community receive information regarding AAUW agenda; branch members' awareness increases with regard to agenda; withdrawal based on negative response to actions

Hannah continues to play the role of Educational Equity Chair and provides information to the branch and the community with regard to the issues. She has certainly been responsible for increasing the awareness of branch members concerning equity, however, she is limited by the

amount of time she can spend on AAUW matters, because of her other obligations, both to the branch, her teaching profession, and other organizations in the community.

Iona

Incident
As principal, Iona identified an incident in her school as sexual harassment because of her background in the subject.

Causal Conditions
Elements: Commitment to educating people with regard to the issue; fulfillment of branch role; decision to use AAUW agenda material.
Iona demonstrated her commitment to the issue of sexual harassment when she advocated for change during the Educational Equity Roundtable in Jefferson County. After the Roundtable she served as branch and state Educational Equity Chair and so became even more familiar with the issue. When she was apprised of a sexual harassment case in her school, she decided to use examples from the AAUW reports, and information from the Maryland Equity and Compliance Officer, as well as the attorney for the board of education to corroborate her position when talking to the administration.

Context
Elements: Personal experiences with the issue; experience supporting education; recipient of AAUW materials from state and national.
Iona had worked with the stakeholders during the Jefferson County Roundtable and had learned a lot about the subject. She had also participated in a follow-up activity which was a workshop presented by lawyers on sexual harassment so she understood the issue from a legal perspective. She, therefore, wanted to demonstrate to the administration that she was correct in identifying the case as harassment.

Actions
Elements: Locate or receive resources (information, experts, money); acquire knowledge, coordinate or help with activities; provide information to participants.
Iona recently had a case where a boy and a girl harassed each other. She tried to educate her supervisor with material that she had used during the Roundtable, called the state equity and compliance officer and the school board lawyer to corroborate her opinion that the incident was indeed sexual harassment (which they did).

Intervening Conditions
Elements: Use of state or national materials; culture of branch and community; stakeholder response; degree of controversy of issue.
Because the supervisor didn't want a confrontation with the parents who were opposed to the claim, he reversed the case, refusing to name the incident sexual harassment.

Consequences
Elements: Members of the community receive information regarding AAUW agenda; branch members' awareness increases with regard to agenda; withdrawal based on negative response to actions

The administration and the parents certainly received information about AAUW's position on sexual harassment. Although Iona had to change her claim in this case she was confident about it and said that when the issue comes up again, which it does, at least once a year, she will handle it the same way, indicating a desire to continue influencing outcomes based on her support of equity.

<u>Summary of Stage 3</u>

Each of the four members performed actions to facilitate the national agenda. Hannah in the area of gender equity, as Educational Equity chair. Frances, in the area of voter education when she was public policy chair, and Camille both in voter education and sexual harassment when she was president of the branch and Iona, as a school principal. In each of these cases branch members and people in the community have had opportunities to become aware of some of AAUW's agenda items. For branch members who attended meetings where these activities were discussed, their awareness of AAUW's issues also increased.

Hannah corroborates Frances discussion of presenting the information to members when she said that, "Frances does a pet bill each year. They (the branch members) pick a bill each year. They vote on it. She puts them all before us and then we decide. We ask questions about them. Which ones are you most interested in, and so forth, and then we vote. We decide which one we will support, and we write letters, and in our newsletter, we'll get a sample." This experience enabled her to facilitate the use of the political process through AAUW, in the branch and the community. She is constrained, however, by what the branch is willing to listen to since the branch does not discuss partisan, nor controversial issues as a group.

Regarding Hannah's work with educational equity, Frances said, "I think that our educational equity program in Milford is excellent. Hannah is very dedicated and she works on it all the time, and she's a watchdog. In our schools, we have apathy amongst our administrators and so if she wasn't there pushing, we wouldn't get anything done."

Iona's position was slightly different because she had already functioned at Stage 4 before operating at Stage 3. She used her background information from that experience to educate members of her workplace community. She did not hold a related branch role at the time, so was not a recipient of the most recent AAUW materials.

For Camille and Frances, when the response was not what they expected, they both retreated.

Table 5: How Members Experience Stage 3

		Lincoln	Milford		
		C	F	H	I
Causal Conditions					
	Commitment to educating people with regard to issue	+	-	+	+
	Commitment to branch role	+	+	+	=
	Decision to use AAUW agenda material	+	+	+	+
Contextual Conditions					
	Personal experiences with issue	*	+	+	*
	Experience supporting education	+	+	+	=
	Recipient of AAUW materials from state and national	Y	Y	Y	N
Actions					
	Locate or receive resources	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Acquire knowledge	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Perform, coordinate, or help with activities	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Provide information to participants	Y	Y	Y	Y
Intervening Conditions					
	Use of state or national materials	+	+	+	+
	Branch and community culture	-	-	+	-
	Stakeholder response	-	+	+	-
	Controversy related to issue	-	-	=	-
Consequences					
	Withdrawal based on negative response to actions	Y	N	N	N
	Branch members aware of some of the issues	Y	Y	Y	N
	Members of the community receive information regarding AAUW agenda items	Y	Y	Y	Y
	Promoted equity for women and girls	Y	Y	Y	Y

Key
* No evidence in data
Y Yes, N No, S Some
+ Facilitated actions
- Constrained actions
= No significant impact on actions

Stage 4: Advocates for Change based on the National Agenda

Some members actually advocated in the community for change related to the issues on the association's national agenda. Refer to Figure 5 for a description of the phenomenon. AAUW's mission is to promote equity for all women and girls, lifelong education, and positive societal change. It is at this stage that positive societal change is promoted in addition to equity and lifelong education. For Hannah, based on the personal growth that had taken place during the other three stages she was comfortable with moving the AAUW agenda along in the community. She had publicly identified herself with the branch and with equity issues during Stages 2 and 3, had felt good about her experiences, and was ready to advocate. In addition, at the time of the experience she was the branch president which also enabled her readiness to advocate. Iona, on the other hand, moved from Stage 1 right into Stage 4.

For purposes of this study advocate means to conduct an activity or series of activities in the community for the purpose of producing a change in policies or procedures, particularly with regard to AAUW's national agenda. Using the material produced by the national association as a guide, Hannah and Iona, from the Milford branch, replicated the Educational Equity Roundtable held in Washington, D.C. The findings with regard to advocacy are presented as follows: First an overview of the phenomenon is presented; Second the experience of each member, who was engaged in advocacy, is elaborated; Third their experiences are summarized with respect to aspects of the model.

Overview of Stage 4

For a branch member to advocate she needs to be in strong agreement with the national agenda items about which she is going to try to enact policy or procedure changes in the community.. In addition, she needs to be motivated to lead activities in the community particularly in terms of promoting the national agenda of the association.

Contextual conditions are personal characteristics influencing her advocacy. They include whether or not she holds a branch or state role, if she feels she has experienced inequity, and if she is a stakeholder in the system requiring change.

The actions performed include forming a committee and preparing for the event, identifying other stakeholders to participate, advertising and conducting the event, developing a list of actions, conducting follow-up education based on the action selected, and then negotiating, disseminating and ensuring the implementation of the change.

