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The Female Volunteer Pool: Changes and Implications for the Future

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THE FEMALE VOLUNTEER POOL:

Changes and Implications for the Future

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INTRODUCTION

"If I am not for myself, who will be for me?
And if I am only for myself, what am I?
And if not now, when?"
Hillel (70 B.C.E.--10C.E.)

Hillel, a Biblical commentator writing nearly two thousand years ago, showed a deep understanding of human psychology and the need to reach beyond oneself. Man's concern for the welfare of his society has been an uplifting force throughout history. Caring individuals, such as Hillel, established measures by which other men could gauge their actions. These moral concepts give meaning and form to life beyond the acquisition of material goods. The success with which men have met their example has varied throughout history.

The decade of the Seventies has often been referred to as a time of "me-ism" in the United States. The popularity of sensitivity sessions, body building and health fads gives the impression that the individual is concerned only with self, seeking satisfaction, indifferent to an increasingly troubled world. However, if one is to believe recent statistics, the indications are that Americans are giving more of their time and their money to volunteer causes than ever before.

The American Association of Fund Raising Council

reports, in Giving in America, an increase in the growth of private contributions: 39.56 billion dollars were given in 1978 compared with 31.15 billion in 1977. This figure represents an increase of 9.4 percent over the inflation rate. One possible explanation for increased giving is the increase in the number of affluent persons in the United States. In 1977 2.6 percent of the population reported an income of fifty thousand dollars, compared with 3.6 percent in 1978. Since tax rates increase as income expands, many people prefer giving charity rather than paying taxes. Further, the benefits are more pleasing and visible.

Americans also give by volunteering their time, skills and knowledge. In 1974 the Census Bureau, commissioned by ACTION, a Federal Government agency on volunteerism, conducted a survey on volunteering in the United States. At that time, twenty-four percent of the total population over thirteen years of age volunteered at least once a year. These volunteers gave, without payment, some of their time, energy, and effort to a cause in the year ending April 1974. Nine categories of volunteer service were examined by the ACTION study: political, civic and community action, social and welfare, recreation, citizenship, justice, education,

health, and religion. Informal volunteerism, such as the mutual aid which occurs between neighbors and friends, was not included in the study. This type of volunteerism is pervasive and would be difficult to measure. Volunteer data from this study were gathered from organized volunteerism.

The Census Bureau found that thirty-seven million people, working in more than six million voluntary organizations, contributed in excess of thirty-four billion dollars of unpaid labor. Based on a conservative six percent inflationary increase, the value in 1979 would be fifty-five billion dollars. (Steve Hansen, Volunteer Information Specialist)

These figures are based on a study conducted seven and one-half years ago. In the ensuing years, many changes have occurred in our society. A closer look at one aspect of this study, the percentage of women volunteering, gives rise to speculation. Of the total number of volunteers in 1974, fifty-three percent, or twenty-one million, were women. "The most typical volunteer in 1974 was a married, white woman between the ages of twenty-five and forty-four who held a college degree and was in the upper income bracket." (American Volunteer-1974) Conversely, over the last decade approximately

five and one-half million married women were added to the work force. Statistics, as of March 1979, show that nearly fifty-two percent of the female population over eighteen years of age is employed. (United States Department of Labor) In addition, women have traditionally assumed the greater share of responsibility for home and family. (Lipman-Blumen, 1976) (Charts 1 and 2) Combining employment with familial responsibilities, it follows that women would have less leisure hours to give in volunteering. As the percentage of women entering the work force rises, the percentage of women volunteers should decline. Further, other societal changes, such as the Women's Movement, an inflationary economy, the increasing divorce rate, and equal employment practices, should produce a change in the total volunteer picture.

Changes that affect the voluntary network in a society can be studied through an analysis of some of its component parts. Through a study of one small section of the volunteer pool, some understanding of the problems of volunteerism, in general, is possible. The purpose of this paper is to examine the St. Louis Jewish women's voluntary sector. By analyzing the results of a questionnaire sent to female board members of five

CHART 1

Workday Time Budgets of Employed Women and Employed Men
(Percentage of Each Sex Participating in Primary Activities)

Work (Job)	Six Cities of France		Torun, Poland		Jackson, Miss., USA		Pakov, USSR	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Housework*	95.2	58.4	98.2	58.2	93.8	50.3	98.7	73.4
Other household obligations†	52.9	63.5	45.3	53.9	56.6	48.4	65.6	53.8
Child care‡	31.0	24.8	41.6	30.8	35.8	18.7	48.2	40.1
Personal needs§ (includes sleep)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Study and participation‖	8.8	9.7	18.0	19.2	13.6	18.9	19.8	34.3
Mass media#	69.0	82.7	75.1	88.0	76.1	83.1	75.6	92.2
Leisure**	79.2	83.4	64.1	74.8	74.7	61.3	65.8	81.7
Travel††	88.8	95.0	99.1	98.5	100.0	100.0	99.8	99.5

SOURCE.—From Alexander Szalai, *The Use of Time* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1972), pp. 584, 588.
NOTE.—Data are weighted to ensure equality of days of the week and number of eligible respondents per household.
*Includes cooking, home chores, laundry, marketing.
†Includes garden, animal care, errands, shopping, other household activities.
‡Includes child care, other child-related activities.
§Includes personal care, eating, sleep.
‖Includes study, religion, organization.
#Includes radio, TV (home), TV (away), read paper, read magazine, read books, movies.
**Includes social (home), social (away), conversation, active sports, outdoors, entertainment, cultural events, resting, other leisure.
††Includes travel to work, personal travel, leisure travel.

CHART 2

Workday Time Budgets of Employed Women and Employed Men
(Time Spent in Primary Activities, in Average Minutes per Day)

Work (Job)	Six Cities of France		Torun, Poland		Jackson, Miss., USA		Pakov, USSR	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
Housework*	156	26	180	31	133	21	170	28
Other household obligations†	17	32	20	29	31	29	27	39
Child care‡	24	8	27	20	16	8	30	30
Personal need (includes sleep)§	621	621	543	560	590	572	546	573
Study and participation‖	7	9	23	25	17	27	27	52
Mass media#	47	76	70	117	65	114	73	125
Leisure**	60	70	56	71	63	59	48	55
Travel††	57	75	86	91	73	85	81	20
Total minutes	1,440	1,440	1,440	1,400	1,440	1,436	1,440	1,440

SOURCE.—Szalai, pp. 583, 587. Data are weighted to ensure equality of days of the week and number of eligible respondents per household.
NOTE.—See notes to table 2.

Jewish organizations and to four other Jewish female groups, I will attempt to probe the status of volunteerism today in the Jewish community and its implications for the future. This study limits its investigation to middle-class women.

Since volunteerism reflects societal changes, a portion of this paper will trace volunteerism historically, in general, and Jewish volunteerism, in particular. Changes in the role of women in society and the effects of early socialization on their motivation and goals will also be examined. A review of recent literature concerning volunteerism, employment and volunteer satisfaction will be presented. Finally, the future of volunteerism will be discussed. It is acknowledged that both the scope and size of this study are limited. The results of this investigation should indicate areas for further research.

DEVELOPMENT OF VOLUNTEERISM

Volunteerism in America is exemplified by the farmers of Massachusetts who gathered together as Minutemen to oppose a common enemy. Unlike Continental Europe, which had developed from a feudal system, the United States grew out of the English system of government. Based on the Magna Charta of 1215, English government was somewhat representational, having a Parliament. The Parliament, in 1601, established the Poor Law, which mandated that the local community or parish should be responsible for the poor. Alms houses, orphanages, and insane asylums were established to meet their needs. The Colonies, following the English Poor Law, provided for their needy by direct aid to the individual rather than developing institutions for their care. Colonial churches were also active in providing charity, be it only to members of their congregations. An exception to this parochial thinking were the Colonies of Pennsylvania and Maryland, who were noted for the humane treatment of all who resided within their borders. However, sympathy for the poor was not widespread. For the Colonists, themselves, life was one of deprivation, and they were mainly concerned with their own survival. Mutual aid was one thing, but there was little sympathy

for the unfortunate in those days. (Manser, 1976)

Several early philanthropists, however, displayed a concern for community which encouraged volunteerism on a larger scale. William Penn (1644-1718), founder of Pennsylvania Colony, believed that "the best recreation is to do good." Cotton Mather (1663-1728), of Massachusetts Colony, encouraged men and women to engage in "a perpetual endeavor to do good in the world." (Kapell, 1969) Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) is credited with influencing fellow Colonists to establish a free library, the Pennsylvania hospital and an academy which later became the University of Pennsylvania. He also founded a volunteer fire department and developed plans for cleaning and lighting the streets of Philadelphia. (Manser, 1976) These men shared their wealth. More importantly, they influenced others to show concern for the welfare of the community in which they lived.

Alexis de Tocqueville, in Democracy in America (1848), wrote a continuation of this spirit of community in the town meetings he visited in New England. Based on a theory of direct citizen participation, town meetings were democracy in the purest form, giving voice to the people directly affected by the results of the decisions made. De Tocqueville said that:

> In no country in the world has the principle of association been more successfully used, or applied for a greater multitude of objects, than in America...The citizen of the United States is taught from infancy to rely on his own exertions, in order to resist the evils and difficulties of life... In the United States, associations are established to promote the public safety, industry, morality and religion. There is no end which the human mind despairs of attaining through the combined power of individuals united into a society...

For the eighteenth century family, the farm was the basic economic unit. Organized voluntary activity carried out through a network of volunteer agencies was unknown. Comprised of a homogeneous people, who shared a common heritage, language, and faith, early communities attended to members' needs through self-help efforts. Barn-raisings, floods, fires, births, and deaths were a concern of the entire settlement. Neighbors bound together to carry a family through a crisis period. (Tildon and Thomson, 1978)

The Industrial Revolution in the early nineteenth century moved people away from the farm and into the cities. "A gap developed between human needs and the ability of families in the community to meet those needs under the old customs of neighborliness." (Ibid.) This was a period when enlightened reformers worked to improve social conditions which caused illness and

dependency. Robert M. Hartley (1796-1881) founded the New York Association for the Poor in 1843, making advances in housing conditions, sanitation, and child welfare. Dorthea Dix (1802-1887) worked for forty years to improve conditions in insane asylums, and Clara Barton (1821-1912) in 1881 established the American Red Cross to centralize relief activities in public emergencies. Voluntary social agencies such as settlement houses, aid societies, orphan homes, and Young Men's/ Women's Christian Associations were founded to meet the needs of a rapidly growing urban population.

Added to the numbers migrating from farms were the thousands of immigrants entering the United States from Europe and the Orient. Language, religion, and color were the three primary factors which motivated immigrants to establish ethnic enclaves within the city. Mutual ais societies catering to a specific ethnic group grew out of this desire to associate with one's kind. The huge waves of immigration, beginning in 1840, brought overwhelming social problems. Many immigrants from Europe came with cultural expectations and perceptions different from each other and earlier settlers. Their needs included a place to live, work, and worship, as well as education to enter the new society. Since

government did not assume responsibility for the newcomer, ethnic associations were developed to help the immigrant become assimilated into the American culture. It was during this time that many Jewish voluntary organizations were formed. To understand better the large network of volunteerism that developed, it is useful to review the history of Jewish thought promoting volunteerism.

History of the Jewish Volunteer Movement

> "Seek the welfare of the community in which you live: in its welfare shall be your peace."
>
> Jeremiah (29:7)

The Bible, an early record of human interaction, contains detailed instructions for charitable acts. These injunctions commanded believers to perform righteous acts which would be pleasing to God. In Deuteronomy (15:7,8,11) the message is clear:

> If, however, there is a needy person among you, one of your kinsman, in any of your settlements in the land your God is giving you, do not harden your heart and shut your hand against your needy kinsman; rather you must open your hand and lend him sufficient for what he needs for ther will never cease to be needy ones in your land which is why I command you open your hand to the poor and needy kinsman in your land.

Following the destruction of their kingdom in Israel in 70 C.E., Jews were forced to seek shelter in countries throughout Europe and Asia. Scattered about, they assumed many of the mores characteristic of their adopted homelands. However, in spite of some assimilation, most remained faithful to their religious beliefs, and the Torah continued to guide their daily lives. Sometimes their host country would treat them well; more often, not. During a favorable period, they would live

peacefully in a closely-knit community within the larger society. Other times less beneficent rulers would expel the Jews, and they had to seek asylum elsewhere.

As the Jews migrated across Europe, they carried with them these Biblical injunctions to care for the needy in their community. A great many of them settled in Eastern Europe in shtetlach, which were small, poor, closely-knit Jewish communities. These communities had a large measure of local autonomy in matters of religion, education, and social welfare. The local government retained control in matters of taxation, military service, and criminal law. The Jewish residents were not considered citizens of the state and were subject to discriminatory laws. In defense of the hostile environment surrounding them, they built a broad system of self-help, relying on their own resources.

