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TITLE OF THESIS... Community Development, Social Movements, and Feminism

UNIVERSITY... of Alberta

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED... M.A. in Community Development

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED... 1974

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(Signed)... Vera Radio

PERMANENT ADDRESS:

... Box 1328 ...

... Fort Saskatchewan, Alberta ...

... T.O.B. 1.P.O. ...

DATED... Nov. 28. 1974

NL-91 (10-68)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND FEMINISM

by

VERA NADYA RADIO

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1974

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Community Development, Social Movements and Feminism" submitted by Vera Nadya Radio in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Community Development.

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Supervisor

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Date October 1, 1974

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis was to examine contemporary feminism with respect to two strategies of change - community development and social movements. It was found that feminism was a social movement and consequently had a particular structure (which included organization, ideology and strategy) and underwent a recognizable process (in terms of the stages of its development and its impact).

Based upon community development principles of operation, hypotheses were developed to test the effectiveness of six feminist groups in Edmonton. The study proved that use of community development methods was correlated with the perceived effectiveness of the groups. Consequently, the hypotheses provide a useful tool for examining group effectiveness. In particular, the study suggests the community development principles do indicate the direction for more effective action by the women's movement and especially for those feminist groups concerned with long term attitudinal change.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to give very special thanks to the person who contributed the most to the writing of this thesis - my supervisor, Doris Badir. Her interest in the subject, her encouragement, her easy-going nature and her constructive criticisms proved to be both of intellectual and moral support. I honestly enjoyed the experience of working with her. Special thanks are also due to Glen Eyford and Rosalind Sydie for their probing insights and their support.

Felicity Burns deserves the credit for the care and exactness taken in typing the manuscript. Thank you, Felicity!

And Steven - your support and assistance throughout the writing of the thesis have been invaluable. Words cannot adequately convey my appreciation.

I would like to acknowledge someone not directly involved in the thesis, but who has been a constant source of support and encouragement throughout my two years in the Community Development Program - Cora Arends. I won't thank her for being what she is, but just say I enjoyed knowing her.

And to my parents, Dmytro and Natalie, who provided me with the opportunity for an education, and much, much more. I can never thank them enough.

Last, but not least, I would like to thank all the women who took the time out to be interviewed and those who responded to the questionnaire. You made this study possible.

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INTRODUCTION

In contrast to the quiet 1950's, the 1960's brought on a decade of collective protest and revolt. In an era characterized by unprecedented accelerating change, social movements began burgeoning. I, like many others, listened to the voices of the Third World countries denouncing their oppression by the developed world; to the campaigns of Blacks in the United States fighting against racism; to the struggles of Canadian Indians attempting to retain their dignity as people; to the "Quiet Revolution" of the Quebecois striving for equality with Anglophone Canadians. Although I still believe these are significant and vital movements affecting the social order, their claims of oppression did not and do not concern me directly and personally. As a woman I began to realize that the issues directly affecting me were those brought to light by the feminist movement.

For the past several years, I have been involved in various groups within the feminist movement. Although strongly committed to the goals of the movement, my involvement has allowed me to experience some of the difficulties being faced by the women's movement. Problems of being ridiculed or not being taken seriously; problems of being sensationalized by the media; the difficulty, on the one hand, of making movement goals known to the general public without appearing threatening, and, on the other hand, of not watering down issues so as to be condoning all; the difficulty of sustaining membership commitment and activity; the problem of achieving support from a broad cross-section of the population; and the disadvantage of lacking

connections to the sources of power are some of the problems I observed the women's movement had to contend with.

As a student of community development, I began wondering what contributions community development could make to feminism specifically, and to social movements in general. As a strategy of social change, community development embodies principles and practices of operation which are based upon certain philosophic assumptions of human kind. Could these principles and practices be applied to a social movement (feminism) to resolve some of its problems and to increase its effectiveness? The main purpose of the thesis is to shed light on this question.

Social change has been a permanent feature in the life of human beings, but the world today is characterized by unprecedented accelerating change (Toffler, 1970:9). The interrelation of cultural values, social relationships, ritual patterns, economic arrangements, technological innovations and environmental capacities make it largely unproductive to argue the priority of one or the other as the prime mover of human history (Bernard and Pelto, 1972:4). However, an analysis of the process of social change and the conditions conducive to social change can produce useful insights. The constituent parts of any human society are never perfectly integrated so that they mesh in complete working harmony. The more complex a society, the more opportunities that exist for imperfect integration. Tension and confusion arising from imperfect integration may stimulate persons to think of ways of modifying an organizational structure or the ideology

which supports it (Ryan, 1969:53-54). Cultural values and norms may mitigate against change or actively encourage it. A rationally motivated and scientific culture promotes more rapid change than a tradition-oriented culture. The communication process also facilitates social change. Isolation retards change and innovation (Ryan, 1969:72). In our complex post-industrial society where tensions and confusion are common, where cultural values favor change and innovation, and where communication systems are highly developed, it follows that social change is extremely rapid.

In analyzing the "Great Change" in American communities, Warren considered seven composite sectors, one of which was changing values. He cited a number of commonly held values: freedom, individualism, practicality, pecuniary evaluation, success, education, progress, happiness, humanitarianism, conformity. . . (Warren, 1963: 86-88). The dynamics which have given rise to a rapidly changing society have also facilitated a greater awareness among people about the inconsistency of some of these values, as well as the contradictions between those values held and their manifestation in society.

One of the fields in which the contradictions and inconsistencies in society have become apparent is the role and status of women. In 1963, Betty Friedan pointed out in her book, The Feminine Mystique, that:

> The glorification of 'woman's role'. . .seems to be in proportion to society's reluctance to treat women as complete human beings; for the less real function that role has, the more it is decorated with meaningless details to conceal its emptiness (Friedan, 1963:229).

Friedan documented the process after World War II by which women were squeezed out of the labor force and back into their homes to take on the roles of wives and mothers. Even women that were college graduates did not take the path that education had opened to them to develop their potential as people, but chose to return to the household. The image of the "happy housewife heroine" cultivated by the media encouraged women to accept their natures as sexually passive, male dominated and nurturing maternal love (Friedan, 1963:28-67).

Friedan went on to say that the conventional definition of femininity was equated with "noncommitment" and "vicarious living" (Friedan, 1963:280). She maintained that women's needs for identity, for self-esteem, for achievement and for expression of a unique human individuality were not being recognized by women themselves or by others. Consequently, women were forced to seek their identity and self-esteem through the only channels open to them: the pursuit of sexual fulfillment, motherhood and the possession of material things. "And chained to these pursuits, she [woman] is stunted at a lower level of living, blocked from the realization of her higher human needs" (Friedan, 1963:304).

Friedan's book sparked a new awareness in American society, but what she said was not totally novel. Some years earlier anthropologist, Ashley Montagu, wrote The Natural Superiority of Women in which he attempted to destroy the myths which relegated women to a secondary status by producing evidence that women were biologically superior to men. He maintained that women were emotionally and con-

stitutionally stronger than men, quicker to respond to stimuli, more resistant to disease, scored better in intelligence tests, and had lower rates of suicide and alcoholism (Montagu, 1970:54-133).

Still earlier, in 1949, French author Simone de Beauvior had produced with profound insight and clarity Le Deuxième Sexe -- a book written from an extentialist point of view which retraced and analyzed the historical and contemporary situation of women in Western culture. The central thesis of de Beauvior's book was that since patriarchal times women had been forced to occupy a secondary place in the world in relation to men, a position comparable with that of racial minorities, in spite of the fact that women constituted numerically at least half of the human race. De Beauvoir demonstrated that this secondary standing was not imposed of necessity by natural "feminine" characteristics, but rather by strong environmental forces of educational and social tradition which were under the purposeful control of men. This condition had resulted in the general failure of women to become free and independent persons, and equal to men on a professional and intellectual plane. Not only had women's achievements in many fields been limited, but the relationships of men and women had been adversely affected (de Beauvoir, 1961:vii). De Beauvoir states:

> When at last it will be possible for every human being thus to set his pride beyond the sexual differentiation. . . , then only will woman be able to identify her personal history, her problems, her doubts, her hopes, with those of humanity; then only will woman be able to seek in her life and her works to reveal the whole of reality and not merely her personal self. As long as she still has to struggle to become a human being, she cannot become a creator (de Beauvoir, 1961:672).

In 1970, the report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada was tabled before the House of Commons. That report, which was three years in the making, studied the objective condition of women in Canadian society: in the economy, in education, in the family, in public life and as seen by the law. It produced empirical evidence which clearly documented that throughout Canadian society women were relegated to a secondary and dependent status; although women composed one-third of the labor force their distribution was not proportional throughout--women were concentrated in the lower paying, lower status occupations (Bird et al., 1970:54-63); the educational system fostered assumptions about women's "place" which ignored women's creative and intellectual potential (Bird et al., 1970:173-175); as a recent phenomena in Western civilization, women were charged with virtually sole responsibility for child care in the family (Bird et al., 1970:227); sex-role stereotyping discouraged women from assuming full participation in public life (Bird et al., 1970:354-355); and the law viewed women basically as dependents (Bird et al., 1970:230-260).

The awareness and later explicit documentation of woman's subordinate status in society and the realization that this status is not biologically determined (although it may be rationalized biologically), but rooted in social conditioning, together with the motivation to change perceived injustices gave rise to contemporary feminism.

Purpose of the Thesis

Against the background of accelerating social change, this thesis will analyze contemporary feminism according to theories of community development and social movements. As a strategy of social change, community development emphasizes the fullest participation of people in determining their needs and solving their own problems through democratic procedures and indigenous leadership (Cary, 1973:9). A necessary prerequisite of this action is an awareness among people about their objective conditions and the potential for change. As a related but different strategy of social change, a social movement involves a collectivity acting to promote or resist change in the broader social order by non-institutionalized means (Wilson, 1973:8).

Feminism, as a collectivity promoting changes regarding the role and status of women, can be more clearly understood in light of these two related strategies of change. Consequently, three basic interrelated themes that will be examined in this thesis are:

1. the extent to which community development principles and practices are being utilized by the feminist movement;
2. the degree to which the awareness of women about their objective conditions is being developed;
3. a description of the structure and process of feminism as a social movement.

PART I. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

CHAPTER I

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

An understanding of social movements provides a useful framework for examining feminism. Social movements are both the cause and effect of change (Gerlach and Hine, 1970:xiv; Morrison, 1971:688; Saltman, 1971:16; Wilson, 1973:156). They arise when people become conscious of a dysfunction relative to a problem in society and mobilize to ameliorate the problem (Rush and Denisoff, 1971:255). Although social movements are not unique to urban-industrial societies, but have emerged throughout history, urban-industrial societies provide fertile soil for the germination of social movements. In this setting social heterogeneity, cultural confusion, and mass communication often stimulate personal discontent which may become manifest as social unrest. However, not all displays of social unrest can be classified as social movements. What specifically is a social movement?

Definition of a Social Movement

Definitional precision has remained problematic in the study of social movements because of the diversity of types. Social movements range from revolutionary to reactionary, from religious to political, from cooperative to schismatic, from those aimed solely at personal change to those directed at fundamental social changes.

Consequently, virtually every writer in the field has devised his or her own definition.

In his classic definition, Herbert Blumer defined social movements as "collective enterprises seeking to establish a new order of life" (Blumer, 1969:99). Blumer's definition captured the essence of a social movement, that is, group behavior directed at bringing about change.

In attempting to make the definition of social movements more precise, subsequent writers have stressed additional factors. Turner and Killian (1957:308), VanderZanden (1959:315) and Saltman (1971:6) added the criteria of promoting or resisting change. This allowed reactionary, as well as revolutionary, forces to be classified as social movements. Gerlach and Hine considered a movement to be directed toward "some form of personal or social change" (1970:xvi).

To express the fact that social movements are aimed at changing the established social order, Ash (1972:1) and Wilson (1973:8) mentioned the use of non-institutionalized means to achieve this end. Although true for many movements, stating this factor as a requirement is too restrictive. It excludes movements which work within institutional channels to promote change that is in opposition to the current social order.

The criteria of persistence through time was mentioned by Turner and Killian (1957:308), VanderZanden (1959:315), King (1956:27), and Saltman (1971:6). They claim a social movement must extend beyond a single event.

King (1956:27) and Saltman (1971:6) also stressed the necessity of geographic scope in their definitions of a social movement. Although many other scholars of social movements have not specified this factor, the Langs (1961:490), Cameron (1966:7), Toch (1965:5) and Heberle (1951:6-7) maintain the need for large-scale or widespread collective action. The focus of both groups of writers is the same. A social movement is not confined to a few people in a single locality.

Some writers expressed the need for a shared value system among the members of a social movement. For example, Neil Smelser stated that change is called for "in the name of a generalized belief" (1963:270). Gerlach and Hine considered ideology, or a system of beliefs, to be a motivating factor in people taking action to promote change (1970:xvi). Roberta Ash discussed "a set of attitudes and self-conscious action" (1972:1) and Joseph Gusfield specified "socially shared activities and beliefs" as requirements of a social movement (1970:2).

From this review of the literature, the essential distinguishing features of a social movement can be cited as: change-oriented goals, the use of organization, a shared value system, durability and geographic scope. A social movement can then be defined as a collectivity extending beyond a local community or a single event, which shares a common value system and acts to promote or resist change.

These distinguishing features assist in separating a movement from related phenomena. For example, a social movement does not have

the organizational structure, clear boundaries, crystallization and stable functions that characterize associations or organizations (Ryan, 1969:175). However, a social movement does encompass organizations and associations which carry out the work of the movement in achieving its goals. As [illegible]mentary collective actions such as sporadic crowds, panics, mobs, and riots are distinguished from social movements. Crowd formation signifies societal stress and may bring about a social movement or may actually be a part of the tactics of a social movement (Gusfield, 1970:4-7). A conceptual distinction also needs to be made between a social movement and a social trend or tendency. A trend or tendency is a process resulting from the aggregate effect of many individual actions, such as urbanization. On the other hand, a social movement is concerted response to social conditions, such as a labor movement (Heberle, 1951:9). A social movement is not a pressure group, the latter of which is an organized group pursuing a limited political goal. Pressure groups may (and may not) be part of a social movement which has a much broader goal of change. Formal organizational structure is a key element distinguishing a political party from a social movement (Heberle, 1951:9-10).

Classification of Social Movements

Analysis of social movements often begins with a classification of the various types of movements. Since the forms, objectives and methods of social movements are so diverse, classification becomes both necessary and exceedingly difficult to formulate meaningfully. The Langs state that typologies of social movements have been based

on four different attributes:

> 1) some external criterion, such as the area of activity, the interest represented, or the content of its ideology (phenomenistic); 2) the type of value orientation; 3) the nature of the goals; and 4) the growth pattern (1961:497).

Typologies based upon the nature of goals appear to be the most useful.

The schema developed by Ryan in Social and Cultural Change appears particularly helpful. He merged the classifications of S. Sighele, Park and Burgess, Herbert Blumer, and Turner and Killian to develop a classification based on the goals of a movement. Ryan considered two major types: expressive movements and external, goal-oriented movements. The expressive movement is oriented toward individual change rather than change in the social order. Expressive movements germinate where a collectivity finds itself overwhelmed by an unacceptable social order and individuals are promised gratification by virtue of participation in the movement (Ryan, 1969:184). External, goal-oriented movements seek to change or prevent change in the external status quo. Ryan sub-divided this type into three groupings: 1) revitalizing movements; 2) value-oriented or reform movements; and 3) revolutionary or other power directed movements. Revitalistic movements are those which attempt to reassert traditions and solidarities and reaffirm unfulfilled group destinies. Such movements arise in a pre-existing group, frequently ethnic or religious, in which individuals feel a severe stress at the apparent loss of meaningful life in the existing socio-cultural structure (Ryan, 1969:185-186). Value-oriented or reform movements seek a

modification of the social order in some direction in which the movement's ideology is justified by a fuller definition of society's own values (Ryan, 1969:190). Therefore, the success of these movements depends upon the extent to which their objectives are promoted and legitimated by the larger society. Examples of such reform movements are the civil rights movement, the women's suffrage movement, and the prohibition movement. Revolutionary movements also seek social reform in existing norms and values but they differ in several significant ways from reform movements: revolutionary movements are sudden and violent changes of the official law; they do not accept the legitimacy of the established institutions; their goals are usually broad referring to the overthrow of entire institutional structures (Ryan, 1969:193).

Structure of a Social Movement

The simplest and yet most comprehensive framework for examining the component parts of a social movement appears to be that used by Juliet Saltman (1971). She analyzed social movements according to two dimensions: structure and process. Structure includes organization, ideology and strategy. Process refers to the stages of development of a movement and consequences of its impact.

A. Organization

The organization of a social movement includes organizational structure, leadership and membership. The organizational structure of movements have varied from highly militaristic, centralized styles

of organization to that approaching amorphous collectivities. Gerlach observed that these two extremes are not the norm. Most movements have a definable organizational structure which he called segmentary (composed of diverse groups), polycephalous (having many leaders and rivals for leadership) and reticulate (organized into a network of overlapping participation, joint activities and the sharing of common objectives and opposition) (1971:816-824). Contrary to most thinking which perceived a highly centralized command as the most efficient mode of organization, Gerlach claimed a movement whose structure contains these three elements "is highly effective and adaptive in innovating and producing social change and in surviving in the face of established order opposition" (1971:816). He considered a decentralized, segmented and reticulate social structure adaptive for a number of major reasons which included: promotion of innovation in design and in implementation of change; prevention of effective suppression by opposition; penetration of the movement in a variety of social niches; and contribution to movement reliability through redundancy, duplication and overlap (1971:825-831).