The conditions which intervene in determining the actions and consequences include the leaders' expertise in the area or their readiness to become an experts, their network of allies, the opposing culture influencing the behavior of some branch and community members, the level of commitment of the stakeholders, the organizational network of support, the degree of
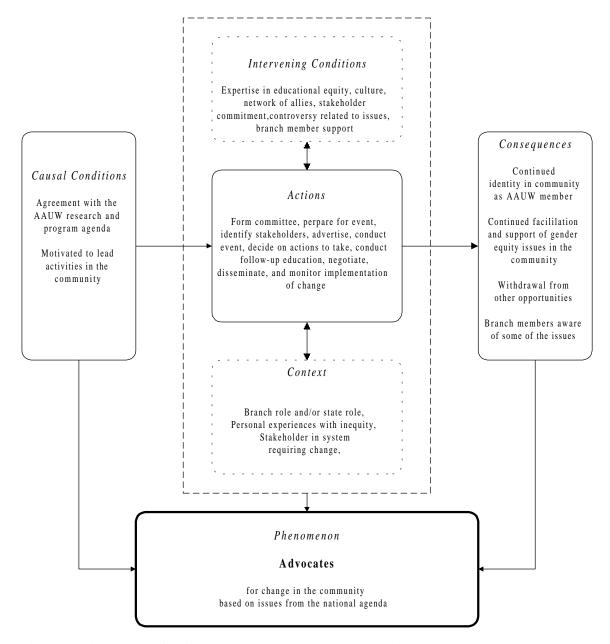
Intervening Conditions

Expertise in educational equity, culture, network of allies, stakeholder commitment,controversy related to issues, branch member support

Causal Conditions

Agreement with the AAUW research and program agenda

Motivated to lead activities in the community

Actions

Form committee, perpare for event, identify stakeholders, advertise, conduct event, decide on actions to take, conduct follow-up education, negotiate, disseminate, and monitor implementation of change

Consequences

Continued identity in community as AAUW member

Continued facililation and support of gender equity issues in the community

Withdrawal from other opportunities

Branch members aware of some of the issues

Context

Branch role and/or state role, Personal experiences with inequity, Stakeholder in system requiring change,

Phenomenon

Advocates

for change in the community based on issues from the national agenda

Figure 5: Advocates for Change based on the National Agenda

controversy related to the issue being advocated, and the amount of branch members support for the work. The consequences of the advocacy include both continued identity with AAUW's agenda, but possibly accompanied by withdrawal from other similarly public confrontational opportunities as indicated by a retreat to either the facilitation and/or support stages. Additionally, some branch members become more aware of the AAUW agenda items advocated.

Hannah

Incidents
Hannah advocated by coordinating the conduct of the Educational Equity Roundtable and the follow up activities.

Causal Conditions
Elements: Agreement with the AAUW research and program agenda; motivated to lead activities in the community.
Hannah talked about the agenda indicating she felt strongly enough to promote it. She thinks the agenda is a "very important part of AAUW." With regard to educational equity, she said, I see it all the time and they're still working on it, and I don't think it's ever going to stop." She also said, when asked why she retains her membership in AAUW, "I don't know why I would do otherwise. I want to continue helping young girls in middle school and high school, because I'm worried about young people, especially girls. To help them get focused in on a career and not to waiver from it. I do that in the schools as well as with AAUW. So I'm not going to leave that source that's going to help these young girls." Hannah does consider herself an activist and when asked if she felt strongly enough about AAUW's priorities to actively promote them in the community she said, "I do promote all of them but one. I am not pro-choice."

Hannah was motivated by a desire to be a significant part of the community. She said, when speaking of her conversation with the member who invited her to join the branch, "I would appreciate having other women who have the same vision as I have. Working for your community and being a significant part of it."

Context
Elements: Branch role and/or state role; personal experiences with inequity; stakeholder in system requiring change.
As president of the branch, Hannah was the gatekeeper. She had received the guidebooks from national on how to replicate the Roundtable, held in Washington, D.C., and had decided to comply with the biennial agenda by conducting the Roundtable in Milford. She commented that the Roundtable, "...really became organized during the year that I was the president, I was the one encouraging the thing."
Hannah relates feeling discriminated against by her parents because they did not believe that girls should have a college education. Although they supported her brother, she said "I had to

work diligently myself to earn enough money to go through college." The fact that this experience has fueled her desire to help girls can be seen by her comment, "Because I was deprived as a child, I see these young girls who are deprived and I want to help them as much as I can to see that they can go to school and to be their encourager..." Furthermore when talking about members who don't connect with the educational equity initiative, she said, "I don't think they're seeing it happen in the workplace. I don't think they're seeing it happen in the schools. They're just not involved. They don't see it. They're eyes are just blinded to it. They don't want to admit that it is happening because they've never had an incident in their whole life."

Actions
Elements: Form committee; prepare for event; identify stakeholders; advertise; conduct event; decide on actions to take; conduct follow-up education; negotiate change; disseminate; monitor implementation.
Hannah asked Iona and Carmine to co-chair the Roundtable, but she said, "We sort of co-worked it together because Carmine had a lot of expertise in this area. Carmine, Iona, and myself were the committee." Hannah indicated that once the committee was formed, they put together a timeline, got the location for the Roundtable, and then determined whom to invite.

Although, according to Hannah, the top action that came out of the Roundtable "was the fact that these girls needed mentors," this issue was not supported by the school system so they moved to the next one which was "to clarify the sexual harassment policy within the county. As Dr. Pound (the superintendent) had said that he felt that it needed some work done on it." This conclusion led Hannah and Iona to conduct a workshop on sexual harassment.

For the workshop they brought in "all kinds of business people." Hannah said that "there were lawyers and business people from this community there." Hannah and Iona had gotten the idea for the workshop from a state conference where it had been presented by two lawyers. At the conclusion of the workshop there was general agreement by the participants that sexual harassment in the schools required attention and in fact needed to be stopped because the business people "didn't want it in the workplace." Hannah felt that as a result of the workshop the superintendent of schools "knew he needed to cooperate." The same committee then proceeded to go over the sexual harassment policy and "put it into the proper terminology for elementary, middle, and high school so that there are now three levels." They also revised the submittal forms by grade level.

Although the Milford branch paid for the duplication of the policy and supporting material and prepared it for distribution, after the superintendent received it, he didn't provide direction to his staff indicating that they must use it. Hannah said, "...he told the principals, now, here is the sexual harassment policy for the county, you may duplicate it and do as you choose. So each principal had their choice anyhow." Hannah has, however, talked to other AAUW members who are teachers and they had "seen the students who had complaints with the new form."

Intervening Conditions
Elements: Expertise AAUW agenda item being advocated; network of allies; branch and community culture; stakeholder commitment; controversy related to issues; branch member support.

Hannah had experience dealing with equity issues. She had served on "an equity council in the school system" for "quite a few years." As indicated in Stage 2 and Stage 3 she had helped a new member obtain an AAUW community action grant for working with elementary school girls in the field of aviation, and she had also worked with the state leaders on the Computer Math Science Fair. Additionally, she had recently served as the Educational Foundation chair for the branch and the state. The Foundation board actually decides on the research agenda and funds it through the Eleanor Roosevelt Fund for Women and Girls, and Hannah had represented the Foundation in a state role for two years which influenced her readiness for conducting a Roundtable in the community. While the business leaders, and the private school administrator, and others may have been supportive, the effectiveness of the change depended on the commitment of the superintendent of schools. Although they had "put pressure on him" according to both Hannah and Iona, he was the one who had to demand that his principals use the new policy and forms, and he chose not to. Implementation was then dependent on the commitment of each of the principals, thus preventing systemic change, which was one of the goals of the national initiative.