"The principle of social justice required that every poor, sick, old, or infirmed member of the community be taken care of, permanently or over a crisis." (Zborowski and Herzog, 1947) Therefore, a number of institutions devoted to community service developed. Generally they centered around the synagogue, the core of community life. Although they varied from shtetl to shtetl, fundamental organizations were developed to meet

the community's needs. These included charities to "clothe the naked," dower the poor bride, house the orphan, care for the aged, and insure proper burial. In all community services, it is difficult to separate individual and group benefaction. Here, too, the organized and informal types of beneficence were interwoven. Individuals would give directly to a needy person or organize a group effort in his behalf. In general, the good deeds of women were of a more personal nature, directly caring for the ill or aged. Men, usually respected officers of an association, would go from house to house collecting money. (Howe, 1976)

By the mid-nineteenth century, the agencies of communal survival were visibly weakening in Eastern Europe. The economic situation grew worse as more legal restrictions were placed on Jewish residential and occupational rights. In a four-year period, 1894-1898, the number of Jewish paupers increased by thirty percent. (Ibid.) Pogroms, massacres inflicted on Jewish settlements, were unofficially sanctioned by the Russian government. Living in these impossible conditions, Jews began to view America as a haven for resettlement. As soon as possible, parents sent first one child and then another to America, until the entire family was

assembled in the United States.

Between 1880 and 1900, the Jewish immigrant population in the United States increased from 250,000 to 1,000,000. By 1914 there were close to two million Jews living in the United States, the majority of whom came from Eastern Europe. This mass immigration brought not only physical change but also an upheaval in the social existence of a people accustomed to rural living. The overwhelming needs of such a large immigrant community resulted in the formation of many new social agencies. Among these were night schools to teach English, charities to help the destitute, the Hebrew Free Loan Association, to provide ready cash in an emergency, and homes for working girls and unwed mothers. Of great importance was the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), an agency formed to aid new arrivals as they entered the United States. Mediating with officials, finding relatives, and performing a myriad of tasks associated with resettlement. HIAS formed a sympathetic bridge between Europe and the United States.

Poverty, illness, and despair, so much a part of life in Europe, was not lost on the voyage to America. In spite of the dedicated efforts of HIAS and other charity organizations, living conditions, especially in

New York City, were deplorable. Families lived in one or two rooms, taking in boarders to stretch their meager earnings. Overcrowding resulted in epidemics of typhoid, tuberculosis, and smallpox; the infant mortality rate soared. Out of these dismal living conditions grew the settlement house, a haven for impoverished urban families. The Henry Street Settlement House, founded by Lillian Wald in 1893, is an example of one woman's efforts against poverty. Begun as a nurse's endeavor to bring medical care to tenement dwellers, the Henry Street Settlement grew to include a network of other social services. Through the work of other men and women, settlement houses were established in Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia and other large cities. Out of their efforts, the profession of social work was developed.

"The Jewish immigrant world kept thickening its communal life encasing itself in layer upon layer of protected institutions: agencies of self-help, charity, education and mutual benefits." (Howe, 1976) Begun by German Jews who settled in America in the 1840's, these agencies were designed to speed Americanization and to help their brothers in need.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many Jewish volunteer organizations were

developed, fulfilling social, educational, and communal needs. Most of these organizations are an important part of the Jewish community today. Among these were B'Nai Brith, Hadassah, and the National Council of Jewish Women. Although not the only organizations formed at this time, they represent the diversity existing in Jewish philosophy. B'Nai Brith, established in 1843, is the oldest and largest international Jewish service organization in existence today. It was founded to unite Jews in their highest interests, defending human rights and promoting inter-cultural relations. Today it sponsors programs for men, women, and youth in education, career guidance, intergroup relations, as well as community projects. Its emphasis remains today, service to the member and to the Jewish community. (Encylopaedia Britannica, 1956)

Hadassah is the American division of the Women's Zionist Organization. Founded in 1912, its primary goal is fund-raising for a variety of projects in Israel. It focuses on youth and medicine by supporting hospitals and vocational centers in Israel. In the United States, its emphasis is on education in Jewish history and culture for youths and adults.

The National Council of Jewish Women was founded

in 1890 to work for the general improvement of society. During its early years, its primary focus was to help women immigrants who were overlooked by other organizations. Jewish religious values are integrated into their work in the general community today. Volunteers from its membership work in a variety of community projects, including counseling juveniles, aiding the elderly, fund-raising, and education on political matters. It was the first organization in the United States to officially train volunteers. Recently, the St. Louis Council was awarded a government grant to develop a training manual to guide other volunteer agencies in initiating a victim-witness program.

Thus, each organization represents a different kind of commitment to both the Jewish and the secular community. Additional organizations developed, providing social services. Women's auxiliaries were formed for hospitals, orphan homes, and centers for the aged. Each synagogue or temple had a sisterhood and a men's club, while other groups, such as the American Jewish Congress and the Jewish Community Relations Council, were concerned with relationships within the larger community.

When these organizations were founded, they

offered middle-class Jewish women an important alternative to household responsibilities. Through volunteer work, women could engage in socially useful activities, since paid employment was out of the question for the "refined and helpless" Victorian lady. They could utilize their nurturing skills in combatting the social and moral problems of their time. Jewish women's organizations met the needs of their membership, not through support for female suffrage, but by enhancing the self-worth of women. They not only served less fortunate Jewish women; they also raised their own status. "In a period when male leaders in the Jewish community routinely denigrated the capacity of women for leadership, these organizations asserted their rights to communal recognition." (Hyman, 1979) Women leaders continually battled the prejudices of male leaders, who held the purse strings and, therefore, the control of Jewish communal life.

Although women and women's organizations have achieved respect in the community, they have made little progress in the power structure. Jewish Federations,*

*Jewish Federations came into existence about 1900 to bring order to the financial chaos of fund-raising among the thousands of Jewish agencies that had been created. Today, each city has a Jewish Federation which

the major funding bodies for Jewish communities, give little ear to women in the decision-making process.

In the past decade, a controversy has developed in the Jewish Community concerning women's roles on boards and in top leadership positions. Federations have maintained a separate Women's Division which, since its inception in 1946, has represented "plus giving," the extra amount wives give over their husbands' donations. Money raised by the Women's Division accounts for roughly fifteen percent of the total UJA funds. (Stone, 1977) Women's Divisions satisfy the needs of a certain type of woman who can reach high levels of prestige among her own sex but does not want to compete with men. A growing number of young women, often financially independent, regard the Women's Division as a remnant of past generations. Further, some women of the "new breed" wish to assume equality in fund-raising. Traditionally, top contributors among the male leadership

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unites the major fund-raising activities in the community. The local units are affiliated with a national body, called the United Jewish Appeal (UJA). From its inception, when it provided social services alone, the role of Federation has grown to include cultural enrichment, as well as education and leadership training. It has become the money-raiser and the major spokesman for the Jewish community. Federations have changed from simple associations or agencies to something called "the organized Jewish community." (Avrumin, 1974)

were thought to be in the best position to approach other top givers. Recently, financially independent women are proving their ability in this formerly male arena. (Solender, 1977)

In 1962, UJA established a Young Leadership Council to groom young men for leadership positions in their community. Until 1977, women were excluded from membership on the Council on the grounds that they have their own division. Only after several years of insistence were women finally given the opportunity to join the Council. One woman from the St. Louis area was asked to serve in 1979; a token membership, but, hopefully, a move in the right direction.

Opening the Leadership Council to young women will help bring qualified women onto agency boards. A study by the American Jewish Congress in 1977 on the evolving role of women in Jewish organizational life in Philadelphia points out some changes which are occurring. There has been an increase in female board participation and, more importantly, a general acceptance of women in Jewish organizational leadership. Since women do not have the personal and business contacts men have, the Leadership Council will provide greater opportunities for boards to recruit women. (Monson, 1977)

A look at female participation in some major St. Louis Jewish organizations shows women comprising one-third of those boards concerned with education, family, and intercommunity relations. Those boards showing the smallest percentage of women have auxiliary female organizations. These include Jewish Federation, American Jewish Congress, Jewish Hospital, and the Jewish Center for the Aged. The American Jewish Congress is phasing out its women's group in May 1980.

CHART 3

Female Participation on St. Louis Jewish Boards

Organization	Total Board	Number Females	Percent
American Jewish Committee	53	19	38
American Jewish Congress	46	10	22
Central Agency for Jewish Education	42	15	36
Jewish Center for Aged	58	10	17
Jewish Community Centers Assoc.	69	13	19
Jewish Employment and Vocational Service	37	13	35
Jewish Family and Childrens Service	46	15	33
Jewish Federation	74	10	14
Jewish Hospital	50	7	14

Other changes in the Jewish community have occurred in response to the changing status of women. The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, was a pioneer in

advancing civil liberties and human rights and now has a National Committee on the Status of Women. In 1974, a Jewish Feminist Organization was founded which, as is stated in the preamble of its constitution, seeks "nothing else than the full, direct and equal participation of women in all levels of Jewish life." (Lerner, 1977) Synagogues also have begun to increase female board participation. B'Nai Brith, which since its inception has had counterpart groups for males and females, has charted fifty-three co-ed chapters. (Ibid.) Jewish Federations are re-evaluating the role of the Women's Division, as well as the proportion of women on their boards.

Just as the Jewish Federations have changed through the years, so, too, have the organizations which fall under their purview. The early Jewish settlement houses, precursors of the Young Men's/Young Women's Hebrew Associations of the twenties, were first established to care for the needy. Quickly they became centers of Jewish culture where Yiddish plays, concerts, lectures, and art exhibits were held. Later these centers enlarged their scope to include physical education, day-care centers, and other programs to meet the needs of a changing society. Today there has been a re-emphasis on Jewish programming as assimilation and

intermarriage increase.

After a fifty-year hiatus, new immigrants are entering the United States from Soviet Russia. During the first nine months of 1979, 21,345 Soviet Jews have entered the United States. In St. Louis alone, over five hundred New Americans have been settled, and an estimated two hundred more will be brought to the community within the first six months of 1980. Thus, the Jewish community has come full circle; agencies are joining together to assimilate the newcomer into the society. However, the number of immigrants is significantly smaller, and the Jewish community is better organized to meet this challenge with an already functioning network of volunteers and voluntary agencies.

The American Jewish community was in its early years, and remains today, highly affiliated. Nonetheless, before World War II, the community was fragmented, unable to speak with one voice. The Holocaust during that war, and the subsequent establishment of the state of Israel, forged a unity. In matters of ethnic importance, community leaders can now generate support through a complex network of collaborating organizations. However, unless women are included in the decision-making process, the Jewish community will

not utilize its resources fully. Further, Jewish women will gravitate to areas more receptive to their equal participation. Many are attracted to women's issues and to the possibilities for leadership there.

CHANGING SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The Changing Status of Women in Society

An interesting Biblical legend hypothesizing the origin of women tells the story of Lilith, the first woman God was supposed to have created. According to legend, Lilith was fashioned out of the same substance as Adam (earth), and because of this, she recognized her equality to him in God's eyes. Adam was loathe to honor her demand for equality, and Lilith, rather than take a secondary position in their relationship, flew away from Adam and the Garden of Eden. When God spoke to her and demanded that she return, she refused. He then created a new female creature, Eve, to become a companion to Adam. This new woman was created out of a bone taken from her mate in order that she would forever after be a helpmate with him. Legend further states that this illustrates the dual nature of woman. As Lilith, she is self-willed and determined and, as Eve, pliable and subserviant.

Elise Boulding, in an article entitled, "Familial Constraints on Women's Work Roles," sees society defining women's roles as triple in nature, "breeder, feeder, producer." Ms. Boulding observes that "from the earliest and simplest hunting and gathering folk to the most industrialized society of the twentieth century, the

breeding of babies and the feeding of humans of all ages is almost exclusively the work of women." As producer, the woman shares man's responsibility in gathering or growing food, making clothing and utensils, carrying water and fuel, and erecting shelter. In hunting and gathering societies, males are primarily occupied with hunting and tool-making for hunting. Since this often involved traveling away from the home, men, unburdened by children, performed this task. Women confined their producer roles to gethering food in the home area.

Hunting journeys gave men the opportunity to secure materials for tools, which were then used in trading. For men, the producer role thereupon assumed a new dimension--acquisition of goods through barter. As civilization progressed, trading towns developed and grew into major urban centers. Urbanization required regulation.