The study of the leadership of social movements is often concerned with the functions of the leaders and the various kinds of leaders. For example, Turner and Killian discussed the leader as a symbol and decision-maker (Turner and Killian, 1957:455). The Langs discussed varying leadership functions as a movement changes (Lang and Lang, 1961:517-524). Smelser distinguished two kinds of leadership -- those formulating beliefs and those mobilizing for action

(Smelser, 1962:297). King drew upon Weber's classification and categorized leaders as charismatic or legal (King, 1956:35). Membership of a social movement is often examined in the psychological perspective -- the individual's mental context, motivation and pursuit of meaning (Cantril, Hoffer, Toch).

B. Ideology

The Langs identified the content of the official doctrines of a movement as its ideology. They maintained that the ideology is composed of five main features:

> 1. A statement of purpose defining the general objective of the movement and giving the premise on which it is based.
> 2. A doctrine of defense--that is, the body of beliefs that serves as a justification for the movement and its activities.
> 3. An indictment, a criticism, and a condemnation of existing arrangements.
> 4. A general design for action as to how the objective is to be achieved.
> 5. Certain myths that embody the emotional appeals, a promise of success. . . , its heroes, and the many folk arguments that are taken seriously (1961:537).

Gusfield stated that the beliefs or ideology of a movement "constitute justifications for dissent and provide a legitimate and intellectual basis for action" (1970:395). Understanding the experience from which the ideology has emerged is crucial in understanding the ideology itself.

C. Strategy

The strategy of a movement evolves interdependently with its ideology. Turner and Killian (1957) feel that the publicly understood program (strategy) is the key to understanding the movement itself.

Wilson defined the strategy or tactics of a movement to be both the set of principles concerning methods of action and those activities undertaken to further the aims of the movement (1973:227). He considered the strategy important in establishing the identity of a movement for two primary reasons: 1) social movements often employ methods of persuasion and coercion which are novel, unorthodox, dramatic and of questionable legitimacy; and 2) sometimes tactics may be all there is to "see" of a movement, especially if it has little substance otherwise (Wilson, 1973:227).

According to Turner (1970:145-164), social movements have three primary strategies open to them: persuasion; bargaining; and coercion. Persuasion involves the manipulation of symbols by which the movement identifies its course of action with the values of the target group. Bargaining occurs when the movement offers an exchangeable value that the target group wants in return for compliance with its demands. A necessary prerequisite for bargaining is that the movement possess an exchangeable value desired by the target group. Coercion is a negative form of bargaining in which the movement threatens to worsen (rather than actually harm) the position of the target group.

In this section we have reviewed the main structural features of a social movement: organization, ideology and strategy. However, the most interesting part of a movement is its development or the process through which it moves.

The Process of a Social Movement

The components of the process of a social movement, Saltman

described as the stages of its development and the consequences of its impact (Saltman, 1971:10). Both are affected by the internal aspects of the movement (structural features previously discussed) and external aspects impinging upon the movement (the environment).

A. Stages of Development

The "life history" or "life cycle" of a social movement provides an idealized framework for organizing knowledge of the many related structural aspects of a movement. It also furnishes a model within which the determination of "success" of a movement may be approached. Since it is an idealized model, the stages of development are not exactly reproducible in any given movement and many movements may not live out the full cycle (Turner and Killian, 1957:309).

One of the earliest models was devised by Dawson and Gettys (1929) who drew their framework from studies of a large number of social movements. Subsequent frameworks developed by Heberle (1951), Smelser (1962) and King (1956) broadly support this theory. Dawson and Gettys enumerated four recognizable stages of a "successful social movement": 1) preliminary stage of excitement; 2) popular stage of excitement; 3) stage of formal organization; and 4) stage of institutionalization (1929:690).

The preliminary stage of unrest is one of floundering, agitation, local disorders and little or no organization. The transition to the second stage occurs with the emergence of some organization formulating action plans, often a charismatic leader and the increasing self-consciousness of the group. The stage of formal organization requires

that, paradoxically, collective excitement be combined with disciplined cohesion. Slogans become ideologies and the organizational structure proliferates. When the stage of institutionalization is reached the movement has developed a structure, its aims have become definitely fixed and it is supported by a body of traditions, norms and dogma. Under favorable conditions it may terminate in the form of a lasting organization such as a labor union, a nation or a denomination. The movement may die out but the institution often remains (Dawson and Gettys, 1929:691-709).

B. Impact of a Movement

In discussing the impact of a movement, Turner and Killian defined the success of a value-oriented movement as "the degree to which the desired changes are promoted in the larger society" (1957: 335). Success is dependent upon "a congenial marriage" (King, 1956: 85) between the internal elements of a movement and the external environment in which the movement operates.

In examining the aspects of the environment which critically affect the growth of a movement, Zald and Ash postulated that one of the key factors was the ebb and flow of supporting sentiments in society which decreased or increased the potential support base of a movement (1970:520). King found that serious inconsistencies between a movement and society's general cultural norms and values may deter potential converts. However, congruence of values does not necessarily make the movement acceptable, but only facilitates the operation of other factors (1956:85-106). Turner and Killian postulated that

enemies who threaten the success of a movement are important to marshal the determination of members to overcome obstacles (1957:337).

In considering the internal elements of a movement, many authors have discussed the problems or tasks faced by a movement seeking success. Roberta Ash stated that all movements must make choices:

> . . .between single issue demands and multiple demands, between radical demands and demands which do not attack the legitimacy of the present distribution of wealth and power, between influencing elites (or even incorporating movement members into the elite) and attempting to replace elites (1972:230).

Turner and Killian hypothesized that some of the criteria essential for a movement to marshal effective support are: a promise of societal betterment and immediate benefits within the program and ideology; a hierarchy of goals ranging from those almost immediately attainable to others practically unattainable; and a justification of movement values in terms of the sacred values of the society (1957: 335-336).

From examining the failure of the tax protest movement in Los Angeles County during 1957, Jackson et al. were of the opinion that a leadership which incorporated other local leaders into the movement was one of the requisite conditions for the success of a movement (1971:264). Demerath III, Marwell and Aiken probed the factors that underlay the subjective sense of success of some fifty projects in the civil rights movement of 1965. They found the correlates of overall project success to be: achievements in specific tasks; a sense of social solidarity among the workers; meeting personal needs

and preferences; and the time spent on various activities (1971:67).

An important internal factor of movement success is the effectiveness of movement organizations. The most common approach to organizational effectiveness has been to determine the extent to which an organization has achieved its goals (Etzioni, 1964:8). However, this approach has pitfalls since most organizations do not achieve their goals in any final sense (Etzioni, 1964:16). If a movement organization does reach its goals, the organization either undergoes a redefinition and transformation or it ceases to exist (Zald and Ash, 1970:526). As well, most movement organizations have long term objectives which cannot be readily assessed on a short term basis.

While the goal model approach emphasizes the accomplishments of an organization, the system model approach examines the problems related to the growth and survival of an organization. This approach recognizes there is a mutual dependence between an organization and its environment. An organization must receive maintenance support from the environment in order to grow and survive (Doyle, 1973:310-312). Doyle used the combined goal-systems model in examining the effectiveness of organizations dedicated to essentially the same goals.

Saltman also found the goal model defective and, therefore, used a comparative analysis of organizations (1971:111-128). Her measure of success was the relative effectiveness of each organization as opposed to complete or even substantial goal achievement (1971:127).

Some researchers (Doyle, 1973; Demerath III et al., 1971) chose

to examine effectiveness through the eyes of those directly involved. This approach is based upon practical as well as theoretical considerations. From the practical point of view, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to examine the impact of any movement organization since the changes that often occur are attitudinal changes. Even if change is concrete, such as a law change, the question still remains whether the change is due to the effectiveness of a particular organization that was seeking that goal, or is that organization one of many influences that brought about the change. On the theoretical side, the way we perceive things may be more crucial variable in determining our behavior than the objective stimulus situation (Bruner, 1971:225-238).

Summary

We have examined social movements in terms of definition, classification, structure and process. The literature deals extensively with these factors, but there has been little attempt to systematically interrelate the many components and taxonomies suggested. In attempting to develop a synthesis of the literature, a social movement has been defined as a collectivity extending beyond a local community or a single event, which shares a common value system and acts to promote or resist change. The distinguishing features of a social movement are cited as change-oriented goals, the use of organization, a shared value system, durability and geographic scope. These features distinguish a social movement from related phenomena.

Social movements can be classified according to a variety of criteria, one of the commonest and perhaps most useful criteria is goals. Movements are both the cause and effect of change. They are studied in terms of their growth patterns or natural histories. Environmental factors are important in the genesis and development of a movement. Internal factors such as organization, ideology and strategy are significant in the development and ultimate impact of a social movement.

This framework of social movements provides a useful analytical scheme for examining feminism. Before feminism is discussed as a social movement, we shall turn to a consideration of community development in order to discern the interrelationship between social movements and community development as two strategies of change.

CHAPTER II

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The Concept

As in the field of social movements, virtually every author that writes about community development devises his or her own definition of what community development is. Some of these definitions are so ambiguous that they say nothing, such as "community development is any action taken by any agency primarily to benefit the community" (Batten, 1957:2). Other definitions contradict one another, such as: "community development is a process of social action. . ." (ICA definition quoted in Mezirow, 1963:9); and "community development is a movement designed to promote better living. . ." (1945 Ashridge definition quoted in Community Development: A Handbook, 1960:2).

As a strategy of social change, community development is not an end in itself, but a means to an end. Jim Lotz says the goal of community development is to determine "the least cost approach to change" (1972:79). Biddle and Biddle also feel community development must deal with the effects of change and offer this definition:

> Community development is a social process by which human beings can become more competent to live with and gain some control over local aspects of a frustrating and changing world (1965:78).

Community development addresses itself to disparities. If there were no underdeveloped countries, no relatively poor people, no culturally deprived and no politically powerless people, there would likely be no community development (Whitford, 1968:10). The United

Nations in Popular Participation in Development, stated the purpose of community development is:

> . . .to induce social change for balanced human and material betterment; to strengthen the institutional structure in such a way as to facilitate social change and the process of growth; to ensure the fullest possible popular participation in the development process; and to promote social justice by permitting less privileged groups to give expression to their aspirations and to participate in the development of activities (1971:10).

Deveaux felt community development was a method which sought to encourage, pursue and execute the democratic process "because this method examines and questions the roots of events, often challenging the 'square' roots of society, it is essentially a radical method. . ." (1971:93).

Although community development may be involved in the delivery of services, according to Francis Bregha, its raison d'etre as a method of social intervention is to "transform the causes and conditions shaping the quality of life in a society so that as few people as possible would depend on any kind of service" (1971:79). Bregha viewed this process as a redistribution of power as well as redistribution of resources and productivity. Hence he saw community development not only as a system-maintenance process, but also as a process of institutional change.

The Canadian Welfare Council defined community development as:

> . . .a process aimed at promoting citizen participation in social affairs, developing people's awareness of problems, enabling them to define their needs in relation to the total environment, making possible that enlightened choice among various options and channelling their results into effective action for social change (quoted by Compton, 1971:383).

The official Alberta definition is:

> Community development is an educational-motivational process designed to create conditions favourable to economic and social change, if possible on the initiative of the community, but if this initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously, then techniques for arousing and stimulating in order to serve the fullest participation of the community must be utilized (Community Development in Alberta, 1965:2).

The United Nations, in Social Progress through Community Development, stated that there were four basic elements which defined community development about which there was some consensus. These were: "1) a planned program for the needs of the total community, 2) self-help as a basis for the program, 3) technical assistance from government and other organizations, 4) integration of specialist services" (quoted in Lloyd, 1967:9). Anthony Lloyd stated that there are varieties of community development which may not possess all four ingredients and can be called specialist types. The general variety, however, does include them within continuing, coordinated and purposive activity for changing a community. What distinguishes both of these types of community development from other developmental approaches was that they develop people at the same time as they developed communities (Lloyd, 1967:9).

C.A.S. Hynam (1968) made a useful distinction between community development as "process" which he termed "social animation" and community development as program, which he called "human resources development." He felt that without social animation, that is, without the necessary education and motivation, the development program has a low chance of success. On the other hand, too much animation may

mean the community never experiences success in meeting its stated needs. Careful and effective integration of the two components is essential for a successful community development program.

Some sources (Compton, 1971; Kramer, 1969; Sanders, 1958; United Nations, 1971) further delineated community development by describing it as: process, program, method and/or movement. As a process, community development is a transition from one stage to the next-- from simple problem-solving to increased competence in more complex situations; from participation of a few to participation of many; from centralized decision-making to shared decision-making. Community development as a method is a means of problem-solving, a means of achieving certain specified objectives. It is an approach that emphasizes popular participation and the direct involvement of a population in the process of development. When community development is formally organized with a separate administration and staff, it can be considered a program. The program is the collection of things that facilitate the process: "agency policy, the objective, the various activities and their objectives, the administrative structure, the support services, the resources and the people" (Compton, 1971:386). As a movement, Sanders states community development is a philosophy of life, a cause to which people become committed. It is not neutral, but carries an emotional charge. It is dedicated to progress within the framework of values and goals which may differ under different political and social systems (1958:4-5).

However, Brokensha and Hodge felt that the division of community

development into process, program, method, philosophy and movement illustrated a lack of clarity at analysis.

> We hold the view that the key word in an analysis is process, by which we mean a change in an attitude of mind, whether personal or collective, that results in a change of behavior and the pursuit of a course of action hitherto rejected or not understood (1969:47).

There are two concepts integral to community development, "community" and "development." Community specifies the target population and development connotes the process taking place. Each concept merits special consideration.

Community

Early practices in the field of community development focused almost entirely upon the local community -- the rural village, the small town -- as the unit of action. Even today in our highly urbanized industrial society much of the focus in community development is still upon the local community -- the neighborhood block, the urban district. This is the level in which primary groups and face-to-face interaction are most possible. The Biddles define community as "whatever sense of the local common good citizens can be helped to achieve" (1965:77). This definition is based upon the interaction of people, on collective behavior, and on shared interests and concerns within a spatial context.

However, much of what affects contemporary local communities occurs outside the boundaries of the local community. Roland Warren stated there is an increasing orientation of local community units to become part of extra-community systems with a corresponding decline in

community cohesion and autonomy (1963:53). The locality orientation of community development and the reliance on primary groups, face-to-face cooperation is regarded by some critics as anachronistic since most problems are not amenable to solutions at this level (Kramer, 1969:230).

Although the local community has been the form most often considered, concepts of community have ranged from micro-systems (which include small groups, extended family units, clans, villages, neighborhoods, or small towns) to macro-systems (such as cities, counties, regions, states, nation or the entire human population) (Thomas, 1973:39). With accelerating technological change, a highly mobile society and decreasing local autonomy, geographic definitions of community are often less functional than problem or issue identification in delineating the boundaries of a community. Focus on despatialized selective communities takes us to a "community of ideas" or a "community of interest" as a unit of analysis.

Development

The other major concept in community development concerns "development" -- the conscious intervention into the realms of social, economic, political and cultural change. Social development involves improving support systems for individuals and providing services and facilities which facilitate living. Economic development has been the most dominant form of development undertaken in the past. It deals with modes of production and consumption that contribute to economic growth. Political development involves the concepts of

"self-government" and "citizen participation." The assumptions behind these concepts are that people have the right to govern themselves and the right to participate in decisions which affect their lives. Cultural development involves building a network of symbols, metaphors and traditions. It involves people seeking a new identity or rediscovering their old identity, or people searching for a new vision of society.

Whatever the type of development, Friere maintains that development is not something that is done to a person. It is transcendence and liberation -- a greater awareness of the basic contradictions in society (Friere, 1970:51-54). This implies that for true development to occur something must happen to people. Development must provide opportunities for people to develop their self-confidence; to become more aware of the choices available to them; and to develop their abilities and potentialities.

Principles and Practices

The validity of community development theory lies in its applicability in the field. Since community development is one method of effecting purposeful change, its effectiveness lies in its ability to induce meaningful and long-range development. As guides to field work, community development is associated with principles and practices of operation. Some of these are: start with the needs of the people (Brokensha and Hodge, 1969; Biddle and Biddle, 1965; Dunham, 1970; and United Nations, 1971); facilitate self-help (Biddle and Biddle, 1965; Brokensha and Hodge, 1969; Dunham, 1970; Hynam, 1968);

promote the development of indigenous leadership (Bregha, 1971; DuSautoy, 1970; United Nations, 1971); encourage the fullest possible active participation of the community (Cary, 1973; Compton, 1971; McEwen, 1968; Dunham, 1970); work through local leaders (Biddle and Biddle, 1965; Cary, 1973; Dunham, 1970; United Nations, 1971); and promote the development of greater awareness, sensitivity, knowledge, skills and self-confidence of a people (Whitford, 1968:8).

Charles Hynam postulated that there is a high positive correlation between lasting success (in terms of stated objectives) and:

1) Social animation (education-motivation) until the people identify the project as theirs;
2) substantial participation by people in decision-making;
3) self-help, measured in terms of progress toward financial self-support or equity (1973:1).

A group discussion at the Second International Conference on Community Development, June 1974, stated the following criteria to be indispensable to community development:

1) conscientisation (Friere, 1970:57-74);
2) education-motivation until the people concerned consider the undertaking as their's;
3) participation in decision-making;
4) emphasis on the whole community;
5) self-help toward maximizing the use of indigenous resources;
6) creating effective linkages with external influences (Second International Conference, 1974:2).

In a paper "Some Principles of Community Development" (1960), Arthur Dunham drew from eleven publications describing community development principles, twenty-one categories of principles. These are shown in Table 1 and are considered important for effective community development. Ideally, a community development program

should contain all twenty-one aspects to succeed; but practically, many fairly effective community development projects do not. Some principles are more relevant than others, depending upon the nature of the development project. Which principles may be more applicable to a social movement, first necessitates an examination of social movements in the community development perspective.