Consequences
Elements: Continued identity in community as AAUW member; continued facilitation and support of gender equity issues; withdrawal from other confrontational opportunities; branch members aware of some of the issues.

Hannah has continued as the Educational Equity chair for the branch. The latest program the national association is encouraging branches to do with regard to gender equity is called *Sister to Sister Summit*, where girls talk about the "evaded" curriculum, consisting of topics like drugs, sexual harassment, sexuality, and teen pregnancy. As the current Educational Equity Initiative chair for the branch, Hannah helped conduct a representation of the summit, by working with Girls' Inc., for the Maryland AAUW Fall Conference in 1997, such that other branches would know how to follow suit.

Iona

Incidents
Iona co-chaired the Educational Equity Roundtable and follow-up events.

Causal Conditions
Elements: Agreement with the AAUW research and program agenda; motivated to lead activities in the community.

Philosophically Iona was in agreement with the national agenda. When asked how she felt about it she said, "As far as the Educational Equity Initiative, I am very proud of the research

and the studies that have been conducted by AAUW. I think they are really recognized." Additionally, she said, "I believe in what they are doing. I'd like to see us do another big study." She also said she felt the purpose of the branch was to "advocate for women's and children's issues" indicating congruence between her thoughts and actions. Later in the conversation, however, she indicated that she does not consider herself an activist.

For Iona, using her leadership skills was an important motivation for advocating. In her discussion of the event she said, "...if anything, it was another leadership position that I was able to use and to learn from and those skills then apply in other situations." Additionally, Hannah told of a note that Iona sent her after the Roundtable thanking her for "giving her the opportunity through AAUW to show her leadership abilities."

Context
Elements: Branch role and/or state role; personal experiences with inequity; stakeholder in system requiring change.
Hannah asked Iona to participate in the Roundtable and she agreed to do so as long as there was a co-chair. Iona had not been active in the branch prior to that and she didn't know how Hannah knew her at the time, but she thought it was from the work that she had done in the school system.

Iona acknowledged her own experiences with inequity when she said, "I think if you're a teacher you can see it. You know my father, he had three girls, and my father is one of the strongest supporters of gender equity because of some of the things he saw in us. And we didn't have real, terrible things happen to us but he saw opportunities that we should have had that we didn't have."

Iona was a stakeholder in the school system at the time of the Roundtable. Her previous experience with people in the system enabled participation in the Roundtable. She had taught in the system for fourteen years and she had just completed a two year internship with the Maryland State Department of Education which took her out of the classroom and enabled her to travel all over the state. She said that she "had some great experiences, did a lot of networking with educational leaders." One of those educational leaders, the state equity and compliance officer, participated in the event. She also said that at the time of the Roundtable she worked for the Board of Education and her boss gave her the day off, because "she thought it was a great thing to do and she even came and saw some of it." She was in the Career Tech Division at the time, and she said, "They're very much into gender equity issues because girls tend not to be involved in real technical fields, so that was a real plus." The superintendent was a key participant and Iona indicated that they both knew him. Hannah has been a Family and Consumer Science teacher in the county for many years. She said that the state delegate, who attended the event, had been to her classroom to learn about her economics program and was impressed with the knowledge her middle-school children demonstrated.

Actions
Elements: Form committee; prepare for event; identify stakeholders; advertise; conduct event; decide on actions to take; conduct follow-up education; negotiate change; disseminate; monitor implementation.

Iona and Carmine gathered the materials, made notebooks for the participants, and hand delivered them. Iona said that "Carmine and I spent a lot of time in the evening together talking about what kinds of questions are we going to use." Iona said, "I delivered a lot of them to people. You know personally delivered them to people and it took that to get a commitment from them." Advertising was also part of the role that Iona played. She said that in addition to everything else, she had to "talk to the media" during that time. She also indicated that the event "got a lot of coverage in the newspaper."

Intervening Conditions
Elements: Expertise AAUW agenda item being advocated; network of allies; branch and community culture; stakeholder commitment; controversy related to issues; branch member support.

While Iona did not have the expertise with the research when she started, she immediately began to prepare herself for the event. She said, "I looked at a tape, I remember, and I just read research, anything that I could get a hold of, just to broaden my focus a little bit, as far as what AAUW had done in terms of Roundtables and looked at gender equity issues."

Iona used the network she had established in the community to help her. She said that, "Carmine and I, at that time, were both on the Women's Commission. Hannah was one at that time, also. So we needed their help. It started to broaden to other groups." Hannah indicated that "AAUW and the commission work hand in hand. If we needed finances or we needed support, we would go to them." When speaking of one of the attendees, a county commissioner whom Iona had taught with, she said "it was easy to hook into some of these people."

The degree of controversy over the topics, however, constrained support for the actions. This was indicated several times during the interview with Iona. She felt that some of the participants were on opposite ends of the philosophical spectrum. She said, "and some of them we knew that philosophically we did not want to know that well." She also said that during the Roundtable, "some of them were really bashing, you know, it was frustrating. It was a very frustrating day for me."

After the Roundtable, they submitted a grant to AAUW. Although they were awarded partial funding, they decided not accept it because they couldn't perform the actions without all of the money they had requested. Afterward she was called by someone from the Research and Projects Grants Committee and asked to resubmit the grant so it could be reconsidered for the full amount. Iona did not send it in again because she could see that they "weren't going to get the support of the branch" to conduct the project. She could also see "that they weren't going to get the support from the supervisors" in the school system. Even her new supervisor

was giving her "a lot of negative feedback." She concluded that they couldn't do another project if they weren't going to get support from the school system or the branch. Culturally, some of the members of the branch belong to a different generation, one where women are polite and not given to talking frankly about sensitive issues like sexual harassment. One of the members said to Iona, "Why are you all looking at all this girl stuff? Wasn't that way when I was in school." Some of them didn't support the Roundtable. Iona said, "In fact, we lost members over that. We lost a board of Education member who had been a member for many years. And she has not rejoined because of all the issues that were raised about education." Iona made a similar assertion when she said that the older members don't really understand the educational equity initiative because they "never really had to fend for themselves."

Consequences
Elements: Continued identity in community as AAUW member; continued facilitation and support of gender equity issues; withdrawal from other confrontational opportunities; branch members aware of some of the issues.
As a result of the Roundtable she was asked by the superintendent to be on a committee but she said, "I had to back off from some of that because I just couldn't do that. Plus, I felt like being a teacher in the system I had to be careful whose toes I stepped on."

After the Roundtable, Iona and Carmine appeared on local television but constrained their remarks to national issues and positive things that the school system was doing. Although Iona pulled back from being vocal about the issues in the community, she felt that participating in the Roundtable had helped her tremendously in dealing with sexual harassment issues in her school, as principal.