The concept of males as heads-of-households and as administrators of property emerged as codification of laws developed. By making males property holders, the women were relegated to second-class status. However, through widowhood, divorce, prostitution, or polygamy, many women reared children alone. Women sometimes appear as landholders, donors of ritualized

food offerings, and as long-distance traders. In Europe from 900 to 1200 B.C.E., sometimes as many as eighteen to twenty-five percent of the women held land. (Boulding, 1976)

During the Middle Ages, under the feudal system, women shared the workload, along with men, in providing for their families. The sharing of responsibilities in an agrarian economy was also prevalent in Colonial America. The cultural norms at that time defined women's role as wife and mother. However, women were often widowed at a very early age and, out of necessity, took over their husbands' affairs. Margaret Brent, an English Lady who settled in Maryland in the 1700's was an example of female competence. Upon the death of Governor Leonard Calvert, she became executrix of his estate and entered into the political atmosphere of the Colonies, to become the first woman government official in America. (Chaffe, 1977)

In an agrarian society, male and female roles are less fully defined. It was during the Industrial Revolution in the early 1800's, when home and work-place became separated, that a real division between male and female labor occurred. As workers moved from farm to city, stratification within society developed, based on

income. The middle and lower classes were clearly defined, and women of the new middle class no longer worked outside the home. A 1900 census showed forty-one percent of all non-white women were employed; seventeen percent of the white female population held jobs outside the home, but these women were mostly from immigrant stock. The majority of these women worked in mills, although this work was considered too rough for ladies. George Fitzhugh, a Southern sociologist at the time, declared that "women (of the middle class) have one right, the same as children, the right to be protected."

In the 1830's and '40's the United States was in a period of turmoil. It was a time of religious revival, utopian experiments in communal living, the creation of public education and outcry for abolition and temperance. Some women were drawn to the plight of slaves and to the abuses caused by alcohol. At an anti-slavery convention held in London in 1840, an effort to seat women delegates from the United States was defeated. For women to mix freely with men in meetings, much less appear on podiums, was considered unseemly conduct.

Rebuffed in their attempt to speak out publicly against slavery, women were outraged by their subordinate

position in society. They broke away from the Abolitionist Movement and joined together to promote their own rights. The First Women Suffrage Convention was held in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, led by Elizabeth Caddy Stanton and Lucretia Mott. Women had embarked on a 72-year battle to win the right to vote. "Women won the battle, only to lose the campaign...the real social and cultural barriers to full equality remain untouched." (Dixon, 1976)

The closing decades of the nineteenth century brought great technological advances. "In a variety of ways, technological innovations transformed women's lives; particularly middle-class urban women." Liberated from household drudgery by electricity, water, sewage systems, and the advent of modern canning, women developed new interests outside the home. They became active in organizing social clubs for mutual improvement through self-education. These associations offered an intellectual atmosphere for city women with family responsibilities. In 1873, the Association for the Advancement of Women was founded with the avowed purpose to raise the intellectual, moral, and physical condition of women and to bring to them a greater awareness of community. That same year the Women's Christian

Temberance Union (WCTU) was founded to organize "virtuous womanhood" to improve the social atmosphere by transforming the masculine world. (Rothman, 1978)

Women reformers worked to alleviate problems brought about by urbanization and immigration. Hospitals, insane asylums, jails, and almshouses were targets for reformers like Louisa Lee Schuyler, organizer of the New York State Charities' Aid Association. Others worked to establish settlement houses, day nurseries and child-care clinics. Notable among them were Lillian Wald and Florence Kelly, who lobbied for health care for women and children, and Jane Addams, founder of Hull House of Chicago, and Vida Scudder of Boston's Dennison House. Protective environments were established for lower-class women. The Y.W.C.A. provided living quarters for country girls working in the city. Homes for unwed mothers, such as the Florence Crittenton homes, and clubs established by Grace Dodge appeared in a few cities, but these efforts were class-based, superimposing middle-class values on charitable institutions. Recipients often found the price of moralistic charity too high for comfort. (Ibid.)

At the turn of the century, efforts for woman's suffrage were increased. Further, women's concerns for

better health care for themselves and their children led to attempts at social reform. It was a time when women reformers, through persuasive lobbying, were able to translate their views into legislation. The year 1919 saw the passage of the 19th Amendment guaranteeing women the vote. In 1921 the Shepherd-Towner Act became law, providing for a federally-funded health care program to reduce infant and maternal mortality rates, and between 1900 and 1920 most states had enacted legislation restricting the number of hours women could work. Although good intentions promoted these social reforms, in many instances they resulted in protective politics which circumscribed women's function in the public arena. The prenatal clinics set up by the Shepherd-Towner Act were attacked by the American Medical Association because nurses were the mainstay of the staff. By 1929 federal funding was discontinued and the clinics were closed. Restrictive employment laws designed to protect women, pushed them further into low-paying jobs. Women were protected to such an extent that they were pushed back into their homes.

The 1920's gave women a new role to play--that of wife-companion. Margaret Sanger, birth control exponent, believed that poverty could be alleviated by reducing

family size. Although rebuffed in her efforts to gain public support, Sanger had a great influence on the private lives of upper and middle-class women. What had begun as a reform movement for the poor proved to be a boon for upper classes. Women could now have better control of their bodies and their lives. Glamour, exercise and child-rearing took on added importance, and the focus for living centered around the home and marriage. However, this period was short-lived, for 1929 brought the Great Depression when most women were affected by poverty. The effects of a depressed economy lasted until the United States began to manufacture war goods in the late 1930's.

World War II brought still another change to women's roles. With men at war and war supplies in demand, women were encouraged to work in factories. Jobs were plentiful and women received good wages. Twenty-five percent of the American women worked at this time, but of these, fifty percent were single. With the war's end men needed jobs, and women were relegated to the home once more. Traditional occupational patterns resumed. For the majority of women home and child-rearing became the focus of life. A suburban home was thought to be the ideal environment in which to fulfill this

role. Between 1950 and 1960 nearly two-thirds of the increase in population in the United States took place in the suburbs. (Rothman, 1978) The intense concern for the quality of family life limited women's aspirations. Once again she became wife-companion whose sphere of interest was family and home. For all the rewards and personal satisfactions that the suburbs promised, many women found loneliness and isolation. Betty Friedan, in 1963, wrote The Feminine Mystique, which disspelled the illusion of the "American dream." Suburban women tied to housework, Parent-Teacher Associations, and endless chauffeuring were dissatisfied. Having no significant outlet for their own abilities, they relied on the achievements of their spouses and children for fulfillment. For college-educated women this proved inadequate.

The notion of "woman as person" filtered through American society at a time when the civil rights movement was in full swing. In 1961, President John F. Kennedy called a conference on women's rights to explore what could be done to improve the status of women. Some of the changes in society which produced a resurgence in feminism at this time were a lower birth rate, later marriages, and an awareness and appreciation of female

sexuality.

Perhaps the most significant incident to change the status of women was the passage, in 1964, of amendments to the Civil Rights Act. These amendments declared that a person could not be discriminated against in employment by reason of race, religion, and sex. The inclusion of the sex clause was a fluke. A Southern senator, Howard Smith, hoping to hinder passage of the bill, had added the sex discrimination amendment. Much to his and his fellow congressmen's surprise, the bill was passed. Through the passage of this bill, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) was established. This body became the enforcing agency of the Civil Rights Bill. However, the Commission was more concerned with equal opportunities for blacks than for women.

Feminists turned to the Citizens Advisory Council on the Status of Women for support. Nevertheless, at its third annual council, in 1966, the Council refused to allow a public resolution demanding that EEOC treat sexual discrimination as racial discrimination. Members of the Council were from traditional women's organizations, and although they did not support discrimination against women, they wanted to proceed slowly through accepted channels. In 1966, when EEOC refused to act

on sex discrimination, a group of feminists decided to establish their own association, the National Organization for Women (NOW), the first female civil rights organization. In 1972, the Equal Employment Act expanded EEOC's formal powers to cover more than seventy-five percent of the work force.

Occasional successes, such as the American Telephone and Telegraph Corporation's agreement for affirmative action, following a four-million-dollar lawsuit, show that litigation can result in better employment opportunities for women. A look at present wage statistics shows that women still have a long way to go.

The participation rate of women in the labor force has teadily increased since the beginning of World War II. (Chart 4) Over the past twenty years it has risen from thirty-seven percent to fifty percent. Many of the entrants, as well as re-entrants, to the labor force must often accept relatively low-paying jobs which tend to pull down their average earnings. Women are clearly over-represented among those workers whose earnings are low. In 1977, women earned only fifty-nine cents for every dollar earned by men, compared with sixty-four cents in 1955. (Chart 5) Nearly two-thirds of all women in the labor force in 1978 were single, widowed,

divorced or separated or had husbands whose earnings were less than ten thousand dollars per year. The number of working mothers has increased more than ten-fold since the period immediately preceding World War II. Fifty-three percent of all mothers with children were in the labor force in 1978. (Chart 6) The majority of women work because of economic need.

The more education a woman has, the greater the likelihood she will seek paid employment. Among women with four or more years of college, approximately, three out of five are in the labor force. The educational background of workers often determines not only the type of job but also the level at which they enter employment. Statistics for 1977 show women with four years of college had lower incomes than men who had completed only the eighth grade. (Chart 7)

As more women become aware of the inequalities they experience, they begin to question their place in society, understanding that men have assigned them roles which they might not have chosen for themselves. Women's relationship to males in society is one of subordination. Subservience to males results in a caste-like system in which the dominant group develops rules governing the behavior of the subordinants. (Miller, 1976) The

CHART 4. Civilian Labor Force, by Sex, and Age, 1947-77.

(In thousands)

Item	Total, 16 years and over	16 and 17 years	18 and 19 years	20 to 24 years	25 to 34 years	35 to 44 years	45 to 54 years	55 to 64 years	65 years and over
MALES									
1947	42,686	1,106	1,382	4,629	10,207	9,492	7,847	5,647	2,376
1948	43,286	1,109	1,491	4,674	10,327	9,596	7,942	5,764	2,384
1949	43,498	1,056	1,421	4,681	10,410	9,722	8,008	5,748	2,454
1950	43,819	1,047	1,457	4,632	10,527	9,793	8,117	5,794	2,454
1951	43,001	1,080	1,266	3,935	10,375	9,798	8,204	5,874	2,469
1952	42,869	1,101	1,210	3,338	10,585	9,945	8,326	5,950	2,415
1953[2]	43,633	1,070	1,249	3,054	10,737	10,436	8,570	5,974	2,544
1954	43,965	1,024	1,273	3,052	10,772	10,513	8,703	6,105	2,525
1955	44,475	1,070	1,299	3,221	10,805	10,595	8,839	6,122	2,526
1956	45,091	1,142	1,292	3,485	10,685	10,663	9,002	6,220	2,603
1957	45,197	1,127	1,290	3,626	10,571	10,731	9,153	6,222	2,478
1958	45,521	1,133	1,295	3,771	10,475	10,843	9,320	6,304	2,379
1959	45,886	1,207	1,391	3,940	10,346	10,899	9,437	6,345	2,322
1960[2]	46,388	1,290	1,496	4,123	10,252	10,967	9,574	6,400	2,287
1961	46,653	1,210	1,583	4,255	10,176	11,012	9,667	6,530	2,220
1962[2]	46,600	1,177	1,592	4,279	9,921	11,115	9,715	6,560	2,241
1963	47,129	1,321	1,586	4,514	9,875	11,187	9,836	6,674	2,135
1964	47,679	1,498	1,576	4,754	9,875	11,155	9,956	6,740	2,123
1965	48,255	1,531	1,866	4,894	9,902	11,121	10,045	6,763	2,131
1966	48,471	1,610	2,074	4,820	9,948	10,983	10,100	6,847	2,089
1967	48,987	1,658	1,976	5,043	10,207	10,860	10,189	6,938	2,118
1968	49,533	1,687	1,994	5,070	10,610	10,725	10,267	7,025	2,150
1969	50,221	1,770	2,101	5,282	10,940	10,556	10,343	7,058	2,174
1970	51,195	1,808	2,197	5,709	11,311	10,464	10,417	7,124	2,164
1971	52,021	1,850	2,311	6,194	11,653	10,322	10,457	7,146	2,089
1972[2]	53,265	1,944	2,513	6,695	12,207	10,324	10,422	7,138	2,022
1973[2]	54,203	2,058	2,607	7,080	12,848	10,270	10,431	7,003	1,908
1974	55,186	2,117	2,706	7,252	13,393	10,312	10,451	7,030	1,925
1975	55,615	2,039	2,721	7,398	13,854	10,288	10,426	6,982	1,906
1976	56,359	2,037	2,795	7,666	14,383	10,369	10,322	6,971	1,816
1977	57,449	2,118	2,867	7,877	14,887	10,619	10,192	7,043	1,845
FEMALES									
1947	16,664	643	1,192	2,716	3,740	3,676	2,731	1,522	445
1948	17,335	671	1,164	2,719	3,932	3,800	2,972	1,565	514
1949	17,788	648	1,163	2,659	3,997	3,989	3,099	1,678	556
1950	18,389	611	1,101	2,675	4,092	4,161	3,327	1,839	584
1951	19,016	662	1,095	2,659	4,292	4,301	3,534	1,923	551
1952	19,269	706	1,046	2,502	4,320	4,438	3,636	2,032	590
1953[2]	19,382	656	1,050	2,428	4,162	4,662	3,680	2,048	693
1954	19,678	620	1,062	2,424	4,212	4,709	3,822	2,164	666
1955	20,548	641	1,083	2,445	4,251	4,805	4,154	2,391	780
1956	21,461	736	1,127	2,455	4,276	5,031	4,405	2,610	821
1957	21,732	716	1,144	2,442	4,255	5,116	4,615	2,631	813
1958	22,118	685	1,147	2,500	4,193	5,185	4,859	2,727	822
1959	22,483	765	1,131	2,473	4,089	5,227	5,081	2,883	836
1960[2]	23,240	805	1,250	2,580	4,131	5,303	5,278	2,986	907
1961	23,806	774	1,368	2,697	4,143	5,389	5,403	3,105	926
1962[2]	24,014	742	1,405	2,802	4,103	5,474	5,381	3,198	911
1963	24,704	850	1,381	2,959	4,174	5,600	5,503	3,332	905
1964	25,412	950	1,364	3,210	4,180	5,614	5,680	3,447	966
1965	26,200	954	1,559	3,364	4,329	5,720	5,712	3,587	976
1966	27,299	1,054	1,819	3,589	4,508	5,756	5,883	3,727	963
1967	28,360	1,076	1,811	3,967	4,848	5,844	5,984	3,855	978
1968	29,204	1,130	1,808	4,235	5,098	5,865	6,131	3,938	999
1969	30,512	1,240	1,860	4,597	5,395	5,901	6,386	4,077	1,056
1970	31,520	1,324	1,917	4,874	5,698	5,967	6,531	4,153	1,056
1971	32,091	1,331	1,961	5,071	5,933	5,954	6,569	4,215	1,057
1972[2]	33,277	1,454	2,112	5,315	6,518	6,022	6,548	4,224	1,085
1973[2]	34,510	1,578	2,219	5,592	7,186	6,146	6,556	4,179	1,054
1974	35,825	1,654	2,335	5,832	7,814	6,351	6,686	4,157	996
1975	36,998	1,652	2,387	6,069	8,456	6,493	6,665	4,244	1,033
1976	38,414	1,672	2,466	6,280	9,160	6,800	6,669	4,308	1,058
1977	39,952	1,734	2,533	6,556	9,848	7,152	6,697	4,367	1,065