Table 1

Arthur Dunham's Summary of Community Development Principles

(Based on the works of T.R. Batten, William Cousins, Joseph DiFranco, Arthur Dunham, George Foster, India's community development program, Margaret Mead, National Society for the Study of Education, Murray Ross, United Nations, International Cooperation Administration)

Community Development should:

1.	have programs which are well organized, integrated, practical, realistic, flexible	16*
2.	be based upon economic and social needs of the community	13
3.	be based upon self-help	11
4.	be concerned with the total population of a community	11
5.	be based upon voluntary cooperation	8
6.	start with felt needs	7
7.	involve local participation and democratic government	7
8.	utilize government and voluntary agencies	7
9.	be basically an educational process	6
10.	be based upon an understanding of the culture	6
11.	be part of a national program	6
12.	consider the role of the employed worker and leaders	6
13.	be based upon voluntary local leadership	5
14.	be based upon a supporting constituency	5
15.	be democratic	5
16.	be based upon the local community	3
17.	develop attitudes	3
18.	train its personnel	3
19.	utilize effective communication	3
20.	adapt the change to the culture	2
21.	demonstrate the safety of change.	2

*The numbers in this column indicate how many times the particular principle was mentioned.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVE

Community development and social movements are two related but different strategies of change. In examining social movements in the community development perspective, what are the similarities between these strategies of change?

The previously mentioned definitions of community development have relevance to social movements in that they stated community development is an attempt to: deal with or promote change; reduce disparities and promote social justice; undertake activities that not only promote system maintenance but also institutional change; develop people's awareness of their problems and the possibilities for resolution of these problems; and encourage active participation of people in solving their problems.

Similarly, a social movement promotes or resists change. It emerges as a result of dissatisfactions with the social system and deals with disparities within the ideological framework of the movement. Movements vary from those seeking to effect change in individuals, to those seeking minor societal reforms, to those seeking major institutional changes. A consciousness or an awareness of problems with respect to the external environment and the plan for their amelioration is essential in the development of a movement. This is embodied in the ideology. Finally, a social movement is a collectivity of people acting to change conditions which they perceive as oppressive.

The scope of community development varies from a micro to a macro level, although the concept of the local community is still probably the most common. Social movements have been defined as extending beyond a local community. The functional definition of community allows the issue to define the community. This has particular relevance for examining a social movement in that members of a movement could then be identified, in community development terminology, as a "community of interest" or a "community of ideas."

As to whether a movement can be considered developmental, depends upon its structure: organization, ideology and strategy. A social movement is developmental in the sense that it promotes a greater awareness among people about their objective conditions and the potential for change; that people become involved in actions which promote their welfare; that people share in the decision-making process; that movement ideology seeks to open up choices for people and reaffirm their basic humanness; that people make direct interventions in social processes to meet their felt needs; that the movement develops attitudes of self-confidence, initiative, cooperation and resourcefulness among people. For example, a movement such as Nazism, which emphasized superiority of one race above all others and the systematic genocide of a particular race, cannot be considered developmental. On the other hand, the Black Power movement, which stresses equality of blacks with whites and, consequently, increasing opportunities for blacks, is certainly developmental in concept. An analysis would need to be made of the movement's organization and strategies to

determine whether its methods of action are developmental.

There are significant differences between community development and social movements. One of these differences is in the field of study of each of these strategies of change. The study of social movements is concerned with the description and analysis of phenomena defined as social movements. Community development theories, on the other hand, go beyond description and analysis to formulating methods of operation which can be used in the field to induce meaningful and long-range development. For more effective action, developmental social movements might then draw upon community development methods of operation.

For example, "self-help" is a basic principle of community development operation. It involves people working together to improve their own living conditions. In examining strategies for poor people's organizations, Si Kahn discussed self-help as useful where poor people and their organizations were not able to take over or significantly influence the power structure through persuasion, power tactics or political action. He also suggested self-help programs may be used "as a way of building organization strength and membership awareness before starting power or political actions" (1970:105). Some examples of self-help strategies that Kahn suggested for poor people were: cooperatively run factories and industrial plants; non-profit day care facilities; cooperative insurance plans; educational programs and distribution systems for goods produced by members (170:107).

For a social movement which is attempting to undermine the power structure and/or change the system, self-help strategies could build and reinforce the power base of the movement. Self-help could also decrease the movement's dependence upon the establishment for dealing with the problems faced by movement members.

Another basic principle of community development is the development of local leadership. The community development worker does not organize the community, build political power, nor develop cooperative programs. The community development worker acts as an encourager, a facilitator and a resource person. It is essential that the people in the community develop greater skills and knowledge in the community development process, so that they can cope with problems and needs that arise in the community after the community development worker has left. Similarly, for a movement attempting to effect the established order, it may be important for members to develop leadership skills to broaden the base of political power and effective action of the movement. As well, if skill and knowledge are dispersed, the success of the movement is less likely to depend solely upon the leadership.

There are many principles and practices of community development operation and obviously some are more useful than others for the successful realization of a social movement. For example, Dunham in his summary of principles lists utilization of government and voluntary agencies as a community development principle. This practice may be antithetical to the aims of a particular movement. While it might

make good sense for a reform movement to utilize government and voluntary agencies, it is in opposition to the goals of a revolutionary movement which is seeking the overthrow of entire institutional structures. On the other hand, using "effective communication" (another of the principles listed by Dunham) is vital to the success of any movement. Until we have examined contemporary feminism, it would be presumptuous to make any decisions regarding the community development principles which would be most relevant to feminism.

PART II. FEMINISM

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF FEMINISM

Feminism is not just a recent phenomena, but its origins stem back as far as the Eighteenth Century. Early Canadian feminism was largely influenced by ideas originating in France, Britain and the United States (Bird et al., 1970:334).[1] Towards its latter stages, the women's movement in Canada focused primarily upon the vote at the expense of other issues. The continuing democratization of Canada, the struggles of the suffragettes and the outstanding performance of women in the labor force during World War I were significant factors in the passage of women's suffrage.[2] But perhaps more important was the fact that politicians saw it as politically expedient to grant women the vote. The battles for suffrage had been fought by a small minority of Canadian women, most frequently professional and independently wealthy, middle and upper class women (Mahood, 1972:21). They justified their demands for suffrage in terms of expected social reforms, many of which did come about after women received the vote.[3] These women used the strategy of stressing "female virtues" and the benefit of their "unique skills." They made their demands for the vote in terms of "better homes and families" (Cleverdon, 1950; McClung, 1972; Mahood, 1972). Once female suffrage was passed, most feminists assumed that with the vote would come other measures towards women's

emancipation. With such hopes, some then worked within the system where they generally faded into the background, rarely to be heard of except for very outstanding achievements such as the famous "persons" case.[4]

In the succeeding years, most women retired back to their homes and families while the "myth of emancipation" (Firestone, 1972:27) operated culturally to anesthesize women's political consciousness. Women already had the vote. What more could they want?

The twenties saw the expansion of mass media and their promotion of romance, marriage, fashions and glamour. Women's magazines flourished (Firestone, 1972:27-28). In the thirties the Depression preoccupied women from working for reforms. The scarcity of jobs along with traditional attitudes about the dependence of women conspired to silence any suggestion that women had a claim to equal justice (Gelber, 1973:22). The war effort of the forties again brought more women into the labor force. For the first time in decades women had substantial jobs. They were needed in the labor force to replace fighting men. Governments made financial support available for day care and orders were issued to ensure adherence to the principle of equal pay for equal work (Gelber, 1973:23). The late forties and fifties brought the first long stretch of peace and affluence. But instead of women continuing their efforts of the war years and fighting for their rights, the struggles of the past were forgotten as women were lured back to "hearth and home" by what Friedan calls the "feminine mystique."

In the sixties, women once again became restive. The re-awakening of a sense of dissatisfaction that lay dormant for years became perceptible. In this increasingly affluent society, mass educational upgrading and explosive technology became crucial factors in the resurgence of feminism.

Technological development made brain power more significant than formerly. This theoretically allowed women to compete on an equal level with men in the labor market. The development of more effective birth control methods gave women, for the first time, the opportunity to safely regulate child birth. It also eliminated the physiological basis for the "double standard" in sexual mores. Industrial society was making it increasingly more economically advantageous to have a small family and technology was lessening the time necessary to do housework. Consequently, women were gradually spending less time in child birth, child rearing and housework. These technological advances and a high standard of living gave women increased mobility, freedom and leisure (Waters, 1970:4), while also causing women problems by rendering them "technologically under-employed" in the home (Bernard, 1970:41-43).

Another important consequence of technology was mass urbanization. In a predominantly urban society, even though women were isolated from one another by nuclear families, they had the opportunity for closer contact with one another. This made it much easier for ideas to be disseminated and thus allowed women's discontent to be crystallized.

As well as technology, education played a major role in the sixties. This era saw a general raising of the average level of education which paved the way for questioning the legitimacy of traditional practices and traditional authorities in the name of rational considerations (Toby, 1971:557). The disillusionment that women began feeling was not an isolated occurrence, but part of a broader questioning of North American society. The sixties saw the civil rights and the Black Power movements in the United States, the hippies and the yippies, student power struggles and Third World protests. Mass education served to sharpen women's awareness of sex role contradictions -- that they were excluded from playing social roles which corresponded to their abilities and that society conditioned them to accept an inferior status (Waters, 1970:5).

Many analysts of revolution have shown that long term improvement in social conditions which falls short of the ideal instills hope of that ideal (Epstein and Goode, 1971:2). While women previously accepted the fact that they received less pay for the same work as men and that they did not have equal access to employment opportunities, the improvement in their condition led them to believe they deserved more. Some analysts further suggested that long-term improvement followed by a decrease in rewards creates a greater revolutionary potential. Epstein and Goode argue that in the 1950's and 1960's women actually lost ground if one evaluates their participation in politics, the professions, graduate education and even government (Epstein and Goode, 1971:2).

Technology had made it physically possible for women to have equal opportunities with men. Education had served to sharpen women's awareness of sex role contradictions and led them to have "rising expectations." Out of this background of explosive technology and mass education arose contemporary feminism.

CHAPTER II

CONTEMPORARY FEMINISM

There are a number of major differences between the early struggles for women's rights and contemporary feminism which need to be mentioned. In the earlier woman's movement, the personal and the political were not merged. Most early feminists separated their personal relationships from their political struggle for the vote. There was nothing that resembled contemporary "consciousness-raising"[5] groups in which women begin to relate their personal experiences to societal conditioning.

Another major difference, and related to the first, is that the contemporary women's movement is more of a multi-issue movement, whereas the original movement focused primarily upon the vote. Today's feminists question all facets of life -- laws, marriage, the family, medical practices, government, economics, organizational structures (Greer, 1971; Morgan, 1970; Gornick and Moran, 1971; Bird, 1970; Stephenson, 1973).

A third major difference is that today's movement has strong revolutionary, as well as reform elements. While the major aim of the past movement was change in laws to ameliorate the existing social structure for women (i.e., solely reform), many of today's groups contend that change in practice is useless without change in the structure of society. Some of these groups consider "capitalism" and the "family" as the major oppressors of women.

Contemporary feminism (or synonymously women's liberation, or the women's movement) spans across continents,[6] although probably the strongest movement is in the United States (Safilios Rothschild, 1974:10). As with many other aspects of Canadian culture, women's liberation in Canada is largely influenced by its American counterpart.

Women's liberation groups began springing up across Canada in the late 1960's. The Royal Commission on the Status of Women documented sixteen such groups from Halifax to Vancouver in 1970 (Bird et al., 1970:2). Some of these groups were off-shoots of the New Left[7] and others formed on university campuses (Women Unite, 1972:9-10). But even before the formation of these groups, organizations such as the Canadian Federation of University Women had made representations to the federal government on behalf of women's rights.

Since the Royal Commission report has been made public (1970), there has been a significant increase in the number of feminist groups. Provincial Status of Women Councils have sprung up in almost every province and in both territories. These Councils undertake research into discrimination against women, lobby with governments to implement changes favourable to women, undertake projects to improve conditions for women, and promote awareness among the public regarding women's issues. In 1972, the National Action Committee on the Status of Women formed to promote women's issues on a federal level. Other groups have also developed on a national level, but which focus more on particular issues or concerns. Some of these are: Women for Political Action; Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws;

Dr. Morgentaler Defense Committee; Indian Rights for Indian Women; and those offering national services, such as: Canadian Women's Educational Press; Women and Film; and Clearinghouse for Feminist Media.

The main focus of activity of the women's movement is at the local level. It is at this level that the main vehicles for personal liberation -- consciousness-raising groups -- develop. Locally as well, the groups undertake a variety of change-oriented activities such as providing educational programs on women's issues, non-sexist counselling services for women, birth control and abortion information, women's centres, feminist newspapers and newsletters, and day care centres.

More traditionally established women's organizations have also begun to concern themselves with women's rights. For example, some professional groups (such as the Alberta Home Economics Association, and the Business and Professional Women's Club), religious groups (such as the Anglican women and the United Church women) and a variety of others (such as Women of Unifarm, Alberta Women's Institute) have formed committees within their organizations concerned with the status of women.

Participants in the women's movement range from retired women to their teenage grand-daughters, from professional women to clerics and housewives, from the university educated to the grade school educated. Some authors have identified the average participant to be white, middle-class and educated (Dudar, 1971:166; Firestone, 1972:36;

Morgan, 1970:xxv; Mitchell, 1966:369. This is quite logical as these are the women that are most likely to be faced with increasing sex-role contradictions. They are likely to be women who find themselves discriminated against in the labor force -- not receiving the same pay for similar work as men; seeing themselves passed up for promotions in favor of less qualified men; or not being hired because they are females. They are likely to be educated women who find housework and child-rearing not entirely fulfilling. They are likely to be middle-class women who grew-up learning that all people are equal and resent being treated like inferior beings by male colleagues or lovers. They are perhaps professionals who find the conventional media images of women -- either sex kitten or household nag -- rather degrading. As Pam Madsen states:

> Given these conditions, it might be expected that women begin to question which, if any, of their conflicting role expectations are legitimate, and to seek a redefinition of the sex role relationship. The women most likely to challenge these role expectations are also likely to be those who are faced with the most contradictions. They are most likely to be those women who, now and in the immediate future, are exposed most strongly to the structural changes and inconsistent societal expectations regarding the role of women. They are also likely to be women who can most afford (in power terms) to challenge the legitimacy of the existing relationship between men and women -- i.e., to be in positions where attempts to control their action alternatives by imposing penalties for noncompliance are least likely to be effective (1972:42).

Middle class, professional women are also the ones that can articulate their problems more easily. As well, these women have a better predisposition for coping with the organization of a movement and with government and bureaucracy in the fight for their rights.

Ideology and Actions

Women's liberation ideology centres around the disapproval of socially accepted analyses of women's inferiority; demonstrating how social conditions oppress or discriminate against women; and developing strategies of change and visions of a better society. Much of the ideology is based upon the concrete personal experiences of its members and not "textbook rhetoric" (Morgan, 1970:xvii-xviii). Beginning with the personal, feminist ideology extends to the social, political and economic factors shaping women's lives.

There are two general strands within feminist ideology: reform and revolutionary, or, as it is called by some, "women's rights" and "women's liberation." The revolutionary segment is further divided into socialist feminists and radical feminists. This results in three ideal models of feminism: conservative feminism, socialist feminism and radical feminism (Salper, 1972:3-4; Polk, 1972:321-322; Firestone, 1972:36-43).[8] Although some groups in the women's movement may be a mixture of any of these types the distinction is useful for analytical purposes. Each of the three models will be discussed in brief.

The conservative feminists seek women's equality with men in the present system. They focus on such issues as discrimination in employment and the laws, as well as having more women elected to public offices. They hold government funded conventions,[9] pursue court cases on discrimination against women,[10] participate in orderly demonstrations,[11] publish leaflets and pamphlets on the legal and economic status of women,[12] submit briefs to the government on dis-

criminatory legislation and practices,[13] and hold public meetings on the status of women.[14] Some proponents of conservative feminism are: Betty Friedan, Sylva Gelber, Laura Sabia, June Menzies, Katie Cook.

Socialist feminists maintain their primary loyalty to the Left and some, in fact, are women's caucuses of Left organizations. They subscribe basically to a Marxian analysis of society which serves as a framework for understanding the oppression of women. They believe a socialist revolution is a necessary precondition for women's liberation (Polk, 1972:323). Socialist feminists focus on the evils of capitalism and the concomitant alienating nature of employment. Some proponents of socialist feminism are: Marlene Dixon, Evelyn Reed, Margaret Benston, Juliet Mitchell, Kipp Dawson.

Socialist feminists participate in activities which affirm their support for a broader socialist revolution and for other oppressed groups. For example, they would have a women's contingent participate in peace demonstrations or co-sponsor a public meeting on Third World oppression. They generally emphasize structure and discipline and would rarely be found participating in a street theatre. They organize women, particularly working women, and stage demonstrations (Polk, 1972:323). Holding public meetings and publishing newsletters and pamphlets dealing with women's oppression within capitalist society are also common actions.

Radical feminists see feminist issues not only as women's first priority, but as issues central to any larger revolutionary analysis. They are women who agree with the reforms of moderate feminists, but

feel they do not go far enough. Radical feminists go well beyond the moderates in criticizing basic institutions and power relationships in society. They reject traditional socialist analysis for not adequately explaining the oppression of women and focus their attack upon male supremacy and the institutions which perpetuate it. They tend to be critical of the law, marriage, the family, religion, as well as political and economic institutions. Radical feminists differ on their views about men. Some claim men are the oppressors of women who use social institutions to keep women in their place. (For example, Redstockings and SCUM in the United States). Others feel men, as well as women, are oppressed by these institutions (Greer, 1971; Morgan, 1970). They all agree that men derive economic, political and psychological benefits from their superior position and are not likely to easily give up their status. Proponents of radical feminism are: Germaine Greer, Shulmith Firestone, Kate Millet, Robin Morgan, Ti-Grace Atkinson and Caroline Bird.