Summary of Stage 4

As members of the Milford branch, Hannah and Iona, did indeed advocate for change in the community based on issues from the national agenda. While the initial AAUW research reported in "How Schools Shortchange Girls" covered a broad range of topics, including issues related to girls' self-esteem, gender bias in the classrooms, sex and gender bias in testing, sexual harassment, teen pregnancy and motherhood, and women on boards and commissions, the one that received most attention from the Roundtable was sexual harassment. The national office, including the board and staff, expected branches to put these issues in front of the community through the Roundtable and, unlike many branches, the Milford branch met that expectation with some success as indicated by Hannah's and Iona's stories.

Another affect of conducting the Roundtable, however, is that branch members who were receptive of the ideas also learned about the issues because of the initiatives. Frances is an example. She said that she had learned about sexual harassment from the educational equity initiative. She said that the learning "Makes her more aware of it." Later she said, "Maybe I wouldn't even look at it if I weren't more aware of it from the AAUW stuff." She also said

that "almost all the people in the branch who are in education had something to do with that (the sexual harassment policy), either promoting it in the schools or seeing to it that your principal did. She offers an anecdotal incident which supports the notion that she has internalized some of the issues when she tells the story of her grandson who said to his sister, "Well, you're lucky you don't have to worry about that college stuff and all. All you've got to worry about is getting married." Frances said she couldn't believe it, so she "had to stop the car and have a little lecture." It can be said, therefore, that some branch and community members were impacted by the advocacy of Hannah and Iona.

Table 6 depicts the elements of the model for Stage 4 and identifies their distribution across the members who operated at that level. It serves as a summary of the stage.

Non-Sequential Movement Between Stages

While some members moved through the stages sequentially, others provided evidence of non-sequential movement. For example, some members had had prior experiences within other organizations, or within the system they were trying to change, so had developed the requisite skills and social capital to facilitate or advocate without extensive involvement in the other levels. Some members retreated to only participates after serving at other stages, either because of negative experiences or lack of interest in the activist agenda. Examples based on the data are elaborated in the following paragraphs.

Movement directly from Participates to Advocates

Iona is an example of someone who moved from participating in branch activities, not even regularly, to advocating for change related to the national agenda by chairing the Roundtable. Iona was motivated to demonstrate her leadership skills because of her desire to move up in the school system's administration. She was also ready for the task because she had been given opportunities to develop her leadership skills within the system and had built up a network of allies. She was also committed to the value of the Educational Equity Initiative, in part because she had been looked over for an administrative position in the county, and also because she had seen inequities as a teacher. Iona did not have to move through the other stages to get to the point where she was ready to advocate for gender equity.

Table 6: How Members Experience Stage 4

		Milford	
		H	**I**
Causal Conditions			
	Commitment to change with regard to AAUW agenda items	Y	Y
	Prepared to lead activities in the community	Y	Y
Contextual Conditions			
	Branch role and or state role	+	=
	Personal experience with inequity	+	+
	Stakeholder in system requiring change	+	+
Actions			
	Form committee	Y	Y
	Prepare for event	Y	Y
	Identify stakeholders	Y	Y
	Advertise event and results	Y	Y
	Conduct event	Y	Y
	Decide on actions to take	Y	Y
	Conduct follow-up education	Y	Y
	Negotiate change	Y	N
	Disseminate change	Y	Y
	Monitor implementation of change	Y	N
Intervening Conditions			
	Expertise in educational equity	+	+
	Network of allies	+	+
	Culture	-	-
	Stakeholder commitment	-	-
	Controversy related to issue	-	-
	Branch member support	-	-
Consequences			
	Continued identity in community as AAUW member	Y	Y
	Continued facilitation and support of gender equity issues in the community	Y	Y
	Withdrawal from other opportunities to advocate	Y	Y
	Branch members aware of some of the issues	Y	Y

Key	* No evidence in data	- Constrained actions
	Y Yes, N No, S Some	= No significant impact on
	+ Facilitated actions	actions

Movement directly from Participates to Facilitates

Camille is an example of this phenomenon. Although she has only been a member of AAUW for two years, she has already facilitated the dissemination of information concerning issues on the national agenda, by setting up a sexual harassment panel discussion at the local community college. Although, she did participate for a short time and even then supported the AAUW agenda, she moved quickly into facilitating for two reasons: As the president of the branch she was the gatekeeper for all of the information supplied to the branch by the state board and the national association staff and board. She read the reports and information that came to her and disseminated it as she saw fit to other members of her board. The 5 Star incentive program was part of the information she received and she used it as a guideline to set up her program in the community. One of the requirements was community action in using the agenda. Additionally, one of the members of the branch was associated with the college and Camille worked with her to make the arrangements for the speakers on sexual harassment. The second reason was because Camille had previously had experience with activist organizations like Planned Parenthood so had already learned some of the skills necessary to orchestrate the facilitation.

Movement from Advocates to Supports

Iona presents an example of this movement. The advocating experience was very frustrating for Iona, and while she still, uses the knowledge that she gained during the activities to influence change, she withdrew from opportunities to continue the work in the county, partially because she felt that many of the branch members did not support the activity. She also refused the superintendent's offer to serve on committees because she "didn't want to step on people's toes" as a teacher in the system. While advocating, however, she became known by the members and took on roles in the branch, including membership chair which led her to set up the study groups.

Movement from Advocates to Facilitates

Hannah was the primary initiator of the Roundtable and subsequent activities when she was president of the branch. She now facilitates information, as the Educational Equity Chair of the branch, by providing information to agencies working with girls. She claims that she and her committee don't have time to do the programs, so they just locate and disseminate the information. As the branch president, Hannah was the gatekeeper of information from the Association, and responsible for its implementation. Although still an opinion leader in the branch, she is no longer responsible for fulfilling program obligations to the Association. Additionally, after she had completed the revisions to the sexual harassment policy the reception by the superintendent of schools was not as supportive as she expected, which was a disappointing outcome after all the work she and her committee had done.

Movement from Advocates to Participates

Both Daphne and Beatrice may have been advocates at one point in their AAUW careers but they are now simply participants. While they both worked with the state legislature at one time, they no longer do so. They claim it is because of their age, but it may be because they no longer feel the issues are relevant to their lives since they both express concern that the issues are the same.

Summary of Non-Sequential Movement Between Stages

It appears that whereas the critical components of non-sequential movement toward advocacy include readiness to lead, relevance of the issues, and commitment to the issues being advocated, another condition which facilitates this movement is holding a branch role. A constraining condition for some people is age.

The consequences of advocacy, however, may be that the member no longer wishes to advocate. Another consequence of the actions are that the members become known and valued by branch members. Frequently they are offered other opportunities within the branch to demonstrate their skills. Yet another result, is that the member still has the knowledge and may still be committed to the issue so supports the agenda in less public ways.

CHAPTER V.   CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The conclusions are presented with respect to the relationship between the findings reflected in the model and the areas of literature reviewed. Practicing citizenship is regarded as an expectation of people in voluntary association. By relating this idea to the models found in chapter four, the extent to which women practice citizenship in the branches is illuminated. Voluntary associations are also said to be important places for generating social capital, deemed by some to be a necessary adjunct to sustaining democracy. By reflecting on social capital with respect to the findings, conclusions can be drawn concerning its nature with respect to the members.