Source: United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1979

CHART 5.

Comparison of Median Earnings of Year-Round Full-Time Workers, by Sex, 1955-1977

(Persons 14 years of age and over)

Year	Median earnings: Women (1)	Median earnings: Men (2)	Earnings gap in dollars (3)	Women's earnings as a percent of men's (4)	Percent men's earnings exceeded women's (5)	Earnings gap in constant 1967 dollars (6)
1977	$8,618	$14,626	$6,008	58.9	69.7	$3,310
1976	8,099	13,455	5,356	60.2	66.1	3,141
1975	7,504	12,758	5,254	58.8	70.0	3,259
1974	6,772	11,835	5,063	57.2	74.8	3,433
1973	6,335	11,186	4,851	56.6	76.6	3,649
1972	5,903	10,202	4,299	57.9	72.8	3,435
1971	5,593	9,399	3,806	59.5	68.0	3,136
1970	5,323	8,966	3,643	59.4	68.4	3,133
1969	4,977	8,227	3,250	60.5	65.3	2,961
1968	4,457	7,664	3,207	58.2	72.0	3,079
1967	4,150	7,182	3,032	57.8	73.1	3,032
1966	3,973	6,848	2,875	58.0	72.4	2,958
1965	3,823	6,375	2,552	60.0	66.8	2,700
1964	3,690	6,195	2,505	59.6	67.9	2,696
1963	3,561	5,978	2,417	59.6	67.9	2,637
1962	3,446	5,974	2,528	59.5	73.4	2,790
1961	3,351	5,644	2,293	59.4	68.4	2,559
1960	3,293	5,417	2,124	60.8	64.5	2,394
1959	3,193	5,209	2,016	61.3	63.1	2,308
1958	3,102	4,927	1,825	63.0	58.8	2,108
1957	3,008	4,713	1,705	63.8	56.7	2,023
1956	2,827	4,466	1,639	63.3	58.0	2,014
1955	2,719	4,252	1,533	63.9	56.4	1,911

Notes: For 1967-77, data include wage and salary income and earnings from self-employment; for 1955-66, data include wage and salary income only.

Column 3 = column 2 minus column 1.
Column 4 = column 1 divided by column 2.
Column 5 = column 2 minus column 1, divided by column 1.
Column 6 = column 3 times the purchasing power of the consumer dollar (1967 = $1.00).

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: "Money Income of Families and Persons in the United States," Current Population Reports, 1957 to 1977. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics: Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1977.

CHART 6.

Labor force status of divorced, separated, widowed or never-married women and men maintaining families, by presence and age of own children under 18, March 1970 and March 1979

Presence and age of children 1/	March 1970			March 1979		
	Population	Labor force	Labor force participation rate	Population	Labor force	Labor force participation rate
Women maintaining families	5,573	2,950	52.9	8,456	5,033	59.5
With children under 18 years	2,924	1,736	59.4	5,288	3,486	65.9
With childern 6-17 years	1,813	1,215	67.0	3,362	2,406	71.6
With children under 6 years	1,111	521	46.9	1,926	1,080	56.1
With no children under 18	2,649	1,214	45.8	3,168	1,547	48.8
Men 2/ maintaining families	1,239	893	72.1	1,654	1,218	74.2
With children under 18 years	333	304	91.3	569	496	87.1
With children 6-17 years	262	237	90.5	435	375	86.2
With children under 6 years	71	67	3/	134	121	90.3
With no children under 18	906	589	65.0	1,085	722	66.5

1/ Children are defined as "own" children of husband-wife families or of women or men maintaining families. Included are never-married sons, daughters, step children , and adopted children. Excluded are other related children such as grandchildren, nieces, nephews, cousins, and unrelated children.
2/ Includes a few male members of the Armed Forces living off post or with their families on post.
3/ Percent not shown where base is less than 75,000.

NOTE: Due to rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

Source: United States Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1979.

Comparison of Median Income of Year-Round Full-Time Workers, by Educational Attainment and Sex, 1977

(Persons 25 years of age and over)

Years of school completed	Median income		Income gap in dollars	Women's income as a percent of men's	Percent men's income exceeded women's	Marginal dollar value of increased educational attainment	
	Women (1)	Men (2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	Women (6)	Men (7)
Elementary school							
Less than 8 years	$6,074	$9,419	$3,345	64.5	55.1	--	--
8 years	6,564	12,083	5,519	54.3	84.1	$490	$2,664
High school							
1 to 3 years	7,387	13,120	5,733	56.3	77.6	823	1,037
4 years	8,894	15,434	6,540	57.6	73.5	1,507	2,314
College							
1 to 3 years	10,157	16,235	6,078	62.6	59.8	1,263	801
4 years	11,609	19,603	7,998	59.2	68.9	1,448	3,368
5 years or more	14,338	21,941	7,603	65.3	53.0	2,733	2,338

Notes: Column 3 = column 2 minus column 1.
Column 4 = column 1 divided by column 2.
Column 5 = column 2 minus column 1, divided by column 1.
Columns 6 and 7 = absolute (median) dollar difference between successive years of school completed.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: Current Population Reports, P-60, No. 118.

accepted psychoanalytical doctrines of Sigmund Freud, Bruno Bettelheim, and Erik Erikson that women have a biological need to become mothers has been challenged. (Rothman, 1978) Present psychologists dispelled these theories through research projects which show that women are conditioned to their role of wife and mother, rather than having inherent biological qualities which determine their choices.

Rather than making knowledgeable choices, women are guided by the conditioning that results from their socialization as children. Mirra Komarsky, as early as 1946, saw the existence of roles for women which were mutually exclusive. One of these roles she called "feminine." Here women are defined as passive, glamorous, and emotional. The other and more recent role she named "modern." It demanded that women possess the same virtues as men; ability, intelligence and shrewdness. Women were expected to play both roles as the situation demanded. As a schoolgirl, she could be competitive with males but must put aside this quality as she approached marriageable age.

Research in the late 1960's and '70's further substantiates the existence of role-conflict, or "fear of success," as described by Matina Horner (1968,1970,'72),

Hoffman (1965,1971), and Burdick (1971), Rossi (1966), and Bardwick and Douvan (1971), who call this role-conflict ambivalence. They saw middle-class girls reared with a dual self-concept. As young girls they were taught to be independent, competitive, and verbally aggressive, but in adolescence and the onset of dating, they were expected to shed that role. They now were to become passive and less independent in order to secure marriage, home, family, and affection; thus attaining the idealized state of females. With an awareness of the choices now available to them, women are losing their "fear of success."

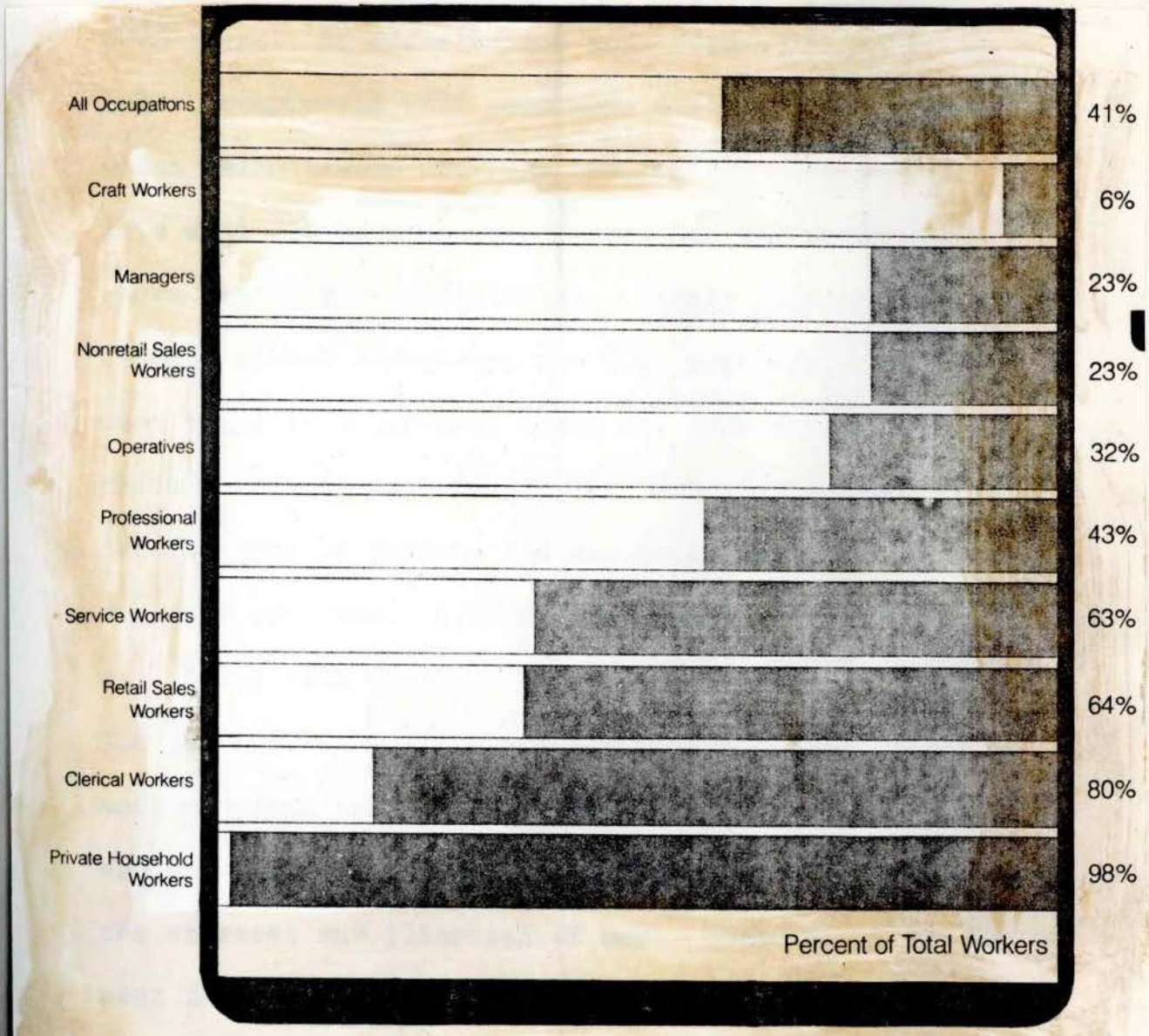
Increasingly, women are entering professions which were normally thought of as male. Attendance at law, engineering, and medical schools has climbed dramatically. In 1973 there were three and one-half times the number of women enrolled in law schools as in 1969. Medical school enrollment has doubled within the same time period. Between 1960 and 1970, the number of women accountants rose from 80,400 to 183,000. The number of engineers climbed from 7,000 in 1969 to 19,000 in 1973. Increases are evident in most fields, but a rigid sense of what constitutes women's work still dominates in the work force. Women are making gains in securing

traditional male jobs as miners, construction workers, and repair persons where they can command higher wages. However, women continue to dominate the low-paying clerical and service areas. (Chart 8)

For middle-aged women, the effects of the Women's Movement have shown positive results. Given the opportunity to develop new careers in their mid-life, they are debunking some old myths about women. The "empty next syndrome," resulting from role loss as children leave home, is not psychologically debilitating as reported earlier. (Harkins, 1978) Depression in middle-aged women has decreased. A repeat of the Midtown Manhattan Study of 1954 shows women forty to forty-nine having less depression (eight percent) as compared to the same age group tested earlier (twenty-one percent). However, for women in their thirties, the incidence of depression has risen from twenty-three percent in 1962 to thirty percent in 1974. (Bird, 1978)

CHART 8.