The strategies of the radical feminists vary from the conventional (holding public meetings, staging demonstrations, publishing newsletters) to the unconventional. The more dramatic actions in the United States which caught media attention were bra-burning, guerilla theatre, a beauty pagent demonstration, WITCH actions which include hexing groups and individuals (Polk, 1972:322; Salper, 1972:5). However, these are not the most frequent actions of the radical feminists and are rarely even heard of in Canada. Consciousness-raising groups are one of the main vehicles utilized for personal

liberation. Another frequent strategy across Canada has been the establishment of women's centres or women's places as a focal point for movement activity. Other activities include lesbian drops-ins, a women's radio station, information and referral services, self-defense courses, feminist bookmobile, rape crisis centres, women's film festivals, women's art and photography shows, and a women's calendar portraying significant events in women's history, called "Herstory" (The Women's Place Newsletters, Toronto).

In spite of divergent ideologies, what unifies the three segments of feminism is the goal of "sex equality" and opposition to "sexism." Sex equality was described by Barbara Polk as "an end to the male chauvinist myth that men are superior to women and an end to the institutions and practices of society which perpetuate this myth" (1972:321). Sexism refers to the entire range of attitudes, beliefs, practices, policies, laws and behaviors discriminating against or oppressing women (or men) on the basis of their gender (Safilio-Rothschild, 1974:1).

There are a number of important ways in which sex equality differs from race, religious, or ethnic equality. While Indians, Blacks or Catholics may be a minority group, women are not a numerical minority in the population. While the potential exists for numerical strength to press for the removal of inequities, this is counter-balanced by the dispersal of women through nuclear families and the whole range of social classes that form an isolating barrier. Other minority groups are often geographically concentrated which allows

them to more easily act as a pressure group. Another important difference is that sex role socialization begins early in life and is reinforced throughout on a very personal level. Rossi claims that because of this "there is bound to be a lag between political and economic emancipation of women and the inner adjustment of equality of both men and women" (1970:64-65).

Another restricting factor in the movement toward sex equality is the fact that the most common intimate human relationship is the heterosexual one of marriage. This places a major brake on the development of sex-solidarity among women since affiliation with a feminist group may spark off marital tension. For example, commenting upon the deeply personal nature of women's liberation, Robin Morgan explained that among the women who spent a year in putting the book (Sisterhood is Powerful) together:

> . . .five personal relationships were severed, two couples were divorced and one separated, one woman was forced to withdraw her article, by the man she lived with; another's husband kept rewriting the piece until it was unrecognizable as her own (1970:xiii).

Such a brake does not appear in other situations of social inequality, since marriage is usually endogamous with respect to race, class and religion.

Alice Ross examined three models of sex equality: the pluralist model which accepts present differences between the sexes as desirable and good; the assimilation model which urges women to accept the values and goals of men; and the hybrid model which "rejects the present structure of society and seeks instead a new breed of men and women

and a new vision of the future" (Rossi, 1970:74). Conservative feminists may subscribe to the assimilation model, but the majority of feminists seek fulfillment of Rossi's hybrid model. These feminists desire a society which facilitates the development of individual potential regardless of sex. This is what is meant by women's liberation (Bardwick, 1971; DeBeauvoir, 1961; Greer, 1971; Huber, 1973; Nunes and White, 1972; Mandle, 1971; Romer and Secor, 1971; Roszak and Roszak, 1969; Women Unite!, 1972; Safilios-Rothschild, 1974; Sills, 1972; Morgan, 1970).

Three analytical levels may be discerned at which the movement aims to achieve liberation:

1. personal liberation mainly through consciousness-raising;
2. societal liberation mainly through political activity;
3. building a social movement based upon equality (Polk, 1972: 321-327).

Although there is much overlap in each of the three areas, for diagnostic purposes it is useful to keep the categories distinct. Each will be briefly examined.

A. Personal Liberation

Personal liberation involves an awareness of the ways in which women have been oppressed and relegated to an inferior status in society, plus attempts to change this situation in one's personal life. The issues which most crucially affect women in the personal realm are: childhood socialization, woman's identity, marriage and the family.

Feminist ideology documents how women are socialized from early childhood into a secondary and inferior status in society (Bardwick, 1971; Bardwick and Douvan, 1971; Weisstein, 1970; Polk and Stein, 1972). Their self-identity is derived from the concept of femininity (which has a negative value in our society) and focuses almost exclusively upon the fulfillment of the wife/mother role. A woman's status, identity and prestige are not determined by her own achievements but by her husband's (Mandle, 1971:120). The most harmful effect of female socialization has been the fact that women have traditionally accepted society's negative stereotypes, believing themselves to be less worthwhile, less important, less intellectually capable and less able to make decisions than their male counterparts (Malmo-Levine, 1972:7-27; Mandle, 1971:121). Marriage and the family are key institutions which have aided in fostering this image of women because marriage has been built upon the dominant/subordinate male/female relationship and the family has confined women to home-centred roles.

The women's movement response has been to protest the passive, dependent, conforming female stereotype and indicate that stereotypes are damaging to both sexes.

> The demand for equality. . .of women implies radical change in the socialization and developmental processes to which both young women and young men are exposed. The goal of such change would include provision for broad and varied early experience and a diversity of adult role models (Mandle, 1971:122).

Women in the movement protest sexist literature in children's books and write their own non-sexist children's stories.[15] Feminists feel

a change is needed in the cultural definition of feminity to include pursuits outside traditionally home-oriented roles. As well, changes in educational institutions are necessary to encourage women to enter into traditionally "male" occupations and not prevent men from considering traditionally "female" occupations.

Some authors, such as Germaine Greer, suggest that if women are to effect a significant amelioration in their condition, they must refuse to marry (1971:319). Failing that, a married woman must understand her condition and fight for equality in all aspects of her marriage.

Responses to the family by groups within the feminist movement have been varied. Some desire an end to the social institution of the family (Benston, 1969; Dixon, 1972; Greer, 1971; Firestone, 1972). They argue that marriage and the family are the chief vehicles for the oppression of women and that child-care and home management could be more efficiently operated on a communal or cooperative basis. Other groups suggest the problem is not with the institution of the nuclear family per se, but the form it has taken in North American society (Friedan, 1963; Safilios-Rothschild, 1974). More quality day care, elimination of women's sole commitment to home-centred functions, sharing of household responsibilities, shortened work week to allow both parents to spend time with their children are all cited as changes to make the nuclear family a more viable unit.

Personal awareness of women's oppression in society is largely derived from writings of the women's movement. As well, another major

vehicle is consciousness-raising groups. Within these small groups, women share their experiences, emotions and aspirations in a frank and personal manner. The consequence of these groups is that often women begin to realize that their problems are not uniquely personal, but to a large extent a product of female conditioning. The result of being able to generalize from the personal to the social, is a changed perspective of reality -- an altering view of oneself, others and social institutions. From awareness often stems action -- whether it is women working together on more externally focused projects, or going out on one's own in the world, or making difficult changes in one's life (Nunes and White, 1972:131). These attitudinal changes are probably the most important consequences of the women's movement, for without an awareness of present inequities and injustices people are unwilling to support societal changes.

B. Societal Liberation

The second major focal point of the women's movement is societal liberation, involves changes in social practices and institutions which oppress or discriminate against women. The main targets of the movement attacks in this realm are employment, law, politics and the media.

It has been frequently documented that in spite of equal pay and equal opportunities legislation, women are consistently paid lower salaries than men and are concentrated in the lower third of the labor force (Women's Bureau, 1971; Women's Bureau, 1972; Women's Bureau, 1974; Gelber, 1970; Gelber, 1971; Gelber, 1972; Gelber, 1973;

Gelber, 1974; Alberta, 1972; Edmonton Social Planning Council, 1974).

Sylva Gelber, Director of the Federal Women's Bureau, commented:

> The general picture. . .of the Canadian female labour force portrays women as clerical and office workers, sales clerks and waitresses, telephone operators, and stewardesses on airlines; but there is a dearth of planners, executives and managers in the total scene (1972:10).

The response of the women's movement to inequities in the employment field have varied. Some feminists demand enforcement of equal pay for equal work and equal employment opportunities principles. They call for affirmative action programs to place the onus on government and industry to show that they are not discriminating against women. Accessible and adequate child care is an important factor in allowing women to work. Elimination of the ways in which the general culture discourages young girls from occupational achievement and aspirations are sought by groups within the women's movement.

Socialist feminists (Benston, 1969; Dixon, 1972; Mitchell, 1971; Salper, 1972) ascertain that the exploitation of the woman worker is essential to the functioning of capitalism and that the liberation of women involves the destruction or overthrow of capitalism. They argue that any changes in work are meaningless without an attack on the alienating nature of work roles for both men and women under capitalism. Rather than changes in form or practices they are calling for total structural change.

Many Canadian laws, such as the Canadian Citizenship Act, the Canada Pension Plan, the Indian Act, the Criminal Code (which contains

a section on abortion), Unemployment Insurance Act, Canada Labor Code discriminate against women (Bird et al., 1970:225-259:357-392; the Edmonton Journal, March 7, 1974). For example, Canadian law specifies that a woman's domicile is legally that of her husband's, and changes as he changes his. In this respect, a woman is still in the same position as her minor children. If she refuses to maintain his domicile, she may legally be charged with desertion (Bird et al., 1970:236-237). The Indian Act states that an Indian man who marries a non-Indian woman retains his status and confers it on his wife and children. However, an Indian woman who marries a non-Indian not only cannot confer on him Indian status, but she loses all the rights and privileges of being an Indian for herself and her children (Bird et al., 1970:237). Retention of abortion in the Criminal Code is denounced by feminists as oppressive legislation because it denies women control of their own bodies.

Provincial laws also contain a variety of discriminatory clauses affecting women in the fields of family law, welfare and property rights (Gelber, 1974:37). Many practices (obtaining credit and/or a passport when married, public service superannuation, employment fringe benefits) discriminate against women on the basis of their sex (the Edmonton Journal, March 7, 1974). Feminists call for a change in all these discriminatory laws and practices.

Besides attempting to influence legislators to bring about changes favorable to women, some women's groups are attempting to get women appointed or elected into decision-making roles in a political

system in which women are grossly under-represented.[16] Women in the movement also attack the media images of women which relegate them to the roles of wife/mother/sex object (Komisar, 1971; Embree, 1970; Florika, 1970). As many of these societal changes sought by feminists are slow to come about, women seek support from one another in building a movement.

C. Building a Movement

Together with the search for personal liberation and changes in social institutions and practices, the women's movement has attempted to build "a new form of organization and a new way of living which does not import the oppressiveness of traditional male-dominated forms in society" (Polk, 1972:325). Barbara Polk described it as an attempt to build an egalitarian movement which served as a model for an egalitarian society. She felt women's liberation was perhaps the first social movement in recent times to take the idea of equality seriously.

> The significant social development in Women's Liberation is that women can see that little will have changed in their lives if they are willing to substitute the domination of organizational leaders for the domination of men. Women who are attracted to the movement are women who are seeking individual liberation and who have felt thwarted in a variety of ways, largely, but not exclusively, through their roles as women. The women in the movement are not attempting to change the lives of others as much as they are attempting to change their own lives. In doing this, it is impossible to accept the authority of any person other than oneself (Polk, 1972:325).

Out of this understanding has emerged a movement without a national organization or national leaders, that represent "the move-

ment" in any meaningful way. The assumption is that organizations usurp the power which could be more meaningfully invested in the individual.

A major aspect of building the movement is creating "sisterhood" -- a bond between women. This is to counter previous socialization in which women were competitive with one another for men and where a male's company was usually preferred to that of a female's. Women in the movement place a high valuation on one another's friendships and on each woman's competence. They work together, support one another and generally enjoy each other's company.

Part of building a movement also involves creating a women's culture. Historical figures are revived: the suffragettes, the first women doctors in Canada, the first woman elected to Parliament, the first female magistrate in the Commonwealth, etc. Women's media -- film festivals, art displays, photography exhibits, magazines, newspapers and newsletters -- are being fostered in an effort to give women an opportunity to express their talents and develop their skills.

Considering the diversity of organizations, issues and modes of action within the movement, can feminism be considered a true social movement? If feminism is a social movement, what further insights can the social movement framework reveal about feminism?

CHAPTER III

FEMINISM AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT

Definition

A social movement has been defined as a collectivity extending beyond a local community or single event, which shares a common value system and acts to promote or resist change. The distinguishing features were cited as: the use of organization; change-oriented goals; a shared value system; durability and geographic scope.

Feminism fits this definition as the original struggle for women's rights began in the time of the industrial revolution, and more recently was revived in the late 1960's. A large variety of organizations in a variety of countries are working for changes to increase the options for women in all facets of life: law; education; marriage; the family; economics; politics; employment. The shared value system of the woman's movement revolves around the concepts of sex equality (destroying the myth that women are inferior beings) and sexism (attitudes and practices which oppress women). Feminism can, then, be considered a true social movement.

Classification

According to Ryan's classification of social movements, the women's movement is an external, goal-oriented movement as it seeks changes in the social order. Beyond that commonality, certain segments within the movement fall into the reform category (conservative feminists) while the others can be considered revolutionary, with

some limitation (socialist feminists and radical feminists). The value-oriented reform segment of the movement seeks equality for women based on the broader philosophic principle of democracy that "all men are equal." It accepts the legitimacy of the established order and attempts to show how women have been excluded from this definition of equality. For example, it is not marriage per se, nor employment per se that oppress women, but the practices within these spheres. Success for conservative feminists is measured by the extent to which "sex equality" is promoted and legitimated by the larger society.

Ryan maintains that the growth and self-creation of the reform movement is dependent upon its legitimacy and non-revolutionary status. Herein lies a problem for conservative feminists. Much of the general public has heard of the more radical, extreme, or revolutionary elements of feminism and all too often identify these with the entire movement. This allows them to discount much of what is said and done in the name of women's liberation.

The goals of the revolutionary aspect of the women's movement are also aimed at affecting the norms and values of the existing social order. Like conservative feminists, revolutionary feminists are "value-oriented" rather than "power-oriented," since their major aim is to gain substantive objectives and not to gain ascendency to the seats of power. In contrast to the reform segment of the movement, radical and socialist feminists reject the legitimacy of the established order. That is, women in the revolutionary segment of

the movement do not wish to replace men in controlling the nation, but reject the legitimacy of capitalism or male supremacy (as the case may be). Their goals are broad in relating to the overthrow or destruction of entire institutional structures, such as the family and alienating labor under capitalism, rather than just reforms in these areas. Although revolutionary in its ideology, its strategies are generally not revolutionary. The women's movement has not taken "sudden and violent" action (Ryan, 1969:193).

Movement Structure

The structure of a social movement has been described as organization, ideology and strategy. Each will be briefly discussed as to how they relate to the women's movement.

A. Organization

Gerlach identified the organization of a social movement as: segmented (composed of diverse groups), polycephalous (having many leaders) and reticulate (organized into a network of overlapping participation and joint activities) (1971:617). The women's movement in Canada and elsewhere conforms to this organizational structure as many "grass roots" groups have emerged to promote the "women's cause," but which have no formal ties with other groups promoting the same cause. As well, leadership within the movement is diffuse because of the large number of groups and because members of some groups seek to share leadership roles. Some more active members belong to several women's groups and the groups occasionally participate in joint

activities.[17]

Jo Freeman described the organizational structure of groups within the movement as conforming to two main styles which she calls: the older branch of the movement (because it began first and because the median age of activists is higher) and the younger branch of the movement (characterized by innumerable small groups whose contact with each other is at best tenuous)(1973:33-34). The style of the older branch tends to be traditionally formal, with elected officers, boards of directors, bylaws and "other trappings of the democratic process" (Freeman, 1973:34). The younger branch has inherited the loose, flexible, person-oriented attitude of youth and student movements (Freeman, 1973:35). It has striven for greater equality among members. However, the groups have often realized that to accomplish specific tasks, some formal organization is necessary.

The women's movement has been described as without national leaders. Members of the movement have been identified as predominantly those women who most often are exposed to conflicting sex role expectations and who can most afford to challenge the legitimacy of the established structure. These are often white, middle-class, educated women. Because these types of women are generally quite articulate, they often are seen by the public as leaders of the movement. The media, in particular, tends to draw out particular personalities as spokeswomen.

B. Ideology

The ideology of a social movement has been defined as consisting of five main features: a statement of purpose; a doctrine of defense; an indictment of existing arrangements; A general design for action; and certain myths (Lang and Lang, 1961:537). As previously mentioned, there are three main ideological groupings within the women's movement: conservative feminists, socialist feminists and radical feminists. Each grouping has a slightly different perception of each of the features of ideology. Nevertheless, in the following discussion the common strands of feminist ideology will be briefly discussed.

The general purpose or goal of feminism is sex equality or alternatively, the liberation of women from oppression. The doctrine of defense of the women's movement or the justification for its existence is that women have generally been defined as inferior beings to men and confined to subordinate roles (such as home centred roles) in society, which did not correspond to their abilities, talents or potential. Women have not been allowed equal opportunities and responsibilities with men, and consequently denied the social, financial and psychological benefits that accrue to men. The women's movement condemns sexism, male supremacy, and those institutions and practices fostering their existence. The liberation of women is to be achieved on three levels: personally, societally and through the movement. Personal liberation is achieved through an awareness of the sources of oppression or discrimination (consciousness-raising),

and struggling to eliminate them in one's daily life. The formulas for societal liberation are many and diverse, and largely related to the particular brand of feminism. It is perhaps here that feminist ideology is the weakest, as solutions are not as readily available as indictments. However, women's liberation does promise a better society for both men and women -- one that allows for freedom, creativity and the development of individual potential regardless of gender. In building a movement, women strive for equality and "sisterhood."

C. Strategy

Turner and Killian (1957) stated that the ideology of a movement evolved interdependently with its strategy and, as was previously discussed, the three ideological branches of the movement utilize somewhat different tactics. However, the strategies of all three segments of the women's movement can be described as persuasive, that is, they manipulate symbols in striving to create a greater public consciousness of women's oppression, and some attempt to influence decision-makers. None of the tactics appear to be of the bargaining or coercive types as described by Turner. These tactics require a position of power for their effective use -- an exchangeable value desired by the target group, as in the case of bargaining; or a threat to worsen the position of the target group, as in the case of coercion. The women's movement currently does not have this kind of power in society and is, therefore, unable to effectively utilize these strategies.