The impact of the societal and organizational trends covered in the review of the literature is examined with regard to the findings and is followed by the implications of the categorization of voluntary associations relevant to AAUW and the local units. The influence of member motivations with respect to increasing stages of activism is discussed next followed by the affects of the currently prevailing gender ideologies in American culture. Finally, the meaning of the consequences of with regard to the national agenda are discussed and a summary is presented reflecting on the conclusions with regard to the original research questions.

Practicing Citizenship

Practicing citizenship infers that work is done for the common good of the community. The group process defined by Follett (1918) is predicated on community collectivities, like branches, making their needs and aspirations the substance of politics. With regard to the model of Figure 1: Increasing Stages of Social Activism and Responsiveness found on page 41, the stage related to this type of action is advocacy and it can be seen that of the participants interviewed, only two operated at this level. Not only that, but both retreated to other stages after advocating. Using the concept of public work, however, described by Boyte and Kari (1996), wherein the citizenry come up with ideas and resources to solve community problems, the members of the Milford branch even at the level of participates practiced citizenship. They worked all year to raise money for local scholarships for women who demonstrated need and they contributed to other agencies they choose to perpetuate. This activity began when members decided to help fulfill a community need by financing a public library. Now they are providing money for a new library, to be built in the community, since they have outgrown the old space. Long-standing reciprocity between the members of the branch and the library has been realized by the library providing space and books and the members providing money. In this regard the branch sustained and created its environment.

Generating Social Capital

Elements of social capital were generated at each stage of the model as members engaged in the activities with the branch and enhanced the vitality of their community. Members of the

Milford branch had developed what Putnam calls, "networks of civic engagement" which fostered "sturdy norms of generalized reciprocity" (1993, p.37) through their book sale. Not only was this true within the group, but also within the community because of the distribution of the proceeds to other organizations and individuals within the community. Thus, when Hannah, Iona, and the rest of the branch were preparing for the Educational Equity Roundtable, they were able to tap into the network, already established, to engender sufficient interest in the community to conduct it. Even though the idea that schools shortchange girls was a new one, the branch had built up ties, norms, and trust which was transferable from the book sale to the Roundtable.

Several of the members of the Milford branch mentioned their connection to the Women's Commission in the County. Not only had the branch established a social relationship with them, they had also collaborated on projects financially, in legislative sessions, and in the conduct of the women's fair in the community. There were many other examples of the generation of social capital by the members of the Milford branch. The study groups, the meetings, like the ones held at the Good Will and the local Bed and Breakfast, the stained glass window in the museum are all instances where the branch capitalized on the opportunity to build civic engagement in the community.

Another example was the joint activities between the branch and the Junior Chamber of Commerce. Jane decided to get the branch to help with a holiday project the Junior Chamber of Commerce was having and then asked the J.C.s if they would transport the books to the sale location. Her action invigorated the social fabric of Milford, wherein the nursing home recipients, the booksale beneficiaries, and others who just heard the story had a renewed sense of good will. Jane was recently presented with a named gift award, honoring her for her contributions to the branch, further increasing her stock of social capital. While working together each organization learned more about the other's mission and contribution to the community. At the same time these endeavors enhanced the level of trustworthiness in the environment as the level of obligations and expectations increased.

Information potential, the second element of social capital, was apparent at every stage of the model as members learned things that provide a basis for their action, either collective or individual. The best example was when Iona learned everything she could about educational equity because of her involvement in the Roundtable and then, not only used it in the meeting to generate action, but used it later to influence her supervisor's position on a sexual harassment claim. The third element, norms and effective sanctions, which facilitated and constrained actions, was evident in many instances. Branch members, who felt the subjects discussed in the Roundtable were still taboo, were quick to express their concerns to Hannah and Iona, which ultimately constrained their activity in support of the national agenda. At the same time, the norms operating with AAUW, at large, for branch presidents to carry out the national agenda as prescribed were also acting on Hannah when she was the branch president and encouraged the branch to conduct the Roundtable and the follow up activities. Clearly,

the norms operating within the branch became more effective over time, since the branch has not continued to advocate for systemic change.

The situation just mentioned was also indicative of the fourth element of social capital, the authority relations between and among members of the group. Each of the members interviewed, indicated in one way or another that the role of the president includes considerable responsibility--so much so, that not many members want to be in that position. While Hannah exercised her role well externally, in terms of conformance with the national agenda, internally, it was a more difficult task because of the lack of support from some branch members for the educational equity initiative.

The fifth element of social capital involved the extent to which the branches were appropriated as existing social capital for purposes other than those intended. Local scholarship provision, where both branches were appropriated for providing money to other than the Educational Foundation or the Legal Advocacy Fund, provided an example of appropriation. Another interesting example of appropriating extant social capital was the branch decision to arrange and pay for the stained glass window to be placed in the skylight of the local museum. The sixth element, to what extent the organizations were intentional, was reflected in the participation stage of the model where members expected to have a good program when they participated in the monthly meetings. In other words, they expected a return of satisfaction on their investment of time. The social capital produced as a result of the book sale, however, was more like to a public good where it is available to participants even though they did not participate directly in the production.

The difference between the Lincoln branch and the Milford branch in generating social capital in the community seemed to rest primarily in the fact that there was not a critical mass of members to invest the time and effort required to do so. While the Milford branch had many members with many kinds of connections to foster social capital, the Lincoln branch president seemed to be the primary individual in that branch making contacts and fulfilling commitments and obligations. Although she collaboratively reached out to a diverse organization to give a local scholarships, the branch was suffering from social capital deprivation because many members had begun to focus inward, exclusively. Without more members willing to invest time and energy, she could not succeed in enabling the recreation of its vitality.

There was evidence in each of the interviews that social capital in relation to the branches was eroding. Movement of women into the labor force coupled with the fact that household responsibilities are still, largely theirs, people's preferred use of leisure time, inclining toward less active engagement, suburbanization, and mobility all appeared to contribute to reduced branch participation.

Certainly both branches provided forums for community dialogue with the candidate forums. Learning, however, was probably not as collaborative as it could have been in terms of finding

common ground on policy issues and thus contributing in a significant way to renewing social capital as suggested by Sirianni and Friedland (1995).

Impact of Trends

The literature showed a decreasing pool of women candidates, increased participation in the workforce, and a devaluing of volunteering in women's lives. Evidence gathered during the interviews supports O'Connor and Johnson's (1989) findings, in that these trends are having an impact on branches. While AAUW members certainly fall into the category of typical volunteer, with regard to age, status, and disposition, both branches have experienced a decline in membership to the point where one of the branches has gone inactive. Each of the persons interviewed mentioned the impact of women working outside the home on their group. In fact, those currently participating in the workforce frequently reflected on the extent that their work commitments impact their time available for being involved in the groups.

McPherson and Rotolo (1996) provided evidence that the viability of a group's membership depends on other groups seeking that same kind of member. Several of the participants in this study indicated competition from professional associations, where they felt women were more likely to volunteer, since those types of organizations enabled their careers.

Merry recommended that organizations and institutions move away from one right way to many ways of doing things. Interestingly, in a discussion with one of the members, she mentioned the tension between women who feel that all members should attend the monthly meeting and those who, given their time constraints, prefer participation in the smaller study groups. Merry (1995) indicated the need to be flexible and move away from rigid structures to different ways of connecting. The Milford branch has done this with the establishment of four new study groups in the past two years. In at least one of these groups, their membership has increased.