Distribution of Women in the Total Work Force



Source: Prepared by the Women's Bureau, Office of the Secretary, from 1978 annual averages data published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor.

August 1979

Younger women seem torn by so many choices. In an attempt to combine career and family, they suffer from the "superwoman syndrome," attempting to excel in both areas. As women become more secure in their new roles, compromise will come more easily. Career women often relinquished marriage and family. Hopefully, this will not be necessary. Both men and women can share family responsibilities. Family life then becomes a richer experience for both partners. Employers must begin to understand these new life styles and gear their expectations accordingly. Allowing women postnatal leaves of absence and men paternity time are newly designed programs. Allowing two women to share one job will bring both employee satisfaction and dedication. The job must take its place along with demands for a more complete family life. Women will not have gained anything if, in the pursuit of equality, they develop the stresses and illnesses of men. (Dudman, 1980) The most far-reaching value of Women's Liberation Movement would be liberation for both sexes from total absorption in employment at the expense of family life.

Changes in Volunteerism

When Alvin Toeffler wrote Future Shock in 1970, he noted that Americans were experiencing change so

quickly they were unable to integrate these changes and suffered psychologically from their effects. Societal change has picked up momentum since that time, proving that change has, indeed, become the one constant factor in our lives. Change is not confined to one aspect of society but permeates it, necessitating adjustments.

Perhaps a great part of change today can be attributed to inflation. The rate of inflation in the United States has increased steadily since 1970. The year 1979 showed a 13.3 percent increase in the cost of living, the highest rate recorded for the past thirty-three years. (United States Department of Labor) (Chart 9)

CHART 9

10-Year Breakdown of Inflation Rates

1970	5.5 pct.
1971	3.4 pct.
1972	3.4 pct.
1973	8.8 pct.
1974	12.2 pct.
1975	7.0 pct.
1976	4.8 pct.
1977	6.8 pct.
1978	9.0 pct.
1979	13.3 pct.

Source: St. Louis Post-Dispatch, January 18, 1980.

As families find they need additional income to maintain their standard of living, more women enter the labor market. According to the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, fifty-nine percent of all women eighteen through sixty-four were working in 1978, and women accounted for three-fifths of the total increase in the civilian labor force in the last decade: thirteen million women compared with nine million men. As of March 1979, 5.5 million wives had entered the labor force since 1969. Further, 16.4 million of the women presently employed are either divorced, widowed, or have never married. Nearly two-thirds of the women in the labor force work to support themselves and their families or to supplement low family income. (Chart 10) Likewise, since 1970, the number of families headed by women has increased thirty-two percent. This leaves only seventeen percent of all United States households in which women are full-time homemakers, whose husbands are employed, and who have one or more children living in the home. (U. D. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau) Since women constituted fifty-three percent of the total number of volunteers in 1974, according to the Census Bureau survey conducted for ACTION, a change in the traditional volunteer pool should have occurred in the past six years.

CHART 10

The marital status of women workers in March 1978 was as follows:

Marital status	All women		Women of minority races	
	Number	Percent distribution	Number	Percent distribution
Total	40,971,000	100.0	5,556,000	100.0
Never married	10,222,000	24.9	1,610,000	29.0
Married (husband present)	22,789,000	55.6	2,357,000	42.4
Husband's 1977 income:				
Under $7,000	4,082,000	10.0	691,000	12.4
$7,000 to $9,999	3,088,000	7.5	446,000	8.0
$10,000 to $12,999	3,904,000	9.5	429,000	7.7
$13,000 to $14,999	2,213,000	5.4	184,000	3.3
$15,000 to $19,999	4,872,000	11.9	375,000	6.7
$20,000 and over	4,630,000	11.3	232,000	4.2
Other marital status	7,960,000	19.4	1,589,000	28.6
Married (husband absent)	1,802,000	4.4	635,000	11.4
Widowed	2,269,000	5.5	357,000	6.4
Divorced	3,888,000	9.5	597,000	10.7

Source: U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports.

In every major city in the United States, there exists a body of voluntary associations who function, at least in part, through the services of their volunteers. Further, they rely on voluntary contributions for some, if not all, of their budgets. More and more they feel the effects of an inflated economy. In spite of increased contributions from the private sector in 1978, agencies faced staff and program cutbacks in 1979 because of rising operating costs. Economists believe

that double digit inflation will continue through, at least, 1980. For voluntary organizations that means a reduction in service will be necessary unless there is heavier reliance on volunteers.

Traditionally, voluntary associations could look to women, particularly those of the upper and middle class, to supplement their reduced budget. In the past, volunteering offered women an important outlet for their talents while fulfilling their sense of social responsibility. Through volunteerism, women could gain status, experience a sense of accomplishment, achieve personal growth and be involved in the process of change. Socialized to believe that their primary responsibility was to home and family, many women were not interested in paid employment. The traditional employment patterns of business and industry required women to work full-time. Thus, they were faced with an all or nothing choice. Women then chose volunteering for self-fulfillment.

Today, pressured by economic needs and bolstered by a more positive self image, women seek paid employment. In our economic system, a person's power and status are measured monitarily. Women want that kind of recognition, too.

Further, women are more highly educated. As was shown earlier, the greater the level of education, the greater the likelihood a woman will seek paid employment. Among women with four or more years of college, approximately three out of five are employed. (U. S. Department of Labor, 1979) Increasingly, women are entering highly-skilled professions, such as medicine, law, and engineering. For them, traditional volunteer jobs hold little interest.

Increased female participation in paid employment is frequently the result of changes in family lifestyles. These changes give rise to new demands for service. Due to the increased divorce rate, single-parent families in the past ten years has risen thirty-two percent. (Census Bureau, 1979) In addition, the high mobility of American society often forces nuclear families, as well as single-parent ones, to leave their extended families upon whom they had generally relied in past years. Parents must, therefore, look to the community to provide day-care centers, pre-schools, and extended day programs to care for children while parents work. These needs are not confined to the young child, for children through the early teens, as well, need constructive activities after school and during summer vacation. Likewise, traditional

values, long the norm by which children were reared, have come into question. Whether the cause is divorce, working mothers, or a lessening of family controls, we are facing a variety of family-related problems, and society must bear the consequences.

The growing elderly population presents another bundle of problems. Presently, fifteen percent of the population is elderly, and that percentage should increase to twenty-five percent by the year 2000. As people live into their eighties, they require supportive services, such as friendly home visitors, shopping assistance, and meals-on-wheels, to help maintain an independent lifestyle rather than resorting to nursing home care. Many elderly choose to live alone instead of with children. Women in past generations provided home care for their aging parents. With increased female employment, this lifestyle has diminished. For those working children who do share their homes with aged parents, supportive services are necessary. Recently, the federal government appropriated funds for pilot day-service programs for the elderly. These programs provide a protective environment during daytime hours for frail and/or disoriented senior adults, returning them to their homes at night. Programs of this

nature are costly and require high fees, beyond the means of most elderly. Therefore, in spite of governmental support, substantial volunteer assistance is needed.

Government is re-evaluating its priorities. In the past two months, the United States government has become more concerned with the precarious world situation. With the invasion of Afghanistan by Soviet Russia, Congress, as well as the general population, will, in all likelihood, agree more readily to increased defense spending. The proposed 1981 defense budget is $159 billion, a rise of 5.4 percent, after inflation adjustments. Long-range defense planning calls for increased budget allocations to prepare the country for emergency situations. (Nielson, Martin, et al., 1980) During the years of detente, money was budgeted for social service programs. The elderly became top priority in the seventies, along with education for handicapped children, job training for the poor, and medical research. When the country feels threatened, priorities change. However, Americans have become accustomed to a high standard of living. We assume it to be a right rather than a privilege.

An increase in the number of groups demanding their

share of the "good life" has led to change within our society. Minority groups are more vocal in demanding that their particular needs be met. These needs, although rightfully demanded, have placed an added burden on available social services. Physically handicapped individuals want specially-constructed living quarters and transportation facilities so they can become more useful members of the community. Special education and protected group homes are among improved services for mentally handicapped persons. Job training, better housing, and good medical care are demanded by the poor. In spite of government support, help must come from the voluntary sector as well. Experts from specialized fields, such as law, business, and medicine, are needed to help initiate these changes. Trained volunteers are also needed to act as paraprofessionals, extending the scope of social service.

Refugees are streaming into this country from Russia, Viet Nam, and Cambodia. These people require subsidized income, English classes, and a variety of other services to help them adjust to their new homeland. In St. Louis alone, seven hundred new American Jews from Soviet Russia have been integrated into the community, and another 250 are expected by the middle

of 1980. The Jewish Federation not only provides initial housing, income, and classes in English, but also collaborates with a number of other agencies who develop social programs, find jobs, and give counseling when necessary. Volunteers extend the services available by acting as host families, shoppers who outfit the first apartments, interpreters, and liaisons between immigrants and agencies.

As Americans face a deepening energy crisis, they have come to recognize the value of another set of interest groups--environmentalists. The need to conserve resources and clean up the environment has brought support from other segments of the population. Volunteers who lobby for change in the use of natural resources and for enforcement of existing laws protecting those resources are the guardians of our physical world who goad the government into action. Advocacy has become their tool, and through it, change is initiated.

For the past 150 years, our society has functioned as a technological-industrial entity. The trend today is toward a "post-industrial" age wherein the bulk of the labor force will be engaged in human service rather than industrial production. Problems will develop as the society moves away from primarily producing things

toward greater delivery of human services and more prudent use of natural resources. Corporations whose goals are "only in partial alignment with those of the overall system" will need to alter their business practices. (Harmen, 1978) Some are presently participating with non-profit agencies by means other than foundation grants. They offer employees time away from their jobs to participate in fund-raising drives and encourage their top executives to serve on agency boards. Some large corporations employ community liaison personnel to improve their image by helping serve the area in which they are located.

Just as business has shown more interest in community service, so has government. The federal government, through regulation of voluntary agencies in matters concerning tax-free status, accountability, and appropriation of lobbying dollars, has wide powers. With the establishment of ACTION, a federal agency which coordinates all government-related volunteer programs, the federal government has become influential in the direction taken by the voluntary sector. ACTION sponsors the Peace Corps, Retired Senior Volunteer Program (RSVP), Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), Senior Companion Program (SPC), and other programs

which operate on a local level. Most of these programs are administered by non-profit agencies. By supplying out-of-pocket expenses, transportation, and insurance, government has an advantage over independent agencies, who can hardly meet their basic operating expenses, much less provide volunteers with expense money. Nevertheless, some voluntary organizations prefer their autonomy rather than close supervision by government. The federal system has become, in effect, a competitor for volunteers.

Government grants and program subsidies provide another source of control. They can choose not only the sponsoring agency, but also place regulations so stringent that a program is doomed from the start. The heavy burden created by government regulation is exemplified by day-care specifications. By establishing rules for class size, space per child, and teacher-child ratio, the state and federal government can force many day-care centers out of existence. In many cases, a lesser amount of personnel could still provide adequate, if not ideal, care. The lack of day-care centers forces working parents to rely on make-shift baby-sitting. In this way, blanket restrictions often result in more harm than good. Voluntary agencies, staffed by caring

individuals, could provide a necessary service, even though it might be below government standards. I do not mean to imply that substandard conditions are desirable, but I do believe that less is better than none. Our goals should still be toward the best care possible, but those goals should be realistic and tailored to the circumstances. Administrators far removed from the actualities of the situation are hardly the people to make life or death decisions for these programs.