The Process of a Social Movement

The process of a social movement includes its stages of development and its impact. Each will be discussed in brief as they relate to feminism.

A. Stages of Development

It is difficult to precisely place the women's movement within any of the idealized stages of the "natural history" of a social movement as enumerated by Dawson and Gettys (1929). However, an attempt will be made to approximately delineate its development.

Dawson and Gettys began their analysis with a stage of preliminary excitement. This could be used to describe feminism in the 1960's. There were stirrings of discontent, but as yet no organized action. Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique and Simone De Beauvoir's The Second Sex were beginning to raise the consciousness of some women. In the United States in the early 1960's, the President's Commission on the Status of Women documented how women were denied many rights and opportunities (Freeman, 1973:35), and in 1966, Betty Friedan and some supporters formed the National Organization for Women (NOW) (Salper, 1972:172). Other more radical groups began to form and at the turn of the decade a number of dramatic events called the nation's attention to the phenomena of women's liberation. In Canada, in the late 1960's, the Royal Commission on the Status of Women was holding public meetings across the nation and hearing women's problems, frustrations, and dissatisfactions. The report was tabled in 1970 and many conservatives and radical feminists

began forming across the nation.

The spread of feminists groups, in the late 1960's in the United States and in the early 1970's in Canada, marks the transition into second phase of social movements -- popular stage of excitement (Dawson and Gettys). Few people had not heard of women's liberation in the early 1970's. Feminist ideology was becoming more prolific as Caroline Bird, Germaine Greer, Kate Millet, Shulamith Firestone, Robin Morgan and others came out with their books dealing with their analyses of women's oppression and visions of liberation.

Feminist groups began making attempts to communicate with one another and co-ordinate activities as various provincial and national bodies formed, and groups began publishing newsletters, newspapers and magazines. However, the overall organization of the women's movement has remained loose and is likely to continue in that vein for some time, in adherence to its ideology. This activity can probably be considered to mark a transition into Dawson and Gettys's third phase of social movements -- formal organization.

Some elements of institutionalization are present in the movement by virtue of the fact that the Canadian government has instituted an Advisory Council on the Status of Women and an Office of Equal Opportunities. However, the goals of the movement extend far beyond what these bodies can do. Feminism has a long way to go before it reaches its goals.

B. Impact of the Movement

The consequences of the women's movement are difficult to

assess, especially at this early stage. Dudar notes that "Ridicule has pursued the feminist down the corridors of time like some satanic joker" (Dudar, 1971:168). But whether men or women agree with the main ideological tenets of women's liberation, they are at least aware of its existence and some are reacting to it (Safilios-Rothschild, 1972:387).

Epstein and Goode commented upon their perception of some of the widespread reactions and ramifications of the women's liberation movement:

> The response of men. Although some men are concerned that women will compete with them for jobs in a truly open market, many are expressing even more concern about how women will interact with them in love, in marriage and in daily social relations. . .fear of the unknown is always generated and men cannot yet assess the relative merits and costs for them of women's equality.
>
> The reactions of women -- both inside and outside the movement. Not only is the social structure being altered; alterations are taking place within women themselves today. Women are becoming more assured of their own worth and integrity. They demand serious treatment and full respect. Those who once would have dropped out of competition for a higher level job, now stay and fight, prove their dedication and competence, and reject the disparaging ways that they are treated. Formerly alone, many now have the support of the 'sisters' and a collective sense of obligation to assert their rights.
>
> The reaction of the 'liberal' public. . . . They favor higher education for women, but feel that it ought to be used in the home. They think women should work, but that jobs should come second to home duties. They admit that women have talents, but believe that all-out exploitation of talent is more suitable in building a man's career than in molding a woman's life. . . . Many liberals, however, have developed a less antagonistic view of women's liberation when presented with its full range of arguments, and, increasingly, are entertaining the possibility that it holds the promise of a better society (Epstein and Goode, 1971:157-158).

Constantina Safilios-Rothschild largely agreed with Epstein

and Goode about these diffuse changes that are taking place as a result of the women's movement. She maintained that women are increasingly rejecting the "axiom" that women are inferior to men and that passivity is their "natural" and "feminine" characteristic (Safilios-Rothschild, 1972:387). Women are also now freer to initiate and maintain true friendships with women rather than "limited risk" associations that dissolve when common interests arise regarding a man (Safilios-Rothschild, 1972:388). She asserted that diffuse changes are probably more important in the long-run than tangible changes, such as the election of women to decision-making bodies and changes in discriminatory laws and practices. Although she felt some law changes were important, she stated:

> The eventual success of the Women's Liberation Movement will be measured not by the extent to which it has secured legal guarantees of equality but rather by the extent to which it has helped change the values and attitudes of men and women, so that they do consider and treat each other as equals (Safilios-Rothschild, 1972:389).

Similar to the debate by social movement theorists, theorists of the women's movement argue whether the loose organization of the movement is actually developing a new style of organization, avoiding the ill effects of hierarchy or whether this is a deficiency in the movement blocking the realization of its goals (Polk, 1972; Kontopoulos, 1972; Safilios-Rothschild, 1972). Barbara Polk noted that many men and women, as well as the mass media, regard the movement as ineffective "because of its lack of organization, leaders, and clearly agreed-upon goals and tactics" (1972:327). Kontopoulos agreed and cited the ultra-pluralization of radical groups, lack of a specifically articulated

ideology, the leaderless, memberless protean form of the groups, and the neglect of "timed" strategies as "deficiencies" that hinder the effective realization of the movement (1972:357). However, Polk felt these criticisms failed to take note of the fact that "the structure of the movement flows directly from its egalitarian ideology and is itself a strategy of implementation of that ideology" (Polk, 1972:328).

Summary

In this section the woman's movement has been discussed according to a social movement framework which included definition, classification, structure and process. Feminism was found to have the necessary characteristics to be considered a social movement and was classified as an external-goal oriented movement with reform and revolutionary segments. The structural features of a social movement -- organization, ideology and strategy -- were examined in relation to contemporary feminism. The stages of development of contemporary feminism were described and speculations about the consequences of the movement were made.

CHAPTER IV

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Because the contemporary women's movement is not only aimed at structural changes in society, but also individual "consciousness-raising," the study of the women's movement becomes more than a political or sociological analysis, but also a study in the "development" of a sector of society. As such it has relevance to community development. The two main aspects of community development -- "community" and "development"-- will be discussed in brief as they relate to the women's movement.

In community development terminology, the women's movement could be considered a "community of interest" or a "community of ideas." This sense of community is defined by the issue -- which in the case of feminism is opposition to sexism and the goals of sex equality and liberation.

A social movement has been defined as developmental in the sense that it promotes a greater awareness among people about their objective conditions and the potential for change; that people become involved in actions which promote their welfare; that people share in the decision-making process; that movement ideology seeks to open up choices for people and reaffirm their basic humanness; that people make direct interventions in social processes to meet their felt needs; that the movement develops attitudes of self-confidence, initiative, cooperation and resourcefulness among people. Does the women's

movement meet these criteria?

It was previously mentioned that one of the main objectives of the women's movement was personal liberation -- an awareness of the ways in which women have been oppressed and relegated to an inferior status in society, plus an awareness of the possibility for changing this situation in one's personal life. Pessimism is not the mood of liberation!

Through feminist groups, women participate in actions for their own personal growth, such as attending a consciousness-raising group, or for the collective good, such as attempting to change discriminatory laws, promoting equal pay practices, and seeking funding for day care centres. In this way, they are intervening in the normal social processes to meet their "felt needs."

The older branch of the movement has retained traditional styles of democratic procedures, while the younger branch has attempted a more egalitarian structure, with equal or nearly equal sharing of roles, responsibilities and duties. Within both these structures there is much opportunity for participation of members in decision-making processes.

The ideology of the movement states that women have been socialized to be secondary and, consequently, have had limited options open to them. The movement calls for greater options for women in all spheres of life -- home management, education, employment, politics and the laws. Most of the movement maintains the men, as well as women, have been oppressed by confining sex-role stereotypes

and sexist institutions. They feel the liberation of women will eventually result in the liberation of men. However, an extreme element does define men as the oppressors (i.e., Redstockings).

An important aim of many movement groups is to allow women to develop their self-confidence and leadership abilities, which are facilitated by these feminist groups.

With perhaps the exclusion of the more extreme elements of the women's movement (i.e., those who consider men as the oppressors), it appears from the literature that the women's movement can be considered basically developmental. As such, feminism might draw upon community development methods of operation for more effective action. Some of these methods and their relationship to the women's movement will be discussed.

A basic community development principle is start with the felt needs of the community. Although this concept has been criticized (Brokensha and Hodge, 1969:23; United Nations, 1971:11), the importance of relating programs and structures to the expressed needs of citizens has been demonstrated (Brokensha and Hodge, 1969:140; United Nations, 1971:12). People will not continue the momentum for change or development if they do not perceive a need for such change. This emphasizes the importance for feminist groups to cater to the needs of their constituents -- women. Striving to organize satisfied housewives around the issue of equal employment opportunities would probably be counterproductive. Movement groups must make a choice between espousing an ideology which would probably cater to the needs

of a broad spectrum of women and espousing a more radical ideology which might only cater to a small core of dedicated women. In the same way, group priorities must be carefully determined. Simply adopting issues and strategies from other localities may not always produce the best results as women in various localities may perceive their needs as different and, therefore, tend to support different kinds of issues.

Community participation in the development process is another important principle of community development. Lee Cary considered participation to mean "open, popular broad involvement of people in community decisions that affect their lives" (1973:11). Within feminist groups, open participation would allow members to enter or leave the process as their needs or interests dictated. This could also be of benefit to the movement as various skills and information are required at different times. Broad participation would mean efforts to involve as many people as possible within feminist groups and to decentralize decision-making within the groups. When people work together in a process and influence decisions, they become more committed to the outcome of the process and long-term success is then more likely.

The development of local leadership is another important community development principle. Within the women's movement this would imply that leaders within feminist groups disperse their knowledge and skills among the membership. It also implies that a variety of persons, as opposed to only a few, are given opportunities by which

they may develop their own skills, such as chairing a meeting, public speaking, using a video camera, etc. In this manner, expertise is shared within the group and individuals grow personally. The greater the extent to which information and opportunities are dispersed within the group, the more likely members are to be committed to the process and the less likely is the outcome of actions to be dependent solely upon the leadership.

Utilization of effective communication is an especially important community development principle for feminist groups. Saul Alinsky underscored the importance of communication by stating, "It does not matter what you know about anything if you cannot communicate to your people. In that event you are not even a failure. You're just not there" (1971:81). Within the women's movement, communication is important to achieve effective organization. Between the women's movement and the general public, effective communication is also important in order to gain broad support for women's issues.

In Dunham's summary of principles, the principle which was most often mentioned was that community development should have programs which are well organized, integrated, practical, realistic and flexible. Practical, realistic programs within the women's movement would examine needs, problems, and resources and then determine goals which are achievable. Program flexibility might mean innovation, imagination and changeability are part of the program design.

It must be remembered that effective use of community development principles does not guarantee the success of the feminist move-

ment. There are many external factors such as societal changes in the direction of movement goals (Zald and Ash, 1970:520) which influence movement success. However, community development principles and practices could be important internal factors which substantially influence the outcomes of feminism.

FOOTNOTES TO PART II

1. In France, as early as 1789, the egalitarian philosophy of the French revolution prompted a pioneer feminist, Olympe de Gouges, to draft The Declaration of the Rights of Women (O'Neill, 1969:1). About this time as well, Condorcet published L'admission des femmes au droit de cité (Bird et al., 1970:334). In Britain Mary Wollstonecraft advocated the full humanity of women and insisted upon its recognition in A Vindication of the Rights of Women, which was published in 1791. Nearly a century later (1869), John Stuart Mill published On the Subjection of Women in which he maintained that women's position was not natural but the result of political oppression by men and that this kind of use of power was hindering general human improvement (Mill, 1971). In the United States, the women's movement arose out of the anti-slavery movement and focused largely upon the vote (Salper, 1972:6-13).

2. In 1916, Manitoba was the first Canadian province to grant women suffrage. Alberta and Saskatchewan followed behind in that same year. By 1922, women had received the vote in all Canadian provinces with the exception of Quebec (Bird et al., 1970:336-338). Here the Roman Catholic Church, backward rural Quebec and splits among the suffrage forces kept women from voting until 1940 (Mahood, 1972:25). On the federal scene, the government granted women the vote in 1918, providing they were eligible to vote provincially. Two years later the Dominion Elections Act freed federal voting from provincial voting qualifications. It also affirmed the right of women to be elected to Parliament (Bird et al., 1970:337).

3. By 1928 most provinces had introduced equal guardianship of children; mothers's allowances; maintenance for deserted wives; maternity protection; minimum wages; the protection of labor, including child labor; protection for all children including adopted children, the children of unmarried mothers and juveniles appearing before the courts; and had raised the age for compulsory schooling and the age at which marriage could be solemnized within the province. At the federal level, the divorce law had been amended to establish "equality of cause" between husband and wife, and the Old Age Pension Act had been passed. It is uncertain whether these measures can be directly attributed to the influence of the woman voter, but the period after woman's suffrage did coincide with a time when legislators, hitherto preoccupied with economic affairs, became concerned with social matters (Bird et al., 1970:338).

4. Although the right to vote and hold public office was won, the right to be appointed to the Senate was still questioned. There was uncertainty as to whether women could be considered "persons" under the BNA Act, giving them the right to sit in the Senate. Five Alberta

women, Henrietta Muir Edwards, Emily Murphy, Nellie McClung, Louise McKinney and Irene Parlby took the question to the Supreme Court of Canada which decided "persons" did not include women. The decision was appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council which, in 1929, proclaimed women to be persons (Bird et al., 1970:338-339).

5. A "consciousness-raising group" in the women's movement is defined as a group of women who meet regularly to share their experiences, to learn to understand themselves and how they relate to others, to become aware of the special problems they face as women, and to support each other's attempts to make changes in their personal lives (Malmo-Levine, 1972:2). "Consciousness-raising" as a process focuses upon an awareness of oneself and one's personal situation in relation to the society at large.

6. Juliet Mitchell states that in 1971 there were active Women's Liberation Movements in all but three (Ireland, Austria, and Switzerland) of the liberal democratic countries of the advanced capitalist world. She also adds there were active groups in Japan, South Africa, Australia, Turkey and Afghanistan (Mitchell, 1971:11). Robin Morgan adds the countries of Mexico, Japan and Tanzania (Morgan, 1970:xxv).

7. For example, in 1967 in Toronto, a women's liberation group formed from membership that had broken off from the Student Union for Peace Action (Women Unite", 1972:9).

8. Each writer uses slightly different names for the ideological groupings. For example, Firestone calls the socialist feminists "politicos"; Polk uses the terms women's rights, independent Women's Liberation groups and women's causes of left-wing political groups.

9. For example, the Strategy for Change Conference in Toronto, April, 1972 sponsored by the National Action Committee on the Status of Women was funded by the Canadian government. As well, The Opportunities for Women Conference in Vancouver, May, 1973 was primarily funded by the federal Department of Manpower and Immigration with special assistance from the Secretary of State to provincial groups attending the conference.

10. Indian Rights for Indian Women intervened in the Supreme Court case of Jeanette Lavell on her behalf. They charged that Section 12 1b of the Indian Act discriminated against Indian women on the basis of their sex.

11. Numerous demonstrations protesting present abortion laws in Canada have been staged in most major cities.

12. Options for Women, in conjunction with the Edmonton Social Planning Council, published the "Task Force on Women in the Alberta Force."

13. In the summer of 1973, Alberta Options for Women submitted a brief to the Alberta Rules and Regulations Committee on discriminatory practices.

14. Edmonton Options for Women and the Vancouver Status of Women Council hold regular public meetings on various issues concerning the status of women.

15. For example, Ms. carries a regular feature called "Stories for Free Children" which contains non-sexist children's stories.

16. The Royal Commission on the Status of Women documented that between 1917 and June, 1970 there had been 134 federal and provincial elections and 6,845 people had been elected. Of these, only 67 were women, just under one per cent of the total (Bird et al., 1970:339).

17. The latter was the case in the 1973 Women's International Film Festival and the formation of the Women's Centre in Edmonton in 1974.

PART III. THE STUDY

Having established contemporary feminism as a social movement and considering it to be developmental in nature, the literature appears to suggest that community development principles and practices may be conducive to its successful realization. An empirical study of selected feminist groups in Edmonton was conducted to shed more light on this question. Although there are many internal and external factors of a movement which affect its success, an important internal factor is the effectiveness of movement organizations.

From those community development principles that most logically seemed to apply to the women's movement and those that found some support in social movement writings, a number have been chosen. From these, hypotheses have been formulated to test whether utilization of community development principles and practices can be positively correlated with perceived group effectiveness. The hypotheses are:

The perceived effectiveness of groups within the women's movement in Edmonton is positively correlated with:

a) the extent to which members perceive the group meets their needs;

b) the extent to which group members participate in activities;

c) the extent to which group members participate in decision-making;

d) the extent to which the group encourages the development of local leadership;

e) the extent to which the groups have developed an effective communication network;

f) the extent to which the group's structure is responsive and flexible.

The writer chose to examine effectiveness through the eyes of those involved in terms of the combined goal approach and systems approach. Perceived effectiveness in the study, then, meant the ability of a feminist group "to acquire and mobilize resources of support from its environment in the achievement of its stated goals" (Doyle, 1973:314). A comparative analysis was also used, that is, the relative effectiveness of feminist groups was assessed through the perceptions of group members. From the outset of the study it was realized that a better measure of group effectiveness would also include the perceptions of non-members. However, the limitations of time, the lack of finances and the difficulty of choosing an adequate sample made such a procedure unfeasible.