With regard to an activist stance, although organizations, including AAUW at the national level, have pursued an activist image since the 60s, branch members are still primarily interested in service, as opposed to activism. Although a few of them become activists, they are reluctant to maintain that stance because of the personal implications, particularly in terms of their reputation with regard to their careers, and the use of their available time. In spite of the Association's stance, and even though seven of the participants are in the paid workforce, they still value their service oriented volunteering, regardless whether it is supporting education and equity opportunities for women and girls, or facilitating the dissemination of information in the community concerning issues on the national agenda.

Implications of Categorization

One of the problems with categorizing large bureaucratic organizations is that the typology may not reflect the nature of the local units. Although AAUW as a national organization is usually thought of as an instrumental organization, one which is designed to create a

normative condition or change with respect to education and equity for women, the branches did not reflect this categorization. The branches were expressive in that they provided opportunities of interest to participants facilitating personal satisfaction and fellowship. This situation predisposes the organization to a schizophrenic self image, leading to the kind of tensions, expressed in the introduction.

Using the categorization developed by Elsdon, Stewart, and Reynolds (1995), neither of the branches studied could be considered dynamic where they were developing and engaged in constructive change, although the study groups in the Milford branch may move them into this posture at some point. Currently, the Milford branch can be classified as static in that it is maintaining its current stance and meeting its objectives. It may, however, be showing signs of arrested development since the population of the branch is decreasing. The Lincoln branch, of course, was divergent in that it is no longer in operation in an active state. Elsdon, Stewart, and Reynolds (1995) and Comish (1976) considered characteristics related to whether the branch focused on its members or on others. While the Lincoln branch was certainly inward-looking, for the most part, and the Milford branch was also, it also looked outward in terms of providing resources to individuals and organizations in the community. The Lincoln branch looked outward to the extent that it provided a local scholarship and conducted candidate forums. The issue for both branches was the level of active participation by members in the outward looking or external goals. Both branches can be said to be incongruent with regard to the national association. Neither of them were consistently aligned and supportive of the national agenda.

Minkoff (1995) noted that social conditions structure the acceptance of activist behavior by voluntary organizations and that as social conditions change, voluntary associations do also. In the early 90s when AAUW published the report, *How Schools Shortchange Girls*, and encouraged branches to conduct Roundtables, the democrats moved into the White House and were promoting a liberal agenda and the Hill/Thomas hearings had just been held which raised the consciousness of the American public with regard to sexual harassment. Women speaking out for their rights was probably more acceptable than ever. In 1994, however, that changed with the 104th Congress and their conservative agenda, fostering an image, once more, of women as silent partners in the political arena. While some branch members, even from conservative locations, may have felt comfortable putting the issues from the report on the table during the early 90s, they withdrew as political conditions changed, even though they still hold the same beliefs.

Influence of Motivations

The participant's motivations did, of course, have an impact on the level of their participation in the organization and their commitment to the national agenda. As indicated by Markham and Bonjean (1995) the findings in this study demonstrated agreement with the notion that branches still tend towards homophily and homogeneity. This can be discerned from members comments that they wanted to be with like-minded people who had achieved a similar educational level. They wanted to be with people with whom they had something in common.

The results also corroborate their finding that women "still place highest importance on the higher status women's traditional commitments that do not threaten established power or force them to identify with a liberal agenda and activism of a confrontational nature" (p. 1569).

Utilizing the three types of motivation characterized by Pearce (1993, p. 76), social contact, service, and mission, with respect to the participants in this study indicated that the more important the mission, the more likely they were to facilitate or advocate the agenda.

The primary reason women joined and retained their membership in the branches was for social contact. Abigail, Beatrice, Camille, Daphne, Esther, Frances, Gabrielle, and Jane all became members so they could "meet people and make friends," and they retain their membership for the same reasons. While Camille, Frances, Hannah, and Iona all expressed a strong desire to be involved in, and serve the people in the community including the members of the branch, they also appreciated the fact that the impact of the organization had much broader consequences. Hannah and Iona joined because they were interested in the national mission. Refer to Table 7 for a comparison of the members primary and secondary motivations with their responsiveness to the national agenda. For those whose primary and secondary motivations were to maintain social contact, they participated in the branch. For those who wanted to have social contact and serve the community, they supported educational opportunities for women and girls. For those who wanted to have social contact and promote the mission they facilitated the dissemination of information on the national agenda. For those whose primary motivation for belonging was the mission, they advocated for the national agenda.

Table 7: Member Motivations by Stage

Name	Primary	Secondary	Stage Achieved
Hannah	Mission	Serve community	Stage 4
Iona	Mission	Serve community	Stage 4
Camille	Social contact	Mission	Stage 3
Frances	Social contact	Mission	Stage 3
Abigail	Social contact	Serve community	Stage 2
Esther	Social contact	Serve community	Stage 2
Daphne	Social contact	Social contact	Stage 1
Gabrielle	Social contact	Social contact	Stage 1
Beatrice	Social contact	Social contact	Stage 1

Based on Knoke's (1996) study of member's interests in incentives, the primary incentive system for members was social, incorporating jointly coordinated social and recreational activities, the enjoyment of which was restricted to membership, because even those members who operated at stage four for a while were always, also, functioning at Stage 1.

With regard to activism the results supported Astin and Leland's (1991) and Garland's (1988) findings, in that acute awareness of, and even anger over, injustice based on personal experience, coupled with a commitment to change fosters transformative work on the part of members.

Affects of Voluntary Association on Women's Growth

Many of the participants excused in embarrassment, often laughing while talking, the idea that one of the main reasons they were members of the branches was for friendship. In other words, the most important aspect of membership was the connection they felt with other women. The indication, of course, was that all other reasons for belonging were more socially acceptable. While the members' sense of self and belonging was based on their relationships with the other women, the cultural expectation that they belonged to the organization because of some prescribed, other directed purpose was evident in their behavior.

Even when women acknowledged the importance of relationships in their lives and chose those which fostered mutual growth, the prevalence of the cultural model of subordination and domination interfered with their functioning. The idea that in any situation there are ascriptive subordinates is pervasive in society and in conflict with women's affiliative way of being. This situation resulted in both internal and external conflicts for women in these group settings. While on the one hand women seek resolution on issues through mutual understanding and commitment, on the other hand they have grown up in a society where the conceptions of domination and subordination are pervasive and prescribe ways of being that thwart mutuality. An example is Camille's leadership style. She was new to the group and sincerely wanted participation in the decision making process. She was knowingly seeking, "sistership," in the branch, however, she was confronted by the reality that she was the president, the dominant one, whom everyone expected to be in charge. Her leadership style was undercut by the cultural expectation of the position of dominance. It is no wonder, that women's organizations frequently have difficulty finding women to be the president of the group. The position itself is in opposition to affiliative relationships they are seeking through their membership. These women did not grow up as part of a group that believed it needed subordinates nor did they have a history of believing that their power was necessary for the maintenance of their self-image. While they needed the power to advance their own development, they did not "need" the power to limit the development of others. Over and over again, within the context of running the branch, affiliative, mentoring relationships were discussed by each of the members--by Abigail who was seeking affirmation of her competence, to Iona who was looking for opportunities to enact her leadership, to Esther, who talked about how Millicent was enabling her.