We live in a large and impersonal environment. Our bureaucratic system makes change more difficult to accept because the decisions are made, not by the people most directly affected by them, but by those in power. The system of town meetings, so praised by Alexis de Tocqueville in 1848, is an impossibility in today's complex world. Therefore, intermediary bodies, like voluntary agencies, can bridge the gap between the very big, government and big business, and the very small, the individual and the family. For example, when a large policy-making body, such as a school district, decides on changes unpopular with parents within the district, the mediating body, in this case the Parent-Teacher Association, can collectively represent the parents' views. The mediating body, or voluntary

association, serves two functions, viz., giving institutional support to private lives and bringing their views to the policy-making body. (Berger, 1976)

Volunteerism has been an important force in America. The foregoing discussion demonstrates that volunteers will be crucial to our society in these changing and difficult times. Through my work as a volunteer director, and in my association with others in this field, I found the need greater than the supply. There has been a growing interest in developing volunteer departments in voluntary agencies. A collection of professional literature on volunteerism has developed in the past few years, further illustrating the widespread interest in this field. However, the discussions and seminars are often at variance with the published literature. The literature quotes statistics based on the ACTION survey conducted six years ago. Since women constituted the majority of volunteers in that study, I question that volunteerism is still on the rise. In the past six years, women's goals and attitudes are changing. Increasingly, women I know to have been dedicated volunteers are returning to school and paid employment, forsaking volunteerism.

SURVEY OF MIDDLE-CLASS JEWISH WOMEN

Methodology

In order to understand more clearly the current attitudes toward volunteerism, the employment and educational goals of women, and future trends in volunteerism, I chose to survey a group of adult Jewish women in the St. Louis area. Two separate questionnaires were distributed: one, a volunteer questionnaire, to female board members of five non-profit organizations; and a second, general questionnaire, to Jewish women not known to participate on these boards. The volunteer questionnaire was designed to elicit a more specific volunteer history, while the general questionnaire, of a similar form, did not suppose a volunteer history by the participant.

Women were chosen for the survey in three ways. Female board members of five Jewish organizations were chosen as the first group. They were selected because they were known volunteers who had achieved leadership positions within their own organizations. The second group consisted of members of three female exercise classes at the Jewish Community Centers Association. Two daytime classes were chosen because they were assumed to have daytime flexibility similar to the board members of the organizations. The evening class was

thought to include women who might not have daytime flexibility and might, therefore, possess different attitudes from either the daytime classes or the board members. Finally, twenty questionnaires were given to women known to the interviewer who met the following criteria: they were Jewish, not involved in leadership roles in any major Jewish organization, and seemed to typify women who would volunteer.

One hundred twenty-three volunteer questionnaires were distributed by the interviewer at board meetings for the larger groups and by mail for the two smaller boards. Seventy-nine questionnaires were returned--a remarkable sixty-three percent response. The distribution is shown on the chart below.

CHART 11

Distribution of Questionnaire

GROUP	NUMBER SENT	NUMBER RETURNED	PERCENT RETURNED
Hadassah	40	32	80
JCCA	10	6	60
CAJE	13	4	31
Shaare Zedek Sisterhood	26	15	58
National Council Jewish Women	34	22	65
Total	123	79	63 AVERAGE

My choice of these five groups was guided by the desire to represent a cross section of Jewish

organizations. The three women's groups represent three distinct directions for volunteerism, viz., Israel, religion, and the secular community. They all were Jewish in orientation and some overlapping of membership occurred, but their main focus was centered in one area. Both Central Agency for Jewish Education and Jewish Community Centers Association include mixed boards of men and women; the former concerned solely with Jewish education, the latter with offering numerous activities in a Jewish environment.

All the organizations for the volunteer questionnaire were well-established in the St. Louis Jewish community. The organizations chosen were as follows:

1) St. Louis Chapter of Hadassah--The local section of a national women's organization whose focus is Israel. Hadassah was organized in 1912 by Henrietta Szold to bring medicine and nurses to Israel. Their activities now include youth programs, fund-raising, support of medical centers, and educational programs to further public awareness about Israel. As part of the International Women's Zionist Movement, Hadassah has 300,000 members in 1,372 chapters throughout the United States. The St. Louis Chapter has 3,400 members in nine separate groups. It is a totally volunteer group with only a

skeleton professional staff at the New York Headquarters.

2) St. Louis National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW)--The local council of an all-female organization whose emphasis is volunteering in the community at large, as well as the Jewish community. Members are involved in a variety of local projects which include juvenile justice, service for the elderly, volunteer training, and victim counseling. Founded in 1890, the National Council of Jewish Women was the first organization to offer training programs for volunteers. Operated totally by volunteers, the National Council of Jewish Women has 275 members in St. Louis.

3) Shaare Zedek Sisterhood--The female auxiliary (a counterpart to the men's group) of Shaare Zedek Synagogue, whose focus of activities is on fund-raising, education, support of youth projects, and general volunteering for synagogue projects. The synagogue is seventy-five years old, and the sisterhood is believed to be seventy. There are 384 members in this organization.

4) Central Agency for Jewish Education (CAJE)--A mixed board of men and women whose purpose is to develop Jewish educational programs for juveniles, youth, and adults in the St. Louis area. The board establishes guidelines for a professional staff to implement. This

agency was formed ten years ago after the demise of a similar, older organization. It has a director, a full-time professional staff to supervise teachers and to develop programs, and a secretarial staff.

5) Jewish Community Centers Association (JCCA)--A mixed board of men and women, who, along with a large network of committees, establish policy for a 13,000-member agency. The JCCA, formerly the YM/YWHA, was established in 1879 for "educational, scientific, and social purposes, and the protection of Hebrew interests." It has a paid staff of approximately one hundred-thirty persons in ten departments, giving service in areas ranging from pre-school, to summer camps, family service, cultural arts, physical education, and service for the elderly.

Questionnaires were sent only to female members of the latter two groups.

The exercise classes were chosen on the assumption that they would represent a cross section of middle-class Jewish women in the community. Contrary to my expectations, sixty-one percent of these women, and eighty-one percent of the board group, have incomes of thirty thousand dollars or more. Thus, this study is representative of upper-middle-class and upper-class women and is not representative of the total Jewish

community in terms of income.

Eighty-five questionnaires were distributed by the interviewer to the second group. Exercise class members were approached and asked to participate in the study. The following chart shows the distribution of each class. The chart also lists the third group (acquaintance) which consisted of twenty friends of the interviewer who were not board members of the five boards listed in the study. They will be treated as one of the classes. Of the one hundred-five women who agreed to cooperate, sixty-five (or sixty-three percent) returned the questionnaire. Each questionnaire was given with a small note explaining the project, along with a stamped, self-addressed envelope to insure that minimum effort would be involved in returning the questionnaire. The chart below illustrates the distribution of the general questionnaire.

CHART 12

Distribution of General Questionnaire

GROUP	NUMBER SENT	NUMBER RETURNED	PERCENT RETURNED
Daytime Class 1	28	21	75
Daytime Class 2	28	7	25
Evening Class	29	17	59
Acquaintance Group	20	20	100
Total	105	65	63%

The questionnaires were divided so that the first section would give information about volunteer history, educational background, employment experience, demographic information, and family responsibilities. The remaining questions were attitudinal, designed to give insight into volunteer satisfaction, expectations for future employment and education, and an analysis of the trend for volunteerism in the future. The two questionnaires were identical, except for questions one through six on the volunteer questionnaire and questions one through five on the general questionnaire, both relating to volunteer history. Questions twenty-five and twenty-nine were on the volunteer questionnaire only. Question twenty-five dealt with volunteer satisfaction and twenty-nine with the specific problems each organization faced.

The first group of questions was designed to give the volunteer history, if any, of each respondent. Board members were asked questions detailing their activities within the organization. I wanted to know what would motivate volunteers to a particular organization. The remainder of the volunteer history questions gave information by which to compare board members and exercise class members. This included the number of hours per month spent volunteering, the areas of

volunteerism, and leadership positions held.

Employment, past, present, and anticipated, was the next area of inquiry. These questions, identical for both groups, would give some indication of the effects of employment on volunteer activity. Similar questions about school attendance were asked. It was thought that returning to school would also affect a volunteer's commitment. Question number 11 asked degree of homemaker satisfaction to ascertain if volunteers preferred homemaking more than non-volunteers.

Specific demographic information was asked in the next group of questions. The information I sought was income bracket, age, marital status, educational level attained, and whether there were dependents living at home. This data would provide a basis of comparison between volunteers and non-volunteers. I wanted to know if women in higher income brackets were more prone to volunteer. Also, I sought to relate marital status, age, and level of education with degree of volunteer commitment. The existence of dependents living at home might affect volunteering.

I asked women over thirty-five to indicate their primary activities during their twenties and thirties.

From this information, I would be able to compare young women with older volunteers. This would give some insight into future patterns of volunteerism. If board members were primarily homemakers and volunteers in their young adult years, what expectations for the future did young homemakers have today?

Other questions sought information about mother's work history, and husband's preference toward work or volunteering. Home attitudes were believed to affect volunteer activity.

The final group of questions elicited attitudes toward volunteerism, which I hoped would give some indication of future trends. I hoped to determine whether these women would be more likely to seek employment, return to school, or seek satisfaction through volunteerism. I also wanted to know their opinions regarding the present attitudes of others toward volunteerism and what problems volunteer organizations encounter.

Results

The first observation from an analysis of the data was that three distinct groups were evident among the respondents. Over one-half of the exercise (plus acquaintance) group was presently doing volunteer work. Thus, the study offered the interviewer an opportunity to compare two similar groups; one volunteer and one non-volunteer. These groups could then be compared to the board-member group. Numerically, the subjects were seventy-nine board members, thirty-five general volunteers and thirty non-volunteers. For the remainder of this paper, board member volunteers will be referred to as board members and general volunteers simply as volunteers. It is acknowledged that both groups are volunteers.

One of the boards, Hadassah, had an overwhelming population of women over sixty-five. They accounted for fifty-six percent of the total group and eighteen of the twenty board members in that age category of the entire sample. This factor heavily weighted the statistics, giving results that are characteristic of an older adult population, i.e., lower income, lower employment rate, and less schooling. Therefore, I have shown the data on two separate charts; one with Hadassah

and one without. (Charts 13 and 14) In the discussion of similarities and differences between the three groups listed above, the figures quoted are without the Hadassah Board. I will discuss Hadassah in the concluding portion of this paper.

Many similarities and differences developed between the three groups. Due to the multiple ways in which the data may be compared, I will confine myself to those areas showing the greatest differences or similarities. For further comparison, please refer to the charts mentioned above.

Volunteers and board members were similar in three categories: mother's work history while rearing the respondent, husband's preference toward volunteering or employment, and marital status. Seventy-one percent of the mothers of board members and seventy-three percent of volunteers' mothers did not work while the subjects were children. Non-volunteers' mothers did not work in forty-eight percent of the responses. One could infer from this that mothers who were not employed outside of the home would be more likely to volunteer than working mothers because of time availability. These non-working mothers would then provide their daughters with a positive role model toward volunteerism. This data shows

CHART 13*

(Without Hadassah)

	Board Members n = 47	Volunteers n - 35	Non-Volunteers n - 30
Income			
under $10,000	0	1 (3%)	1 (3%)
$10-20,000	1 (2%)	5 (16%)	8 (28%)
$20-30,000	7 (17%)	5 (16%)	3 (10%)
$30-50,000	12 (29%)	12 (37%)	10 (34%)
over $50,000	22 (52%)	9 (28%)	7 (24%)
Education			
High School	17 (40%)	6 (17%)	9 (30%)
BA/BS Degree	24 (56%)	17 (49%)	17 (57%)
MA/MS Degree	1 (2%)	9 (25%)	3 (10%)
Ph.D. Degree	1 (2%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)
Age			
under 25	0	0	4 (13%)
26-39	10 (21%)	24 (69%)	14 (47%)
40-55	24 (51%)	6 (17%)	8 (27%)
56-65	10 (21%)	4 (11%)	3 (10%)
over 65	2 (4%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)
Homemaker Satisfaction			
Very	27 (57%)	14 (68%)	12 (57%)
Somewhat	10 (36%)	15 (29%)	16 (36%)
Little or None	2 (4%)	1 (3%)	2 (6%)
Dependents at Home	20 (34%)	10 (29%)	11 (41%)
Employment			
No	36 (78%)	18 (52%)	10 (34%)
Part Time	9 (20%)	12 (34%)	13 (45%)
Full Time	1 (2%)	5 (14%)	6 (21%)
Marital Status			
Married	46 (98%)	33 (94%)	20 (67%)
Single	0	0	7 (23%)
Widowed	1 (2%)	0	2 (7%)
Divorced	0	2 (6%)	1 (3%)
Mother Work			
Yes	13 (29%)	9 (27%)	13 (14%)
No	34 (71%)	24 (73%)	14 (52%)
Husband Preference			
Work	5 (9%)	9 (28%)	9 (59%)
Volunteer	11 (25%)	2 (6%)	1 (6%)
None	30 (66%)	21 (66%)	6 (35%)

*Percentages are based on total number of answers given.