CHAPTER I

METHODOLOGY

Since the women's movement does not have clear-cut boundaries, it becomes necessary to delimit its dimensions for the purposes of investigation. The associations which were considered for the study are groups in Edmonton actively promoting the goal of the women's movement, "sex equality," in any of its dimensions. There were probably many traditional groups in the city which had committees concerned with women's rights, but in order to retain the study to a manageable size only one such group was included (University Women's Club, Status of Women Committee). Associations which were strictly service-oriented but only marginally promoted the goals of the women's movement (such as a home for unwed mothers or an abortion referral service) were also excluded so as to keep the study focused on groups central to the women's movement.

A typology of these feminist groups in Edmonton was developed according to the criteria of: type of organization; size; function; and issue (Table 2). Six groups were arbitrarily chosen for the study which represented a diversity of types, such as: ad hoc and standing; sub-group and group (conglomerate groups were excluded); small groups and larger groups; information, education and social action groups; and single-issue and multi-issue groups. Dr. Morgentaler Defense Committee was selected for the study as the only ad hoc group and Women's Program Centre as the only educational group. On Our Way was

TABLE 2

Typology of Feminist Groups in Edmonton

TYPE OF ORGANIZATION	
Ad Hoc	Standing
Dr. Morgentaler Defense Committee	Branching Out Indian Rights for Indian Women Independent Women's Publishers New Democratic Party Women's Caucus On Our Way Options for Women University Women's Club, Status of Women Women's Program Centre

Sub-Group	Group	Conglomerate Group
NDP Women's Caucus University Women's Club Status of Women	Branching Out On Our Way Options for Women Indian Rights for Indian Women Dr. Morgentaler Defense Women's Program Centre	Independent Women's Publishers

SIZE	
Small	Larger
Branching Out On Our Way Indian Rights for Indian Women University Women's Club Status of Women	Dr. [illegible] Defense C'ttee Opt[illegible] ND[illegible] Women[illegible]

FUNCTION		
Information	Education	Social Action
Branching Out On Our Way Independent Women's Publishers	Women's Program Centre	Dr. Morgentaler Defense Indian Rights for Indian Women NDP Women's Caucus Options for Women University Women's Club, Status of Women

ISSUE	
Single Issue	Multi-Issue
Dr. Morgentaler Defense Committee Indian Rights for Indian Women	Branching Out Independent Women's Publishers On Our Way Options for Women NDP Women's Caucus Women's Program Centre University Women's Club Status of Women

chosen as the information group and the University Women's Club, Status of Women Committee for being a sub-group. Indian Rights for Indian Women was also selected as it was a small, social action, single issue group and Options for Women was a larger, social action, multi-issue group.

Indepth interviews and structured questionnaires were used to gain the necessary empirical data about these feminist groups. A pre-test was conducted with Branching Out. For the study, in-depth interviews were conducted with three key members of each of the six groups (those members holding leadership positions or those most involved as indicated by an official of the group). These were used to develop a descriptive case study of each group, to ascertain group structure (organization, goals and strategy), and the leaders' perceptions of the group's effectiveness. As well, the interviews were designed to shed light on the hypotheses to be tested. Appendix I contains the interview schedule.

Structured questionnaires to participating members of the selected feminist groups were utilized to test the hypotheses and to derive members' perceptions of the effectiveness of the group to which they belong. The list of participating members in each group was derived from one of the key members in the group (usually the official leader, if there was one). Questionnaires with covering letters (Appendix II) were initially distributed at a group meeting. Two groups (University Women's Club, Status of Women Committee and Dr. Morgentaler Defense Committee) chose to fill out the questionnaires

at the meeting and the rest took the questionnaires home. Members that were not present at the meeting were mailed the questionnaire. One to two weeks later (it varied for each group as initial distribution of questionnaires depended upon the time of the group meeting) a reminder was mailed out to all non-respondents (Appendix III). Three weeks after, non-respondents received another questionnaire and covering letter (Appendix IV). One month later responses were analyzed. It was felt that this lapse of approximately two and one-half months from the initial receipt of questionnaires was sufficient time for completion of responses.

Questionnaire Design

The questionnaire was constructed with closed and open-ended questions with at least three questions pertaining to each hypothesis. The first page of the questionnaire was different for each group. It had the name of the group and asked respondents to identify themselves according to four levels of participation in the group. Questionnaires in which participants chose the last level (non participation) were not used in analysis.

The open-ended questions were used to gain more information about members' perceptions of the group and closed-ended questions were used to test the hypotheses for each group. Open-ended responses were categorized for each question to obtain some indication of the frequency of a particular type of response.

Each closed-ended question consisted of a statement and a choice of five responses: strong agree (SA); agree (A); neither or

does not apply (N); disagree (D); and strongly disagree (SD). There were two types of closed-ended questions: one in which strongly agree (SA) was the positive end of the scale; the other in which strongly disagree (SD) was the positive end of the scale. Both types of closed-ended questions were used in approximately the same number in the questionnaire to minimize possible bias due to question structure.

To obtain a score for each hypothesis, responses to each closed-ended question were assigned a numerical value on the -2 to +2 scale. For example, if SA was the positive end of the scale, it was assigned a value of +2 as shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3

Values Assigned for Each Response if SA is the Positive End of the Scale

SA	A	N	D	SD
+2	+1	0	−1	−2

If SA was the negative end of the scale, it was assigned a value of −2 as shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4

Values Assigned for Each Response if SA is the Negative End of the Scale

SA	A	N	D	SD
−2	−1	0	+1	+2

Scores for each question and for all questions pertaining to a particular hypothesis were averaged for each group to obtain a score for each hypothesis as it pertained to each group. An average score for each group on all hypotheses was also calculated.

Since Hypothesis a) ("the extent to which members perceived the group meets their needs") is more nebulous than the rest, it is, perhaps, appropriate to mention the elements of its composition. It was recognized that a group meets two kinds of needs: task needs in terms of the stated objectives of the group and maintenance needs in terms of personal satisfactions. Schutz's analysis (1971:96-111) of personal needs in a group (inclusion, control and affection) was used in the study and questions were designed to elicit information about these factors.

CHAPTER II

THE RESULTS

The total return rate of questionnaires was 65 per cent and varied in each group from 100 per cent in one to 31 per cent in another (Table 5).

TABLE 5

Responses to Questionnaires

Group	Original Sample Size	Net Sample Size*	Return Rate	Number Usable+
On Our Way	7	7	100%	7
Dr. Morgentaler Defense C'ttee	29	29	59%	8
Women's Program Centre	21	20	70%	9
University Women's Club, Status of Women Committee	11	11	55%	6
Options for Women	50	48	67%	22
Indian Rights for Indian Women	13	13	31%	4
Total	134	128	65%	56

*Net Sample Size was computed by subtracting persons not contacted (because of a change of address, away for the summer, etc,) from the original size.

+Number Usable were those returned and completed questionnaires in which respondents had identified themselves as active participants in the group.

A review of survey literature uncovers a wide range of acceptable response rates (Babbie, 1973:165). Babbie suggested that, as a rule of thumb, fifty per cent is adequate for analysis, sixty per cent is good and seventy per cent is very good (1973:165). These figures cast doubt upon the representativeness of questionnaires received from Indian Rights for Indian Women which had a 31 per cent response rate. Questionnaires from this group were analyzed in the same method as those from other groups, bearing in mind that they probably contain a response bias.

Because of the small numbers involved in the groups and the varying response rates, statistics are used to yield insight into phenomena, rather than strictly analytically. Most groups scored positively on all hypotheses with the most frequent scores in .5 to 1.0 range, which will be called the mid range in this study (see Table 6).

The question of response bias due to question structure needs to be discussed since an odd number of questions pertained to some hypotheses (see Table 7). This meant SA could not take on positive and negative values in equal number for these hypotheses. Hypotheses c) and d) each had one extra question in which SA was the negative end of the scale. Hypothesis f) had one extra question in which SA was the positive end of the scale. However, this did not appear to make any appreciable difference, since for hypotheses c) and f) groups tended to score between .5 and 1.0 as they generally did for other questions (see Table 6). In fact, the average score for all groups was .85 in

TABLE 7

Questionnaire Structure of Closed-Ended Questions

Hypothesis	Questions Pertaining to Hypothesis	Value of "SA"	Hypothesis	Questions Pertaining to Hypothesis	Value of "SA"
a	# 2	-	b	# 2(p.1)	
	# 9	+		# 3	+
	#20	-		# 6	-
	#22	-			
	#23	+			
	#31	+			
c	# 4	+	d	# 7	-
	# 5	-		#10	-
	# 7	-		#12	+
	#13	-		#15	-
	#21	+		#17	+
e (group)	# 1	+	f	#11	+
	# 6	-		#14	+
	# 8	+		#18	-
	#16	-			
e (movement)	#19	+			
	#33	-			

both hypotheses c) and f). Therefore, the lower scores obtained for hypothesis d) may be attributed to factors within the groups and not questionnaire design.

When doing the analysis, it was learned that Hypothesis d) tested more the present situation of leadership in the group (whether leadership was perceived to be open and shared or whether it was perceived to be closed and centralized) rather than the development of leadership. Succeeding discussion on this hypothesis will then examine results in terms of the present situation of leadership as opposed to the development of leadership.

In the following sections each group is described and analyzed. The description takes the form of an examination of the group's inception, goals, program and structure. In the analysis, the group's scores on the hypotheses are examined with a discussion usually of those hypotheses in which the group scored less than .5 or greater than 1.0. Members' perceived effectiveness is examined in terms of the group's ability to procure support from its environment in the achievement of its stated goals. Members perception of the group's major problems are also discussed.

A. On Our Way (OOW)

Description

On Our Way began in June, 1972 when a local woman set-up a course through Free University North in which she wanted to teach, as well as learn, the aspects of producing a women's newspaper. Two people responded. They began talking about the newspaper and brought

in more people until there was a group of eight. This group put out the first issue of "On Our Way" in the summer of that year and began newspaper production on a monthly basis. (They later switched to a bi-monthly basis.)

The group initially formed as a collective which meant everyone participated in all aspects of newspaper productions from layout to editorial work to distribution. The collective also operated as a "consciousness-raising group" and was, therefore, essentially closed to others who wished to participate in newspaper production on a sporadic basis.

The collective concept broke down approximately one and a half years after the group's inception. Problems began developing because some members did not understand that the collective was closed. As well, many members felt physically and emotionally drained from participating in combined newspaper production and consciousness-raising. Quite a number of changes in the personal lives of the individuals involved and some drop-off in membership was experienced by the group. The outcome of discussions on these problem issues was a reorganization of the group.

At the time of the study, the group was open to anyone interested and willing to work and had eight to eleven members. There still were no rigidly defined roles and no official leaders in the group. Most members participated in a variety of the tasks that needed to be done. Those most committed and most willing to work played the roles of co-ordinators (essentially two people).

The goals of the group were seen as:

-producing a newspaper oriented towards changing the consciousness of women in society;
-having a vehicle for which women can write;
-providing information as to what's happening in the area of women's rights.

Members elicited a fair amount of consensus about group goals. The group appeared to be headed in the direction of putting out feature issues of "On Our Way." They had, for example, put out feature issues about women and socialism (April, 1974) and women and psychology (February, 1974).

The group as a whole did not subscribe to any particular ideology but, as one member described it, "slightly tippy-toed to the left." Another key member mentioned that material which "put women down" would not be printed in the newspaper.

At the time of interviews "On Our Way" had approximately 150 subscribers. One thousand copies of the paper were usually printed. Some issues had sold out and others only sold 500 copies. Members said the number sold depended upon how interested people were in an issue, the time people had for distribution and what other events people were going on at which the paper could be sold.

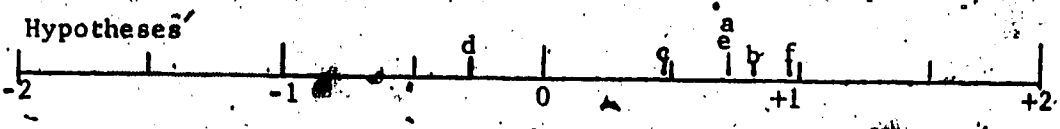
The paper ran purely on personal subscriptions and donations. It received no government grants. Two groups, the Lesbian Feminists and the Women's Program Centre had taken a turn at producing an issue of "On Our Way."

Analysis

"On Our Way" scored positively on all the hypotheses, except

TABLE 8

On Our Way's Scores on Each of the Hypotheses



Hypothesis d) (the present situation of leadership in the group) where the group scored -.3. Members generally felt that leadership was not evenly distributed throughout the group, but was centred on the one or two committed people who carried the major portion of the workload. A majority of respondents (four out of seven) also cited the time and energy required of volunteers to put out a newspaper which precluded their taking on greater responsibility.

Hypothesis c) ("the extent to which group members participate in decision making") received the next lowest rating (.5). Although members were generally satisfied with the process of decision-making in the group, sometimes time pressures necessitated major decisions to be made at the last minute. Consequently, these decisions were made by those most involved, rather than by the entire group.

Hypothesis f) ("the extent to which the group's structure is responsive and flexible") received the highest rating (1.0). Members felt the lack of rigidly defined roles and the vehicle of the newspaper itself allowed for innovation and creativity.

Members perceived their group as somewhat effective (.3) since it had managed to continue putting out the newspaper. However, some felt the paper could be distributed to a much broader public than was

presently being done. Even though the p[illegible] did have a circu[illegible]on which included Britain, the United States and women's centres a[illegible]s Canada, there had been no significant growth in particip[illegible]mber-ship or readership in "On Our Way" since its first year. The [illegible]jor source of support for the paper came from subscribers and indivi[illegible] donations since the paper carried no advertising.

A problem mentioned by respondents was not knowing exactly what audience they were reaching. One of the key members speculated that "On Our Way" best served as a lifeline to women who were isolated from other women with the same views.

B. Dr. Morgentaler Defense Committee (DMDC)

Description

The Dr. Morgentaler Defense Committee formed in Edmonton in August/September, 1973 around the issue of Dr. Morgentaler's arrest and impending trial. (Dr. Morgentaler, a Montreal physician, was charged under Canada's Criminal Code on thirteen counts of performing and "conspiring" to perform abortions. He also publicly condemned abortion laws and held abortion should be a matter between a woman and her doctor.) The Edmonton committee stemmed from the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws which changed its focus to defending Dr. Morgentaler.

The group organized behind the slogan "drop the charges" (meaning all thirteen charges against Dr. Morgentaler). When Dr. Morgentaler was acquitted of one charge, the group added the slogan "repeal the abortion laws." Besides securing the acquittal of Dr.

Morgentaler, the goals of the group were to make Dr. Morgentaler more publicly known and build-up public sentiment in his favor. The group perceived the actions taken against Dr. Morgentaler as an attack on women and the abortion movement. They felt women could not be totally liberated unless they had total control over their own bodies. The right to abortion was one way of having this control.

Although there were at least five other committees in major cities across Canada, the DMDC was not a national organization. Each group operated independently from the others, but usually informed the rest of actions it was undertaking and perhaps suggested similar strategies. Locally the committee operated with a core of about eight to ten people with approximately fifty people on a mailing and phoning list. The core group made decisions, carried out most of the actions and informed the rest.

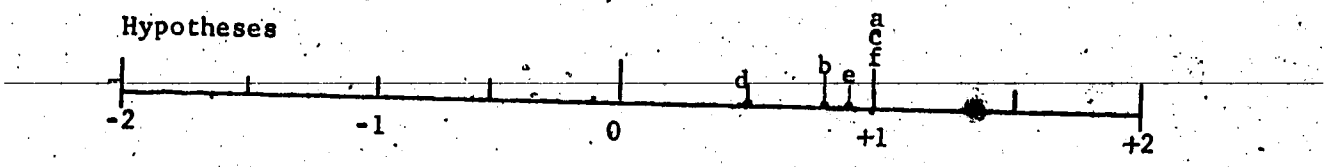
The strategies undertaken by the group have centred on promoting public awareness. On September 24, 1973, the first day of Dr. Morgentaler's trial (Montreal), the group picketed the Alberta Courthouse (only about fifteen people participated). At the time of the study, the group had held three public meetings: one to decide what actions to take; one featuring Lila Cushman from the Toronto DMDC and one debating the question of abortion. As well, they had occasionally sent out press releases, written articles for newspapers, and spoken to various groups.

Analysis

DMDC scored positively in the mid-range (.5 to 1.0) on all hypotheses. Hypothesis d)(present situation of leadership in the

TABLE 9

Dr. Morgentaler's Defense Committee's Scores on Each of the Hypotheses



group) received the lowest score (.5), but members did not indicate a dissatisfaction with group leadership. Instead, they cited the lack of finances and opposition or apathy from the media and certain segments of the general public as the major problems confronting the group. DMDC was one of the two feminist groups studied that had to work against organized opposition (the other was Indian Rights for Indian Women). The opposition drew largely on already existing organizations, usually had funds and was, therefore, quite powerful.

Hypotheses a) ("the extent to which members perceive the group meets their needs"), c) ("the extent to which group members participate in decision-making"), and f) ("the extent to which the group's structure is responsive and flexible") received the highest scores (1.0). Members were highly committed to the importance of repealing the abortion laws (2.0) and generally felt the group met their needs of inclusion, control and affection. As well, members felt they participated in the decision-making process. Two people noted that some in the group carried a greater proportion of the workload. Members also perceived their group to be relatively responsive and

flexible.

Members perceived their group as quite effective (.6) considering their own time limitations, the small number of active people and the lack of finances. Attendance at each of the public meetings sponsored by the group had increased each time with about 150 at the most recent meeting. The number of participating members in the group had remained essentially the same. The group had received verbal support for their cause from a few women's groups, a couple of churches, and a number of prominent individuals in the city. Some members of other feminist groups identified the DMDC as predominantly composed of Young Socialists and the group, therefore, lost credibility in their eyes. (In actuality, only one-half of the members of the core group were identified, by those interviewed, as Young Socialists.)