Affects of Gender Ideology

When Frances said she felt as if she was back in the fifties, she was not kidding! Some of the members matured in the era of "women as wife-companion" as characterized by Rothman (1978) and have never had a reason to change their way of being in the world. For some members, the branch might just as well be, Sorosis, begun in 1873, based on their involvement

in bridge and the purely social aspects of the branch. Just as Hulbert and Schuster (1993) point out, "human development and behavior occur within and in interaction with changing sociohistorical contexts" (p. 417). Others however were born at different times or were confronted by critical incidents that caused them to change and be changed by the new contexts. Some grew up during the sixties and the second wave of the women's movement, what Hulbert and Schuster called the "era of transition," while other have grown up since then and have seen or experienced the backlash, first hand. Although branches provided a venue for personal growth, the conflict generated by the clashing ideologies was evident in both branches. The conditions that created the culture of "correctness" associated with women of higher social status still prevail for many of the members and inhibit the promulgation of the "activist" stance required by the agenda, as was demonstrated in the findings.

The Meaning of the Consequences

It is still true that not only is society effected by voluntary association, but so are individuals and institutions. On an individual level, the women in this study still used them to educate each other in socially comfortable settings, as can be seen by the study groups. Within the context of the branch, members learned about their community organizations, like the Good Will, their state when talking about the bills before the state legislature, and the national agenda when discussing gender bias in the classrooms. From an organizational perspective they developed and used their shared membership in different voluntary associations to promote their causes and influence common institutions. Camille and Frances, in their work on the candidate forums, and Hannah and Iona, on the Roundtable, demonstrated the importance of their connections with other women's organizations.

The internal impact of branch membership goes way beyond the branch as the hearts and minds of family and friends are changed over time with respect to issues. Certainly this was reflected by Abigail and Frances in their comments on their children and grand children. The social and emotional support offered by branch participation, particularly the study groups, served to enhance the personal growth and satisfaction of members and permitted an environment for self-expression. Members talked about having enhanced their self-esteem and their confidence, having learned new skills, and having become more capable as a result of their membership.

There was some evidence that the branches did provide credibility to the national arm and vice versa, in the experiences of Camille as she made contacts while president of the branch and was treated with deference, and with the business leaders in Milford who participated in the sexual harassment workshop.

It is also true, however, that the impact of voluntary associations was limited because women have still not created the universal gender-based solidarity described by Chafe (1993). This was apparent in many of the discussions on equity. There were as many opinions as there were participants, although all members believed in the broad liberal feminist point of view of equality with men.

Summary based on the Research Issues

The research issues that guided this research included understanding why women join AAUW, how they experience their membership, and why they retain it. They also focused on the salience of the national agenda to the participants and how they promote the national agenda.

Most members joined the branch because they were invited and they wanted to meet people. The reasons were largely social, although a few members joined because of the national association's mission. How individuals experience branch membership particularly with regard to the promotion of the national agenda was described in detail in Chapter IV. The model in Figure 1 summarized the findings related to those research issues. Women often began their experience by simply participating in the branch. As they developed relationships with members in the branch, particularly with respect to their shared values related to education, they sometimes moved on to support the education of specific women and girls, possibly within the branch setting. As they continued to build social capital within the branch, and became committed to, or saw a venue for their commitment to equity, they sometimes decided to use the prepared agenda material to facilitate the dissemination of that information within the community. Subsequently, the member sometimes became committed to creating positive societal change regarding an issue on the national agenda and recognized that she could use her leadership skills to do so.

The reason members retained their membership has to do with the social capital they generated, and also generally, with their broad commitment to gaining equality for women. For many of the members, however, the national agenda was not salient. Frequently they did not understand the program and policy agenda and operated under misinformation. This was the case with the Educational Foundation, the Legal Advocacy Fund, and the Initiative for Educational Equity. Sometimes members seemed to be familiar with parts of the agenda but most of it was quite vague.

Recommendations for Further Research

Two general areas of further research with regard to AAUW are suggested. From the perspective of the branches, recommendations for future research include the following: (a.) Understanding more about each of the stages with respect to member recruitment and retention; (b.) Defining ways of enhancing social capital as a means of enriching member participation; (c.) Researching how the intervening conditions related to branch culture can be mediated to facilitate rather than constrain activism. From the perspective of the association, recommendations for future research include the following: (a.) Determining more effective ways of diffusing innovative information to the branches in such a way that receptivity and understanding are enhanced; (b.) Learning how to package and present the standard information in such a way that they understand it.

A compelling area of study from a feminist perspective is to understand the nature of the differences in belief systems within the context of gender based equality such that women's organizations can move forward together to achieve equality.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interview Schedule

1. Tell me a little bit about you and your background.
    1.1. Where were you born and reared?
    1.2. Where and when did you go to college and what is your degree in?
    1.3. What type of work have you done or do you do?
    1.4. Tell me about your family and about coming to live in Annapolis.
2. Now I'd like to know something about the branch purpose and goals.
    2.1. What do you consider the purpose of the branch and how does it fulfill its purpose?
    2.2. Tell me about the goals of the branch?
    2.3. Does the branch have a strategic planning process?
3. Tell me about the branch organization and leadership.
    3.1. How was the branch organized and what officers do you have in the branch?
    3.2. How often does the branch meet and where does it hold meetings?
    3.3. How do you make decisions and conduct the business of the branch?
    3.4. How would you describe the branch leaders?
    3.5. How does your branch develop new leaders?
    3.6. What process do you use to recruit new members and how effective is the process?
    3.7. How old are your members? Do you have younger members? What was your strategy for attracting them?
    3.8. Do you have a diverse membership? If so, will you describe it.
4. Tell me about the branch business and programs.
    4.1. How does your branch support the Educational Foundation?
    4.2. How does your branch support the Legal Advocacy Fund?
    4.3. Tell me about the branch programs and how your branch finances its work?
    4.4. How is information communicated to the branch?
    4.5. Tell me about the publicity that your branch has gotten in the last year? Who is responsible for the publicity?
    4.6. What projects does the branch perform and how do they do them?
    4.7. How does the branch advocate for issues that AAUW supports?
    4.8. Are you a 5-Star branch. Can you tell me what you did to achieve that goal?
    4.9. What would you like to see the branch doing that it is not currently doing?
    4.10. What projects does your branch work on?
    4.11. Has your branch ever tried anything new? What was it? What was the reaction of the members?
5. Tell me about the community from which the branch draws its membership.
    5.1. What are the other organizations that compete for members from the same pool that AAUW draws its members in the community?
    5.2. How have changes in the community affected the branch?
    5.3. Where do most of the members live?
    5.4. Have any members-at-large become members? Are they good for the branch?

5.5.	What services does the branch provide to the community?
    5.5.1.	Does the branch collaborate with other organizations in the community?