CHART 14*

(With Hadassah)

	Board Members n = 99	Volunteers n - 35	Non-Volunteers n - 30
Income			
under $10,000	5 (7%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)
$10-20,000	10 (15%)	5 (16%)	8 (28%)
$20-30,000	12 (19%)	5 (16%)	3 (10%)
$30-50,000	14 (21%)	12 (37%)	10 (34%)
over $50,000	26 (38%)	9 (28%)	7 (24%)
Education			
High School	39 (52%)	6 (17%)	9 (30%)
BA/BS Degree	29 (39%)	17 (49%)	17 (57%)
MA/MS Degree	6 (8%)	9 (25%)	3 (10%)
Ph.D. Degree	1 (2%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)
Age			
under 25	0	0	4 (13%)
26-39	11 (26%)	24 (69%)	14 (47%)
40-55	28 (36%)	6 (17%)	8 (27%)
56-65	18 (23%)	4 (11%)	3 (10%)
over 65	20 (26%)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)
Homemaker Satisfaction			
Very	43 (57%)	14 (68%)	12 (57%)
Somewhat	28 (36%)	15 (29%)	16 (36%)
Little or None	5 (6%)	1 (3%)	2 (6%)
Dependents at Home	28 (34%)	10 (29%)	11 (41%)
Employment			
No	65 (83%)	18 (52%)	10 (34%)
Part Time	10 (13%)	12 (34%)	13 (45%)
Full Time	3 (4%)	5 (14%)	6 (21%)
Marital Status			
Married	61 (61%)	33 (94%)	20 (67%)
Single	3 (6%)	0	7 (23%)
Widowed	13 (29%)	0	2 (7%)
Divorced	2 (2%)	2 (6%)	1 (3%)
Mother Work			
Yes	19 (24%)	9 (28%)	13 (48%)
No	56 (76%)	24 (73%)	14 (52%)
Husband Preference			
Work	8 (13%)	9 (28%)	9 (59%)
Volunteer	14 (23%)	2 (6%)	1 (6%)
No preference	39 (64%)	21 (66%)	6 (35%)

*Percentages are based on total number of answers given.

statistical significance when the two variables are compared using the chi-square test for probability. (Bruning and Kuntz, 1977) The chi-square value is 3.91 with $p > .05$. It is, therefore, concluded that having a non-working mother and volunteering are significantly related. (Chart 15)

Board members and volunteers show that for sixty-six percent of each sample, husbands have no preference toward either their wives' employment or volunteering. Husbands of non-volunteers had no preference in thirty-five percent of the answers. All that can be postulated from this data is that husbands put no constraints on their wives' activities. The question did not reveal whether or not husbands urged their wives to do anything specific with their time.

A third similarity shows that ninety-eight and ninety-four percent of board members and volunteers, respectively, are married, compared with sixty-seven percent for non-volunteers. This data has a high statistical significance when tested for chi-square value. The result is 18.8 with a $p > .001$. Taken alone it implies little other than the fact that married women are more likely to volunteer. (Chart 16) However, when this data is viewed along with data for

CHART 15

The Relationship between Volunteerism and Women Whose Mothers Did Not Work

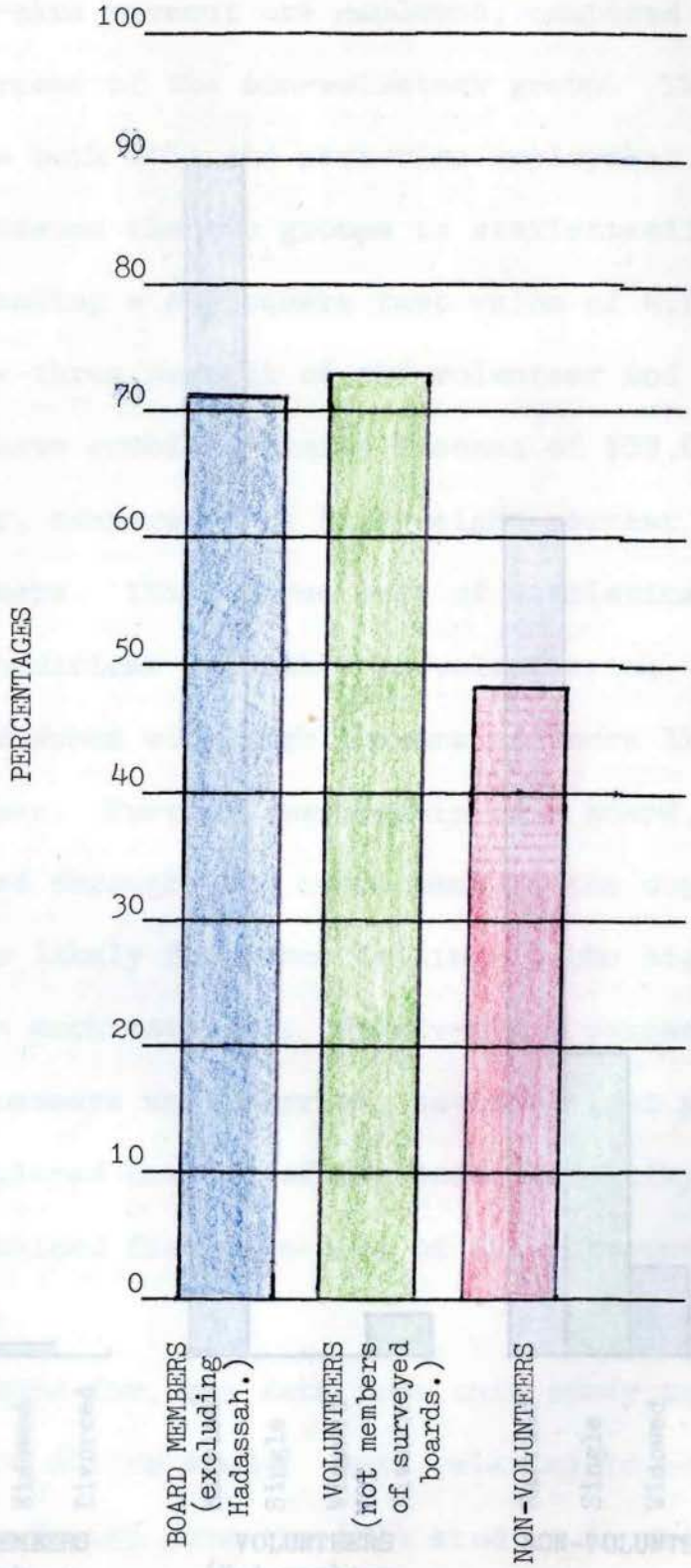
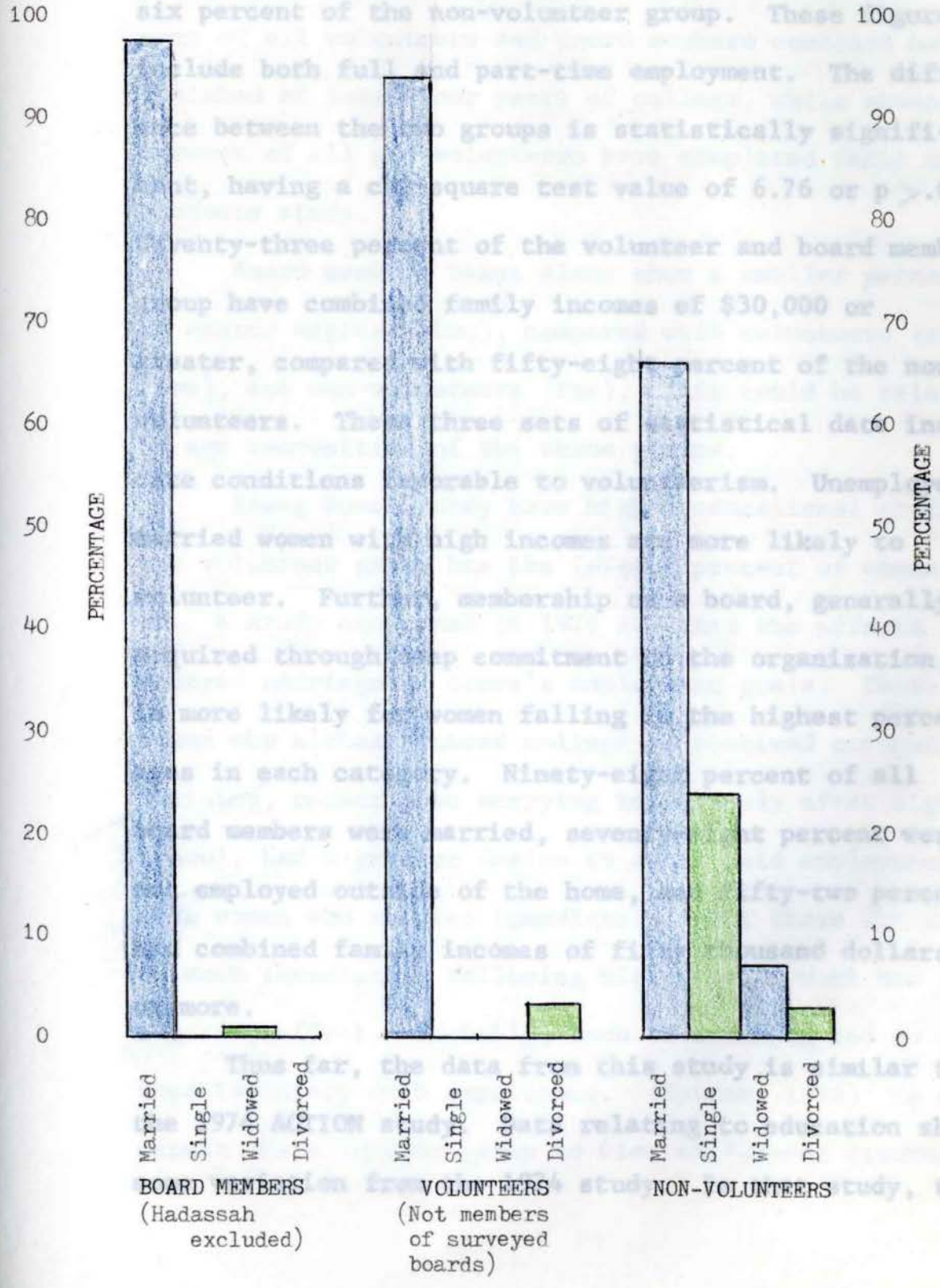


CHART 16

The Relationship of Volunteerism to Marital Status



employment and income, the significance becomes clearer. Of the group comprised of volunteers and board members, twenty-nine percent are employed, compared with sixty-six percent of the non-volunteer group. These figures include both full and part-time employment. The difference between the two groups is statistically significant, having a chi-square test value of 6.76 or $p > .01$. Seventy-three percent of the volunteer and board member group have combined family incomes of $30,000 or greater, compared with fifty-eight percent of the non-volunteers. These three sets of statistical data indicate conditions favorable to volunteerism. Unemployed married women with high incomes are more likely to volunteer. Further, membership on a board, generally acquired through deep commitment to the organization, is more likely for women falling in the highest percentages in each category. Ninety-eight percent of all board members were married, seventy-eight percent were not employed outside of the home, and fifty-two percent had combined family incomes of fifty thousand dollars or more.

Thus far, the data from this study is similar to the 1974 ACTION study. Data relating to education shows some variation from the 1974 study. In that study, those

persons with the greatest amount of education showed the highest percentage of volunteerism. In the present study, the percentage of persons with college degrees is similar for both volunteers and non-volunteers. Sixty-nine percent of all volunteers and board members combined have finished at least four years of college, while seventy percent of all non-volunteers have completed their undergraduate study.

Board members taken alone show a smaller percentage of master degrees (two), compared with volunteers (twenty-five), and non-volunteers (ten). This could be related to age composition of the three groups.

Young women today have higher educational goals and the volunteer group has the largest percent of women 25-39. A study conducted in 1978 reported the effects of delayed marriage on women's employment goals. Those women who either entered college or received occupational training, rather than marrying immediately after high school, had a greater desire to enter paid employment than women who married immediately. For those who went to work immediately following high school, work had a negative effect. Probably, lack of training led to an unsatisfactory work experience. (Spitze, 1978) We can expect the volunteer group to view employment favorably.

Age composition for each group shows the most significant differences. As would be expected, board members are older. Only twenty-one percent of them are in the twenty-six to thirty-nine category, compared with sixty-nine percent of the volunteers and forty-seven percent of the non-volunteers. Of the board member group, fifty-seven percent fell into the forty to fifty-five age category, whereas, only seventeen percent of volunteers and twenty-seven percent of the non-volunteers are in that age grouping. One should note that the volunteer group is not only younger than the non-volunteers but also more highly educated and in a higher income bracket. It should then follow that the group designated as the volunteer group would more likely assume volunteer leadership in the future. An analysis of their future expectations for employment and/or education shows that volunteerism is not a priority for them.