C. Women's Program Centre (WPC)

Description

The Women's Program Centre is a campus based organization that arose in the spring of 1972 largely out of the efforts of a student who was a member of the Executive Committee of Students' Council and a staff person from the Dean of Women's Office. The two, with the help of others, organized a week long forum of women's issues and an eight week follow-up course. The success of this endeavour encouraged them to develop a bylaw and procure a budget from the Students' Union for a group to continue performing similar functions. The group, which sprung up from the initial women's course, became known as the Women's Program Centre.

During the first year of its operation, the WPC struggled with Students' Council to retain its budget and with the Dean of Women's Office and the Women's Program Centre Advisory Board (which eventually disbanded) to attain its independence. The group has functioned on a consensus style of decision-making, but a vote was taken when conflict arose about an issue. The group considered itself to be leaderless and structureless. For the official purposes of the Students' Union, two undergraduates in the group were designated as co-directors.

Members saw the goals of the group as performing an educational function for the women's movement by presenting information on the concerns of women. As well, two-thirds (six out of nine) of respondents considered the provision of a socialist perspective on women's oppression as an important aspect of the group. Ideology and "knowledge of the right way" appeared to be more important for this group than any of the other feminist groups surveyed.

In the first year of its operation, the WPC organized a "Day in September" (with films, a panel discussion and art display); an evening course running from October to April, a week of films in January and the Edmonton part of the Women's International Film Festival. In the second year, they organized a noon-time course for undergraduate women during the first academic term and a downtown evening course during the second academic term; sponsored the film "Zambizanga" on Angolan women; co-sponsored with the Department of Anthropology two talks by Eleanor Leacock; and produced the April issue

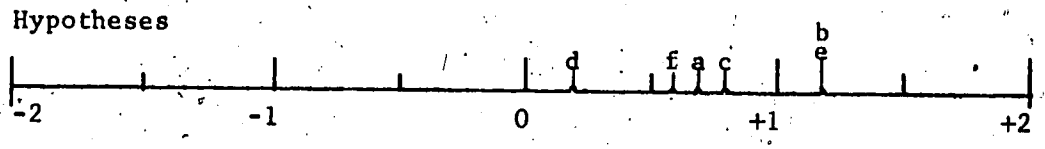
of "On Our Way." As well, both years the group maintained an office with a lending library and co-sponsored with the Department of Extension a noon-hour program on women at the downtown library.

Analysis

Women's Program Centre had a broad range of positive scores (from .2 to 1.2). It scored lowest on hypothesis d)(present situation

TABLE 10.

Women's Program Centre's Scores on Each of the Hypotheses



of leadership in the group), which is interesting since the group has attempted a leaderless style of organization. This may not necessarily indicate that members felt the leadership of the group was closed to them but that the actual functioning of the group fell short of their ideal. They expected all to share in the leadership, but those members who had been involved the longest emerged with the greater knowledge and experience and, therefore, as unofficial leaders in the group.

The group scored the highest on Hypotheses b) ("the extent to which group members participate in activities") and e)("the extent to which the groups have developed an effective communication network").

Seven out of nine members surveyed participated in the group on a continuous basis, which would account for a high score on Hypothesis b). Members generally felt communication within the group was very good. They were aware of the activities of the group and of what other members in the group were doing.

Members of the Women's Program Centre perceived their group to be fairly effective (.4) considering the small number of people involved, the limitations on their personal time and energy and that they often lacked the necessary skills (for example, public speaking) or information (i.e., where to get material, equipment). Not knowing exactly what audience they were reaching, nor specifically who they wanted to reach was cited as a limitation. One key member mentioned that "women that aren't already sympathetic to the women's movement probably don't come to the course."

Another major problem cited by the group was "not scaring away new members" by the strong socialist orientation of the group. An ideological split in the group (between radical and socialist feminists) was also cited as a potential source of problems.

The number of participating members in the group had remained essentially the same for the past two years but the actual membership had changed. The people enrolled in the evening course decreased in number from the first to the second year (about 200 registered the first year and about 100 the second year).

This year the Women's Program Centre lost its financial support from the Students' Union. It is now considered a student club and must approach Students' Council for specific projects if it desires

funding. However, the group did not feel this was a major loss since WPC had not found it easy to keep the budget as the Students' Union sporadically tried to cut it off.

D. University Women's Club, Status of Women Committee (UWC)

Description

The Status of Women Committee formed within the University Women's Club in the fall of 1972. Previously, a Status of Women Committee had existed in the Club for a brief period of time during which it made a submission to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women.

Because it is a study group within the University Women's Club the Status of Women Committee must submit any statements to the Executive of the University Women's Club and then to a general meeting if it wishes to make a statement on behalf of the Club. Membership criteria of the University Women's Club must also be followed, that is, to participate in the group an individual must have an undergraduate degree from a recognized university.

The structure of the Status of Women Committee itself is very loose. There are only two official positions, that of chairperson and secretary, and these persons are chosen by the group. Decisions are made by the group, and the chairperson has no power except to call meetings.

The goals of the group were seen as "equality of status for women" with a focus on the educational field. The group approached their goal on an "issue by issue" basis. In its first year the group

wrote letters to the provincial Premier and other members of the Legislative Assembly requesting that all monies be withheld from government bodies discriminating against women. There was little positive response from the government. The group then approached the University of Alberta Senate on the issue of discriminatory practices in university employment. The result was the formation of a Senate Task Force on the Status of Women at the University. In its second year, the Status of Women Committee focused its efforts on a survey of first year students to determine their motivation for coming to university.

The group saw itself as "quite conservative." Compared to that of other groups, members' identification with the women's movement was low (.5) and participants appeared less personally involved with their subject matter. Some stressed the need for women to show their competence and objectivity.

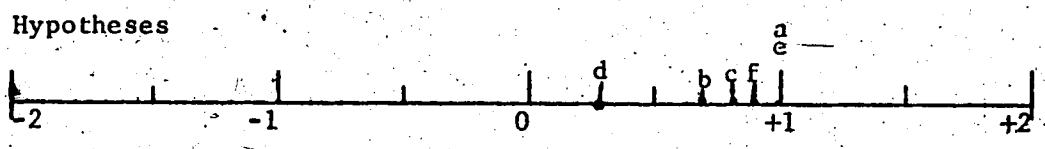
Analysis

The University Women's Club, Status of Women Committee scored on the mid-range (.5 to 1.0) for all hypotheses, except Hypothesis d)

TABLE 11

University Women's Club, Status of Women Committee

Scores on Each of the Hypotheses



effected, at least in part.

OFW presented a brief to the provincial Rules and Regulations Committee on discriminatory practices against women. When the provincial government was intending to decrease welfare allowances because the federal government increased family allowance cheques, an action committee of OFW began a letter writing campaign to protest the decrease. The result was a direct change of policy. OFW procured an Opportunities for Youth grant in the summer of 1974 for a "Women in Film" project. In the spring of the same year, OFW had initiated action which brought a number of women's groups (traditional and radical) together to develop a Women's Centre for Edmonton.

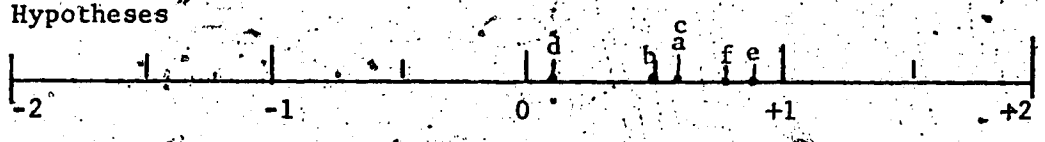
The group has continued to print a periodic newsletter which has a mailing list of 700 in the city and about 2,000 provincially. The chairperson estimated that about 400-500 people were involved in Edmonton OFW by at least reading the newsletter or attending general meetings.

Analysis

Options for Women scored on the mid-range for all hypotheses except Hypothesis d) (present situation of leadership) on which it

TABLE 12

Options for Women's Scores on Each of the Hypotheses



(present situation of leadership in the group), for which it still scored positively (.3). Half the respondents felt that the group's needs for leadership or initiative were fulfilled by the same few people. Only half felt the leadership of the group was open to them, regardless of whether or not they desired it.

The group considered itself quite effective as in their first year of functioning they were successful in procuring the Senate Task Force on the Status of Women at the University. Their philosophy about effecting change was to proceed slowly and cautiously, striving not to antagonize anyone.

Initially four or five people were involved in the group. In the past year membership had doubled. The Status of Women Committee had chosen not to become involved with other groups in the women's movement which it felt were more radical.

E. Options for Women (OFW)

Description

Options for Women (OFW) was officially founded in Edmonton in October, 1973. However, a core group had been functioning since the spring and had previously organized a workshop and selected northern Alberta delegates for a Western Canadian women's conference in Vancouver. At the conference, Alberta women committed themselves to forming "an information and communication network among the women of Alberta." Alberta Options for Women became incorporated in September, 1973.

In Edmonton the group formed with an elected Co-ordinating

Committee (of about fifteen members) and various action groups. Within that framework the organization was loose. Decisions were usually made by consensus. A vote was taken if there was conflict.

The goals of the group were seen as: co-ordination and communication with groups and individuals interested in women's issues; public education regarding the options that are available to women; and action to improve the status of women. Members elicited a wide range of responses to their perceptions of group goals, some of which included "to improve the condition for all people" and "to improve the quality of all facets of life."

The strategies of the group have involved holding forums at general meetings on such topics as: "Women and the Law"; "Women in the Labor Force"; and "Matrimonial Property Law." As well, the vice-chairperson and the chairperson of the National Advisory Council on the Status of Women were featured at two of the meetings. With some financial support from other women's groups, OFW posted a billboard about the Bill of Rights. They obtained a Priority Employment Program (PEP) grant through the Alberta Women's Bureau to begin an Alberta Women's newsletter, entitled "Source."

In conjunction with the Edmonton Social Planning Council, OFW members worked on the "Task Force on Women in the Alberta Labor Force," which documented marked wage disparities between men and women. The report was the topic of several discussions in the legislature and one of its recommendations (calling for public release of the "Report on Sex-role Stereotyping in Alberta Textbooks") was subsequently

effected, at least in part.

OFW presented a brief to the provincial Rules and Regulations Committee on discriminatory practices against women. When the provincial government was intending to decrease welfare allowances because the federal government increased family allowance cheques, an action committee of OFW began a letter writing campaign to protest the decrease. The result was a direct change of policy. OFW procured an Opportunities for Youth grant in the summer of 1974 for a "Women in Film" project. In the spring of the same year, OFW had initiated action which brought a number of women's groups (traditional and radical) together to develop a Women's Centre for Edmonton.

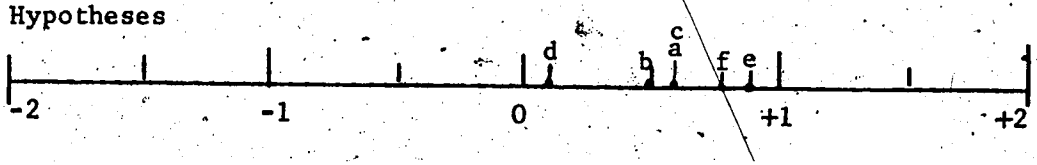
The group has continued to print a periodic newsletter which has a mailing list of 700 in the city and about 2,000 provincially. The chairperson estimated that about 400-500 people were involved in Edmonton OFW by at least reading the newsletter or attending general meetings.

Analysis

Options for Women scored on the mid-range for all hypotheses except Hypothesis d (present situation of leadership) on which it

TABLE 12

Options for Women's Scores on Each of the Hypotheses



scored .1. This is not surprising as there were a number of key people who have been the driving force behind the group. The vast majority of the 400-500 members of OFW are passive. Some of the major problems of the group were cited as inadequate methods of incorporating new members into active participation and inadequate utilization of present membership.

Participating members of the group did not rate OFW as highly effective (.2). In comparison, OFW scored much better on the average of all hypotheses (.6). The group's goals were broad and except in a few specific instances, unfocused. As well, the rapid increase in the membership of the group had multiplied the necessary paper work for a few people. These two factors seemed to cause frustration for members who saw few concrete accomplishments and who felt bogged down in paper work. Therefore, while the rapid increase of membership indicated expanding support of the group, it was also a drawback in terms of perceived effectiveness.

About a third of respondents (36 per cent) cited the demands on their own personal time and energy as limiting what the group could accomplish. Some (27 per cent) considered the composition of the group to be too narrow. They either stated that poorer working class women were not involved or that the group lacked membership from "the power elite." Better communication within the organization and with other women's groups was mentioned by some (23 per cent) as one way of improving group effectiveness.

F. Indian Rights for Indian Women (IRIW)

Description

Members of the Voice of Alberta Native Women had split over the issue of native women's rights. Section 12, 1b of the Indian Act stated that an Indian woman who married a non-Indian man lost her treaty rights and could not confer them on her children. In contrast, an Indian man who married a non-Indian woman conferred his Indian status upon his wife and his children. Since the Voice of Alberta Native Women would not take a stand on this issue and since most members agreed with the Indian Act, those who disagreed with the Act eventually dropped out of the organization.

In October, 1971 the Federal Court of Appeal applied the Bill of Rights to the issue of sex equality (the first Canadian court to do so) and ruled that the Indian Act had discriminated against Jeanette Lavell because of her sex and held that her name be restored to the list of the Wikwemicong Band. The federal government stated it was going to appeal the decision in the Supreme Court.

About this time in Edmonton a group formed, with the assistance of an Indian woman from the National Indian Brotherhood, to examine the issue of native women's rights. There were seven women present at this first meeting, five of whom had lost their Indian status. They sent copies of a resolution to the co-ordinator of the Status of Women, to the Privy Council and to all Members of Parliament. The resolution demanded an immediate change of the Indian Act which discriminated against Indian women. There was a good response from

the Members of Parliament as seventy to eighty letters were received.

In the fall of 1972, Indian Rights for Indian Women registered as a society so they could intervene in the Supreme Court case of Jeanette Lavell.

In that same year, a native women's conference was held in which supporters of Jeanette Lavell decided to form a national organization. In December, 1972 the first Indian Rights for Indian Women national conference was held, with approximately 200 people attending. The conference was funded with a $28,000 grant from the Secretary of State.

In February, 1973 both the national and Alberta bodies of Indian Rights for Indian Women intervened on behalf of Jeanette Lavell in the Supreme Court case. The Alberta group had 250 women supporting them at the time. On August 27, 1973 the Supreme Court, in a five to four decision, upheld the Indian Act. Previously IRIW had considered disbanding after the Lavell case, but now decided to continue the fight for the rights of Indian women.

Since then, the group has focused primarily upon a letter writing campaign, done some media interviews and spoken to a number of groups. They held two workshops -- one in Grand Centre and one in Edmonton. As well, the group occasionally involved itself in the promotion of Indian culture.

The major opposition to the group has come from the Indian people themselves, and especially from Indian chiefs. The Treaty Voice of Alberta formed to oppose IRIW.

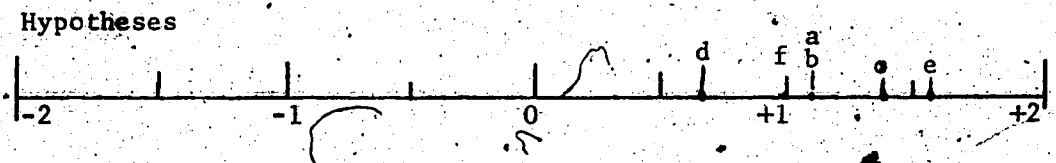
The goals of IRIW were changes in the Indian Act to allow Indian women who marry non-registered Indians to retain their treaty rights for themselves and to be able to confer these treaty rights upon their children. This is actually a measure short of total equality with men, since Indian men also can confer their status upon their spouses. Although key members of the group considered IRIW as part of the women's movement, their primary concern was with Indianism, as opposed to women's oppression in general. The Alberta group had a core membership of twelve to fifteen people, with seven of them constituting a Board of Directors. There were approximately 150 on their mailing list.

Analysis

TABLE 13

Indian Rights for Indian Women's

Scores on Each of the Hypotheses



Indian Rights for Indian Women scored highly on all the hypotheses (between .7 and 1.6). This may be attributed to a biased response because of the low rate of returns (31 per cent). It is significant that Hypothesis d)(present situation of leadership in the group) received the lowest rating (.7). Key members interviewed felt they had been carrying a disproportionate share of the workload, and

even though highly committed were becoming tired. Most core members appeared to be keenly involved as they commuted from various parts of the province for monthly meetings.

The respondents perceived their group to be highly effective (2.0). Although they suffered a set-back with the Supreme Court decision in the Jeanette Lavell case, the closeness of the decision (five to four) gave the group reason for hope. The group had been receiving greater support for their cause. Some of the supporters included treaty Indians who did not wish to make themselves publicly known for fear of recrimination from their own people. Support had also come from a number of national organizations. However, the opposition was strong, more established and more numerous.

Before we proceed to examining whether there is a relationship between use of community development principles in each of the feminist groups and their perceived effectiveness, it is perhaps appropriate to make some general observations about the women's movement in Edmonton.

G. The Women's Movement in Edmonton

Description

Feminism is an emerging movement in Edmonton. All the groups that were considered for the study were relatively young (one to three years) with five of the eight groups (Dr. Morgentaler Defense Committee, Options for Women, Branching Out, Independent Women's Publishers and the NDP Women's Caucus) emerging within the last year. The impermanence

of movement groups is also demonstrated by the formation of some and then their disbanding shortly afterward. Prior to the study, groups that had formed and then later disbanded were: Women's Liberation on Campus; the Women's Centre; Lesbian Feminists; Everywoman and the Northern Alberta Action Committee on the Status of Women.

Feminist groups in Edmonton at the time of the study varied from single issue to multi-issue groups; from groups primarily concerned with changing people's awareness to those aimed at societal changes. The foci of the groups also varied from concrete issues, such as: abortion; Indian women's rights; and women at the university; to essentially process orientations, such as: information; communication; and education.