6.	Now let's talk about AAUW at the national level.
    6.1.	What do you do with the information you receive from the association and the state on a regular basis?
    6.2.	What do you think of these national AAUW initiatives:
        6.2.1.	The Initiative personal satisfaction from giving money for Educational Equity?
        6.2.2.	The branch 5-Star Program?
        6.2.3.	The Diversity Initiative?
        6.2.4.	The Voter Education Campaign?
    6.3.	How important are these programs to you?
    6.4.	Are these the right programs for AAUW to be focused on?
    6.5.	How do you feel about the work the association has done on these programs?
    6.6.	Are you willing to work on these programs? If so, which ones and how are you willing to contribute and why?
    6.7.	Do you think the branch was better in the "old" days before these programs were established? If so, why?

7.	Now I'd like to know about your own affiliation with AAUW.
    7.1.	When did you join AAUW?
    7.2.	Why did you join and why do you retain your membership?
    7.3.	How do you benefit from membership in the branch?
    7.4.	What expectations do you have of the branch?
    7.5.	What things about the branch or AAUW are important to you and how do you contribute to or participate in the work of the branch?
    7.6.	Which ones do you get the most out of?
    7.7.	How do you feel about other things the branch does?
    7.8.	What do you like best about the branch? What do you not like about branch membership?
    7.9.	Has the branch enabled you in any way? If so, how?

8.	Would you consider yourself an activist?
    8.1.	Do you feel strongly enough about the AAUW priorities to actively promote them in the community?

9.	What is the single most important thing about AAUW and your branch to you?

Appendix B: Informed Consent Letter

<div align="right">

5 Foxlair Court
Laytonsville, Maryland 20882-1303
April 13, 1998
leistm@aol.com
301-948-2629

</div>

(Participant name and address)

Dear (Participant),

   I am conducting research as partial fulfillment of my doctorate in education at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. While the subjects of my research are members of the American Association of University Women, it is their experience within the context of branches that I am most interested.

   Thank you for your willingness to participate in this research project. Your participation is very much appreciated. Before we start the interview, I would like to reassure you that as a participant you have several definite rights:

1.   Your participation in this interview is entirely voluntary.
2.   You are free to refuse to answer any questions at any time.
3.   You are free to withdraw from the interview at any time.

   The data will be collected by tape recording the interview. It will then be transcribed, and analyzed. A list of broadly defined interview questions is attached. Confidentiality will be protected in the following ways: real names of participants or branches will not be used in either the data or the report; the data will be password protected on the researchers personal computer.

   Several participants who have been interviewed will be asked to review the findings to corroborate the results during the analysis phase of the project. A copy of the dissertation will be provided to the branch for its archives when the study is completed.

Sincerely,
Marilyn Thomas Leist
EdD Candidate, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

Interviewee: (Participant)

Signature: Date:

VITA

MARILYN THOMAS LEIST

5 FOXLAIR COURT

LAYTONSVILLE, MARYLAND 20882-1303

CAREER SUMMARY

Established and managed quality assurance organization for new benefits outsourcing company. Initiated the establishment of a center of competence for process engineering at a site of 1200 computer professionals. Participated in assessments using the SEI/CMM methodologies. Targeted areas requiring improvement and facilitated organization in design and re-engineering of processes. Developed and implemented site-wide training process. Managed large-scale development, integration and test of distributed software/hardware systems utilizing innovative human resource approaches.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

PROCESS ENGINEERING, Started process engineering function for two organizations. Staffed functions with process experts. Developed and implemented internal program process assessments. Provided process education for the site. Developed and disseminated process standards. Conducted assessments using the SEI's CMM Based Appraisal/Internal Process Improvement (CBA/IPI) method. Facilitated process mapping and improvement sessions across the site. Represented the site in the Division Process Engineering Group.

1993- 1996	Loral Federal Systems/International Business Machines	Rockville, MD
1997- 1998	Wellspring Resources, LLC.	Bethesda, MD

MANAGEMENT AND EMPLOYEE DEVELOPMENT, Designed and implemented site education program, including facilitated mentoring program for technical leads. Launched an innovative team based approach to subsystem and system test. Performed personnel management at first, second, and third line levels, including performance planning and evaluation, salary administration, and career planning. Used sign language to communicate with three deaf employees. Fostered teamwork, leadership development, and skill building.

1984- 1996	Loral Federal Systems/International Business Machines	Rockville, MD
1997- 1998	Wellspring Resources, LLC.	Bethesda, MD

QUALITY ASSURANCE, INTEGRATION AND TEST ENGINEERING, Established and managed the quality services organization for a new company. Managed multi-million dollar budget as second line integration and test manager for federal systems. Directed the sell-off of requirements to customer. Developed and implemented test inspection process to build quality into the test program. Established a cost-effective, automated approach to testing an automated office system that resulted in $500,000 of savings. Managed the integration and test of system used to activate the Consolidated Space Operations Center (CSOC) in Colorado Springs. Designed, developed, implemented test programs compliant with military standards. Created approach to using federal standards as basis for testing a large commercial system.

1983 - 1994	International Business Machines	Gaithersburg, MD
1996 - 1998	Wellspring Resources, LLC.	Bethesda, MD

SYSTEMS DEVELOPMENT, Managed development of three tier client server system for benefits outsourcing resulting in on-time delivery of the open enrollment capability. Established and managed software configuration management department including problem tracking capability. Directed the development of systems plans and controls for corporation. As a programmer for seven years, developed, tested and delivered dial-out capability for telecommunications network. Generated and tested diagnostics for signal processing system peripherals. All programming in assembler language.

1977 - 1980	Sperry Systems Management	Reston, VA
1980 - 1983	General Electric Information's Systems	Rockville, MD
1996 - 1998	Wellspring Resources, LLC	Rockville, MD

E D U C A T I O N

B. S. ELEMENTARY EDUCATION
OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY, COLUMBUS, OH.

M. S. READING EDUCATION
TOWSON STATE UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE, MD.

M. S. ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT
HOOD COLLEGE, FREDERICK, MD.

ED.D. ADULT EDUCATION
VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC AND STATE UNIVERSITY, FALLS CHURCH, VA.

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

Industrial Advisory Board, Embry Riddle Aeronautical University Master of Software Engineering Program - 1993-1995
American Management Association
Washington Area Software Process Improvement Network (SPIN)
National Association of Women in Education
American Association of University Women
National Council for Research on Women
National Women's Studies Association

STUDIES

1989 "The Benefits of Applying Government Standards to a Commercial Integration and Test Program" - IBM Software Testing ITL, Toronto, Canada
1991 "Informal Learning in the Workplace for Deaf Employees" - AAACE, Charlottesville, VA.
1992 "The Cluster Paradigm - Applied to a Large Scale Integration and Test Organization" - IBM Software Testing ITL, Southbury, Connecticut
1993 "The Impact of the Women's Educational Equity Act on Systemic Change for Working Women" - AAACE, Dallas, Texas
1994 "The Organization, the Individual, and Process Engineering as a Planned Change" - Preliminary Examination Paper presented to doctoral committee

ACTIVITIES AND INTERESTS

Board of Directors - American Association of University Women - Middle Atlantic Region Director; Leading women in the quest for educational equity.
Grant Reviewer, *Virginia Gildersleeve International Fund for University Women;* Providing funds for self-improvement and education to women in developing countries.
Board of Directors - Secretary, Gaithersburg HELP; The local food pantry service to the poor.