If we consider the twenty-five to thirty-nine-year-olds in the volunteer group, we find that fifty-two percent of those not currently employed outside the home would like to enter the job market. Adding the twelve women already employed to the seven who would like to be, we find that nineteen, or seventy-nine

percent, want jobs. Since this group shows a high educational level, it can be assumed that they are very likely to be employed in the future. (Refer to page 36 for a discussion on the relationship between education and employment.) Further, forty-six percent of this group wanted to return to school. Admittedly, this is a small sample (twenty-four), but when viewed along with present employment patterns of women, one can assume that these women will not volunteer to the extent that women have in the past.

Additional data to support this supposition is found in my survey. Board members had an average of twenty-five hours of volunteer service each month, compared to nine and one-half for the volunteers. Also, board members over thirty-five were asked to check those activities which occupied most of their time during their twenties and thirties. Their responses to the question give further support to this supposition. If we include the Hadassah group, seventy percent of all women over thirty-five were occupied with home and family at ages twenty and thirty. Volunteering occupied the second largest group of women; thirty-six percent of all those responding to the question. Employment, as a major activity, accounted for twenty-four percent, while

school accounted for only fifteen percent. Since respondents were asked to check one or more activities, and no method was indicated to give degree of importance, the interviewer had no way of determining which activity occupied the greatest percentage of time. Giving a numerical value to indicate order of importance would have given more significant results.

It was thought that homemaking satisfaction would indicate a preference between volunteer participation and employment. The results of the survey show that fifty-seven percent of both the board members and the non-volunteers found homemaking very satisfactory, compared to sixty-eight percent of the volunteers. Adding those women who found homemaking somewhat satisfying, the total jumps to ninety-three percent for the first two groups and ninety-seven for volunteers. The answers to this question shed no light on what conditions favor volunteerism, but it supported studies conducted by the University of Michigan and the National Opinion Research Center that there is no significant difference in patterns of homemaking satisfaction between women who are employed outside the home and those who are not. (Wright, 1978)

One last factor, whether or not respondents had

dependents at home, was believed to have significant bearing on volunteerism. The results show that the difference between volunteers, board members, and non-volunteers was small; twenty-nine percent, thirty-four percent and forty-one percent, respectively. No assumption can be made from these figures.

The second half of each questionnaire was devoted to attitudes and problems relating to volunteerism. Without exception, all board members cited difficulty in recruiting young women to volunteer in their organizations. Volunteers, board members, and non-volunteers blamed "burn-out" as the major cause of dropout. Need for employment and heavy demands on those who volunteer were other reasons most frequently mentioned for volunteer dropout.

Ninety percent of the non-volunteer group had volunteered sometime in their lives. When examining the kinds of volunteer service they performed, I found that thirty-nine percent were volunteers in school and child-related activities, such as Scouting, Parent-Teacher Associations and children's sports teams. As their children left the activity, the parent left, also. This information concurs with that of the 1974 ACTION study. For the volunteer group, the area of heaviest

concentration was in Jewish-related activities (forty-six percent), while school-related activities accounted for only nineteen percent. The figures indicate that these women were drawn to those organizations which had ethnic significance. Since Jewish organizations support Jewish causes and, therefore, attract women committed to Judaism, some feeling of kinship must exist among members. I would further suppose that these women found companionship and a sense of belonging in their identification with Jewish-orientated groups.

In reviewing the reasons why women choose their particular organization, I found that sixty-eight percent joined to support a cause they believed in. Thirty-three percent listed helping others as the reason. Surprisingly, only twenty-one percent joined to be with or to make friends. Seemingly, the social aspect of organizational work is not an initial reason for joining but may become one that develops as a member becomes involved.

Satisfaction for board members was fairly high: seventy-five percent derived great satisfaction, twenty-eight percent found it somewhat satisfying, and only seven percent found little satisfaction with volunteering. Since board members are volunteers who have reached

high positions in their organizations, this finding is to be expected.

Both questionnaires contained attitudinal questions concerning the present status of volunteerism and the future prospects for continued volunteer commitment. Nearly all of the board members cited recruitment as their greatest organizational problem. The majority blamed women's employment as the cause. Loss of interest or "burn-out" was given as the second most frequent reason for lack of volunteers. These observations were echoed by the volunteer and non-volunteer groups. As a volunteer director, my opinions matched theirs. However, further discussion regarding the future of volunteerism is indicated to explore other possible volunteer sources.

Discussion

The overall results of this survey confirmed observable trends in volunteerism. At the onset of this investigation, I was of the opinion that the traditional female volunteer pool was diminishing. The survey provided data to confirm this belief. Married, upper and middle-class young women with college degrees who have moderately-high incomes prefer employment to volunteering. Women have more options open to them than ever before. A working wife is no longer a sign that a husband is unable to support his family. Volunteerism does not constitute the most socially acceptable outlet for a woman's energies outside the home. Enlightenment resulting from the feminist movement has brought women a freedom of choice and a self-awareness. The result is that they are more confident to make choices they were previously unaware existed. Further, the present state of the economy, combined with societal changes, such as a high divorce rate, later childbearing, smaller families, and career aspirations, encourages women to seek paid employment.

Although the majority of women are in the work force, not all women will choose to work outside the home. Some have been socialized to want to give all

of their energy and attention to family life. In today's world, that is a decision requiring much conviction and courage. For other women, remaining in the home during their children's early years is a desirable decision. For these women, volunteerism can offer a chance to explore career options, to develop new skills, or to retain proficiency gained in an earlier career. Volunteering also offers an opportunity for socializing during a period when women are homebound. In fact, some voluntary organizations offer baby-sitting services for their volunteers. (Loeser, 1976)

Volunteerism can be a period for career development for older women. Often women decide to return to school or to work after their children are grown. They sometimes are overwhelmed by the choices facing them and by anxiety at re-entering the job market. Displaced homemakers, i.e., women who are divorced, separated, or widowed after years of devoting all their energies to homemaking, find volunteering can be a bridge to employment. These women are especially vulnerable, having not only suffered a role loss, but also a decrease in income. Through volunteer service, they develop confidence in their abilities while learning a new skill or brushing up on an old one.

A pilot survey of four hundred women conducted for ACTION in 1978 (Hybels and Mueller), shows that volunteer work helped women develop skills which later could be used in employment. While volunteering, women had greater opportunity to develop managerial skills than in paid jobs. This phenomenon was attributed to the fact that fewer men compete for these volunteer jobs and well-educated women fill them. Women find these skills useful in job advancement.

Finally, the survey showed that among formerly married women, thirty-nine percent, at some time, used a volunteer contact to get a job. Generally, this job was a first-entry job for low pay. However, the woman advanced from this position to higher-paying positions.

The results of this survey led to the creation of the Homemakers' Bureau. Through government funding, small agencies in a few cities have been created to counsel, train, and sometimes place homemakers in volunteer jobs. Also, the women are encouraged to build and use their skills gained through volunteering. There are three displaced homemaker agencies in St. Louis.

Older adults also constitute a reliable volunteer group. Medical science has prolonged the life span, and the number of persons over sixty-five is rising.

Retiring in better health and more highly skilled, these volunteers offer excellent resources for self-help groups and other volunteer organizations. A new thrust in social service is the employment of volunteers in intergenerational programs which provide single-parent families with positive emotional support from an older, surrogate family. Also, older adult volunteers extend services to their less-healthy peers as friendly home visitors, companions, and advocates for favorable legislation for the elderly. In fact, older adults, reared in an era when family, neighbors, and friends shared responsibility for one another, are the strength of many volunteer programs. Volunteerism provides many older persons with new roles, replacing the ones lost through retirement.

Volunteerism has become a source of satisfaction for teen and college-age youth who view it as a time to experiment with career choices. High schools offer flex-time when students can exchange community activity for school time. Summer teen volunteer programs offer an opportunity to gain new skills and a chance to explore job opportunities. These programs are a help to working mothers who need a structured, supervised program for children too old for camp and too young to work.

Young career men are finding volunteerism an opportunity for life enrichment. They, too, are affected by the same societal changes as women; divorce, later marriage, and small or no families. In a survey of 1,851 young men, Gail Sheehy reports many desire less job pressure and more time to do as they wish. Discouraged by the stressful lives of their fathers, these young men seek a different meaning to their lives. Hopefully, this is not a condition of their age (eighteen to twenty-eight), but a new and positive lifestyle. The success of the Big Brother Program is an example of this thinking. The result is a service to fit two needs: companionship for children, as well as the adult.

Thus far, this discussion has centered on target groups from which to draw volunteers to supplement the dwindling female volunteer pool. What motivating conditions will speed their inclusion in the volunteer pool? In reviewing the reasons women gave for volunteering in this survey, I find that they were supporting a cause or helping others. Abraham Maslow would say they were self-actualizing. That is, they were working toward a higher goal and in the process were fulfilling their highest potential. Maslow saw humans as striving toward higher self-development. Called the "hierarchy of

need," his scheme envisions mankind as on a ladder. On the lowest rungs are the physiological needs of food, shelter, rest, etc. Once these needs are met, man can proceed in to the next level, which is the need for safety. These two needs are basic human requirements. When they are reasonably satisfied, he can then proceed to higher aspirations. Love and a sense of belonging constituted the third level of need. The fourth level is man's need for self-esteem. This provides him with a sense of self-worth. The highest need is the desire to reach one's fullest potential. (Maslow, 1972)

Maslow's theory has become the model for improved volunteerism. Writers frequently refer to his work as the basis for developing a volunteer program. (Kapell, 1969; Nathan, 1971; Knowles, 1972, and Johnson, 1974), and a new approach to volunteerism has resulted.

With constantly changing societal expectations, voluntary associations need to incorporate adaptation into their programming. Adaptation is an important tool in maintaining satisfactory volunteer experience. While distributing the questionnaires, I was impressed by the differences among the female boards, especially between Hadassah and the National Council of Jewish Women. As I stated earlier, over fifty percent of those

attending the Hadassah Board were over sixty-five years of age. In talking with other board members, I found they were concerned about the future of the St. Louis group. It had a large dues-paying membership, but fund-raising was more difficult and recruitment even more so. Further, many of the individual groups were unable to convince one person to hold the office of president. Therefore, a presidential panel was devised to share responsibility.

The National Council of Jewish Women was a marked contrast. The women were younger and very excited about the work they were doing. Further proof of their success were two government grants recently received for pilot projects based on their volunteer work.

In comparing the two organizations, one must look at the goals of each and their relation to the success of the organization. NCJW is community oriented. Hadassah is a Zionist organization whose goals are directly tied to Israel. During periods of crisis, interest increases and the organization is somewhat more vibrant. However, this factor alone cannot account for all the difficulties they are facing. Their greatest problem is that they have not adjusted to the current expectations of volunteers. Their method of operation

has not changed in twenty-five years. Neither has their office, their publications, or their program activities. They may pride themselves on not spending much money on administration, but obviously they are paying a higher price. Innovations, such as mixed groups for young couples, might attract new volunteers. They need to combine the older, smaller groups and provide paid staff to assist in programming. This organization was founded on the principle of helping others, but they need to direct some of those efforts toward helping themselves.

Men in voluntary associations must adapt, also. They need to recognize the ability of women as decision-makers. In a survey of the top fifteen foundations in 1977, Herta Loeser and Janet Falon found that of a total of 173 board positions available, 149 were filled by men, a ratio of 6.2 to 1. If women are to be a responsible element in the community, then they must be included on important boards and in the decision-making process. Otherwise, they will not maintain an interest in volunteering.

CONCLUSION

Volunteerism will no longer occupy a foremost position in the life of most upper and middle-class Jewish women. Rather, they will seek paid employment as a measure of their capabilities.

In years past, Jewish women served in traditional roles as members of female Jewish organizations or as direct service volunteers. In this way, they served the Jewish community but were not part of the influential policy-making bodies. Today, women are more highly educated and more confident of their ability to serve in the community power structure. Voluntary roles for women must provide them the chance to use their newly acquired skills.

Agencies that depend on volunteers for direct service must look to new population groups to satisfy their volunteer needs. Voluntary agencies need to explore ways to reward volunteers. The old systems of volunteer certificates and luncheons are passe. Further, volunteerism must offer a bridge to employment and opportunities for personal growth to attract involved, dedicated volunteers.

The survey presented in this paper was of a small homogenous group. It confirmed, with data, many observations

about the traditional female volunteer pool. Further research is needed to establish the validity of the conclusions presented here. A larger sample will provide more information. The sample should come from a broader economic spectrum. Female volunteers in other kinds of volunteer service, such as women's self-help groups, child abuse centers, drug abuse clinics and other family-related areas, should be questioned to learn their goals for and satisfaction in volunteer work.

I would advise future researchers to set minimum requirements to qualify respondents as volunteers, i.e., once amonth or three to five hours per month. I would further recommend exploring the effect of husband's attitudes on wife's volunteer service as related to wife's employment. Volunteer satisfaction should be measured in all groups, since most people volunteer at some point in their lives. Also, a more complete survey on why people stop volunteering would be beneficial.

This survey was useful in that it explored one significant group of women. Similar studies should produce important information regarding the future of volunteerism in the United States.

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