There were small numbers of women actually involved in the women's movement on an organized basis in Edmonton. Of the groups studied, most had a fairly small core (between five to ten) of active members. Some persons also participated in two or more of the feminist groups studied.

The type of women involved in the women's movement in Edmonton varied from women in their early twenties to women over sixty; from women with only elementary schooling to women with doctoral degrees; from housewives to professionals; from single parents to married women with children to single women; from women on welfare to women whose total family income exceeded $20,000.

Each feminist group tended to have a slightly varying membership. Respondents from "On Our Way" tended to be between the ages of 25 and 29, married, with Bachelor's or Master's degrees, full-time

employed and with total family incomes of over $10,000. Respondents from the Dr. Morgentaler Defense Committee were predominantly between the ages of 18 and 24, with no children, and ranging from those with a high school certificate to those with a Bachelor's degree. Their income levels tended to be under $7,500 for single members and under $15,000 for married couples.

Members of the Women's Program Centre tended to be in their twenties, single, with some university (four out of nine had degrees) and either full-time employed or students. Single members tended to make under $5,000 per annum. Respondents from the University Women's Club tended to be over fifty, married with children, at least an undergraduate degree and of varying income levels with a substantial portion of families over $20,000. Options for Women had the most diverse (and most numerous) membership. Respondents tended to be in their twenties (with a substantial portion between the ages of thirty and fifty), with some university, full-time employed in professional or administrative capacities. Marital status and income levels varied considerably. Indian Rights for Indian Women respondents tended to be over thirty, married and with children. Their education levels varied from elementary schooling to some university, but no degrees.

On examining the feminist groups along political lines, IRIW, DMDC and UWC emerged as conservative feminist groups since they all worked for specific reforms within the system. The strong socialist ideology of the WPC put it in the category of socialist feminism. Participation in building a women's culture placed OOW and OFW into

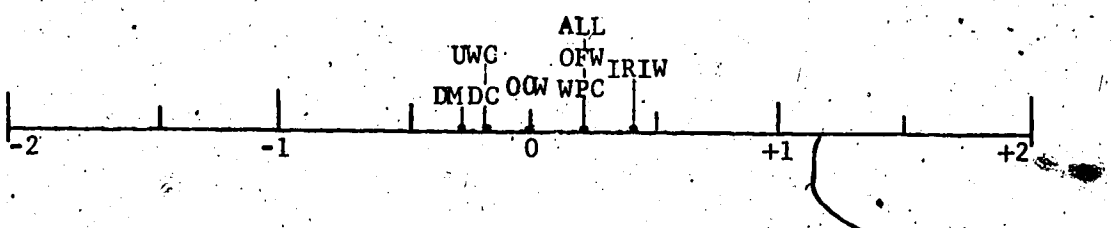
the category of radical feminism. (OFW has also worked for reforms within the system, but its view of feminism is broader than that of the conservative feminists.)

Analysis

The questionnaire asked respondents three types of questions about the women's movement: their perception about communication between their group and other feminist groups, their evaluation of the impact of the women's movement on Edmonton and their perceptions of the major problems encountered by the women's movement in Edmonton.

TABLE 14

Perceptions of Communication Within the Women's Movement

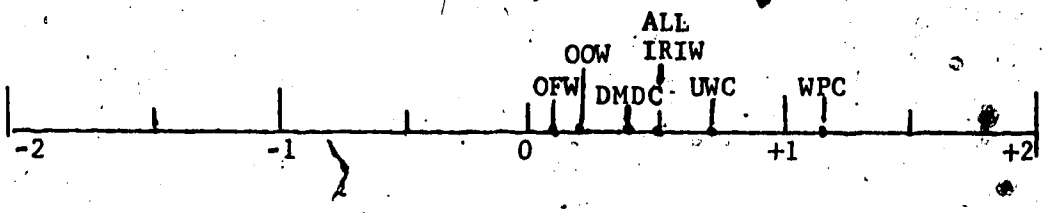


Respondents generally felt communication between women's groups in Edmonton was not very good (.2). Each group tended to have its particular focus or ideological slant and work quite independently from the other groups.

Respondents judged the women's movement to have had some impact (.5) upon Edmonton. However, they cited the lack of public support due to complacency or antagonism as a major problem faced by the women's movement. As well, the conservative social climate in Alberta, which was unreceptive to new ideas, was considered to be a drawback.

TABLE 15

Perceptions of the Impact of the Women's Movement on Edmonton



A number of respondents (ten) mentioned some sectors of the movement had the wrong focus or used inappropriate strategies. For example, some felt concentrating on reformist activities drained energies from focusing on the real issue -- the achievement of a socialist state. Others felt the more radical groups tended to destroy the credibility of the women's movement in the eyes of the public. Ideological differences and lack of support for one another was cited as a factor which possibly reduced the strength of the women's movement. However, these differences also allowed the women's movement to reach a broader sector of society than might otherwise be possible, as is demonstrated by the diversity of age ranges, social classes and ethnicity among participants.

We now turn to an examination of the correlation between community development principles and perceived group effectiveness.

The Findings

Is there a positive correlation between the use of community development principles and practices and the perceived effectiveness of a group? Table 16 shows the average of all hypotheses for each group and the group's perceived effectiveness. Rank-ordering the groups on both dimensions (see Table 17), we see there is an approxima

relative correlation between use of community development principles and perceived group effectiveness.

TABLE 16

Group Averages and Perceived Effectiveness

Group	Average on All Hypotheses	Perceived Effectiveness
OOW	.6	.4
DMDC	.9	.6
WPC	.7	.4
UWC	.8	1.2
OFW	.6	.2
IRIW	1.2	2.0

TABLE 17

Relative Positioning of Groups

Average on All Hypotheses	Perceived Effectiveness
IRIW	IRIW
DMDC	UWC
UWC	DMDC
WPC	WPC
OOW	OOW
OFW	OFW

However, the results may not be interpreted as indicating the impact of Options for Women is less than the University Women's Club, Status of Women Committee. The results only indicate members' perceptions of the effectiveness of their own group in achieving its goals. Some groups have broader and more diverse goals which are then obviously more difficult to achieve. For example, IRIW and DMDC had essentially single issue goals directed at concrete societal changes -- to change the Indian Act or to have Dr. Morgentaler acquitted. Although the goal of UWC was broad (equality of status of women), it was approached on an issue by issue basis and was essentially a single issue for a period of time (usually a year).

WPC, OOW and OFW, which ranked the lowest, had taken more actions than the other groups and were multi-issue groups. Their functions were, respectively: information; education; communication; or a mixture of these types. The goals then, were predominantly attitudinal changes. There is no direct perceptible measure of attitude change. How does one know how many people's consciousnesses have been raised? How many people have been reached? This was a source of frustration for all three groups. Options for Women also had goals aimed at societal change, but these as yet had not become concretely focused. Members then lacked a feeling of making significant steps in the "right" direction.

It is also significant to note that in response to a question asking members what problems they perceived as limiting group effectiveness, participants in OOW, WPC and OFW almost solely mentioned

problems within the group. Participants in IRIW, UWC and DMDC predominantly mentioned factors external to the group.

CHAPTER III

CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The thesis has examined feminism according to two strategies of change -- social movements and community development. As a social movement, feminism has a particular structure in terms of its organization (segmented, polycephalous and reticulate), ideology and strategy; and it undergoes a recognizable process in its development. According to various community development criteria, feminism can be considered basically developmental and, therefore, it was speculated that use of community development principles and practices might promote more effective action.

The positive correlation between some community development principles of operation and the perceived effectiveness of feminist groups was hypothesized. In examining six feminist groups in Edmonton, the hypotheses were found to be approximately true. If members perceived the group to be using particular community development principles, they also usually perceived the group to be more effective. Each hypothesis will be discussed in brief.

Hypothesis a: "the extent to which members perceive the group meets their needs."

Members from all groups felt the goals of their group were very important to them. (This question received an average score between 1.5 and 2.0 for all groups.) The personal needs of inclusion,

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Hypothesis a: "the extent to which members perceive the group meets their needs."

Members from all groups felt the goals of their group were very important to them. (This question received an average score between 1.5 and 2.0 for all groups.) The personal needs of inclusion,

control and affection also seemed to be met in varying degrees in each of the groups. Perhaps those members whose personal needs were not met in the group have dropped out. This may account for the relatively small core of active participants in each group.

Hypothesis b: "the extent to which group members participate in activities."

In OOW, WPC and UWC respondents tended not to identify themselves as leaders in the group, but as participants on a continuous basis or occasional basis. All respondents (four) from IRIW identified themselves either as leaders or members on a continuous basis. The bulk of respondents from OFW identified themselves as participants on an occasional basis or as non-participants. This is understandable as the largeness of the group could allow for more flexibility in terms of members becoming involved as their needs or interests dictated. The problem for OFW is activating some of the large numbers of passive members in the organization (estimated to be about 400-500). The majority of respondents from DMDC did not consider themselves to be active participants in the group, suggesting the group should re-examine its membership lists. In general, all the groups tended to function with a small core of active members.

Hypothesis c: "the extent to which group members participate in decision-making."

Groups tended to score quite well on this hypothesis (the average score for all groups was .80, indicating that decision-making

was generally a shared activity in the groups. However, OFW, OOW and UWC received fairly low average scores (between .1 and .2) for a question which indicated that important decisions were not always made by the entire group, but at times by a few members. As was previously mentioned, time pressures to put out the newspaper, often resulted in the most active member(s) of OOW making major decisions. The large membership of OFW in comparison to the small number of actively involved might account for the reason why some members saw decision-making as being centralized.

Hypothesis d: "the extent to which the group encourages the development of local leadership."

As was previously mentioned, the questionnaire tended to elicit information about the present situation of leadership in the group (whether it was open and shared) as opposed to the development of leadership within the group. Groups tended to score much lower on this hypothesis than any of the rest (the average score for all groups was .25). Members generally perceived the leadership of their group as open to them (however, UWC scored low (.3) on this question). Most respondents tended to feel the survival of the group to which they belonged at least partially depended upon a few people. It is apparent that leadership in most groups was exercised by those most willing and most committed to work.

Hypothesis e: "the extent to which the groups have developed an effective communication network."

Groups tended to score quite well on communication within the group (the average score for all groups was 1.05). Members tended to be satisfied with the information they received about group activities, group decisions, and what other members of the group were involved in. However, respondents tended to feel that communication between groups in the women's movement was not as good as it might be (.3). OOW, DMDC and UWC in particular felt communication between women's groups was lacking.

Hypothesis f: "the extent to which the group's structure is responsive and flexible."

Most respondents tended to see the group to which they belonged as responsive and flexible. All the groups were loosely structured and operated quite informally. This allowed changes to be easily introduced into most groups. WPC and OFW scored lowest (.5 and .6 respectively) on this hypothesis, perhaps indicating some dissatisfaction with the group's structure.

Demographic comparison between the groups provides some interesting data about the class and age biases in the feminist groups. By examining the norm of membership, the groups were placed on a ladder of relative class standing according to income, education and occupation. UWC emerged on the highest rung of the ladder, with OOW, OFW and WPC in the mid-range, and DMDC and IRIW on the bottom rungs. The norm of membership in all groups was fairly middle class. There were, however, considerable deviations from the norm within some groups, for example, OFW (with the largest membership) had

the largest age and class diversity.

The group on the top rung (UWC) and those on the bottom (IRIW and DMDC) had the highest perception of their group's effectiveness. They were also the groups which had the youngest (DMDC) and the oldest membership (UWC and IRIW). These three groups worked within the system for concrete, single-issue reforms and, therefore, were essentially conservative.

The other three groups, OOW, OFW and WPC could be considered as more radical since they were primarily concerned with building a women's culture and consciousness-raising. In addition to these goals, OFW also worked for social reforms. These groups scored on the middle-range of social stratification. Their members were primarily young (in their twenties) and quite a few worked in professional or administrative capacities. The groups scored the lowest on perceived group effectiveness and on open and shared leadership. Two of the groups, WPC and OOW, had the ideal of a leaderless, structureless group. WPC still attempted to function this way, but OOW had undergone a re-organization. Envisioning the group to be task-oriented, initiators of OFW developed a fairly formal structure and set of by-laws for the organization. In practice, however, OFW has functioned much more loosely.

There is some similarity of membership between the early suffragette groups and contemporary feminist groups in Edmonton. Largely professional and middle class women were involved in both movements. This is understandable as these are the women who are the

most articulate in terms of expressing their problems. In contrast to early feminism, there appears to be few independently wealthy and upper-class women involved today. In the contemporary struggle there also appears to be a greater diversity of women involved. This diversity extends across race, ethnic, age and to some extent class barriers. The numbers of women involved in contemporary feminism in any one period of time is greater than the numbers involved in the suffragette movement for the same period of time. However, in both movements it is still a small minority of women struggling for women's rights.

Discussion

The thesis has examined the effectiveness of selected feminist groups as perceived by their members, but has not studied the impact of the women's movement upon the larger community. In looking at the mainstream of women's lives and the structure of society, it becomes apparent that the women's movement has a long way to go before its goals are reached. Although having its roots in the Eighteenth Century, contemporary feminism is a relatively young movement, considering the scope of changes it seeks to implement. Roberta Ash maintained that the women's movement "must battle some of the most deep seated aspects of ideology, not only among men, but especially among women who have been socialized to accept exploitation as natural and becoming to sex" (1972:240-241). For this reason she speculated feminism had touched only a small fraction of women.

The effectiveness of movement organizations is an important internal factor of movement impact. The thesis has shown that there is a fair amount of satisfaction among participants in the six feminist groups in Edmonton about the groups' methods of operation. This is important because survival of the groups is dependent upon the members' commitment and desire to continue the functions of the group. The movement, however, runs the risk of becoming self-satisfied with its operation and not catering to the needs of the larger community of women. For example, middle class housewives may be alienated by thoughtless attacks on the housewife role and, therefore, discount much of what is said and done in the name of women's liberation. The study suggests community development principles and practices which are devised to induce meaningful and long-term development, are useful for the increased effectiveness of feminist groups.

However, it would be erroneous to provide a blueprint for effective action for each of the feminist groups, based on the data collected. Members of some groups appear to have been more critical in their perception of the group to which they belonged than were members of other groups. As well, some problems of internal group functioning may not have been elicited through the study design. Non-members' perceptions of the groups would also have been useful to detect problem areas in the groups.

Although community development principles do not provide the sole answer for feminist groups, they do suggest a direction for change by pointing out some of the strengths and weaknesses of the

groups. For example, leadership emerged as a problem to some extent in all groups. In most groups leadership was not distributed throughout the group, but concentrated within one or a few people. This is in contrast to feminist ideology of the younger branch which stressed a commitment to egalitarianism and shared leadership. Those groups which ranked the lowest on open and shared leadership (OOW, OFW and WPC) also ranked the lowest in terms of perceived effectiveness. The study suggests that for increased effectiveness, all groups, and especially OOW, OFW and WPC, make a greater effort to distribute the workload, responsibility and leadership roles among members. Leadership training, which is a community development strategy, could be employed by the groups as a method by which to accomplish increased membership participation.

Another problem that emerged from the study was related to volunteerism. Members of all groups felt that other commitments in their lives limited the time and energy they could devote to the group and, therefore, lessened what the group could accomplish. This perhaps implies a need for more realistic group goals (for example, OFW was beginning to realize that its initial goals were just too broad for the available womanpower and resources). Community development principles suggest that the existing membership may be utilized more effectively by expanding their realms of participation. It was the writer's perception that people in many of the groups would sometimes rather do something themselves than teach someone else to do it. They felt it might be quicker, easier and more reliable to do it themselves.

This is a self-defeating tactic in the long run because the people with the knowledge and skills become overburdened with the workload, which could have been shared. Workshops which deal with community development methods of operation could be utilized by the groups to explore and expand the ways in which the membership may participate.

The study suggests there are two broad categories of groups within the women's movement. One type of group works within the system through legal or other channels to achieve short-range goals. The goals are generally a single issue (repeal the abortion laws, change the Indian Act, or get a Task Force to examine the Status of Women at the university), directed at specific social changes, thus providing a direct measure of the group's effectiveness. DMDC, IRIW and UWC fall into this category.

The other type of group has a more global view of women's oppression. It desires to change the structure of society and, therefore, cannot work within the system, or at least not solely within the system. Since these groups (OOW, OFW and WPC) are concerned with raising consciousnesses and building a women's culture, they are more within the mainstream of the women's movement. Their goals are long-range and, therefore, effectiveness is much more difficult to measure. Rather than goal achievement, support from the environment is the major criteria of effectiveness. How many people buy the newspaper, how many attend the course, what is the size of membership are factors that determine support. Consequently, core members of these groups operate within the sphere of a large number of peripheral members or supporters. For those groups concerned with long-term,

attitudinal change, the study suggests community development principles are more crucial for their effective functioning than for those groups with short-range goals.

Community development principles, other than those examined in the study, would also be particularly useful to the feminist groups with long-range goals of attitudinal change. For example, community development suggests working through local leaders. For feminist groups, sensitizing women who are leaders in the community and keeping them informed of group actions would probably enhance the effective sphere of influence of the women's movement. Another community development principle recommends working with the whole community. To implement the scope of changes that are the goals of the women's movement, it must expand and innovate its modes of action to reach all sectors of women. Since the ultimate goals of women's liberation are human liberation, at some time in the future "community" will also need to include men.

The application of the thesis arises from the hypotheses that were developed and subsequently proven true. These hypotheses, which embodied some community development methods of operation, provide a useful tool for analyzing group process and group effectiveness. This tool has shown itself to be particularly valuable in examining feminist groups by pointing out strengths and weaknesses of the groups and thereby indicating directions for change.

Implications for further research arise from the study. Perceived effectiveness could be better measured by selecting a sample

of equal numbers from those not participating in the women's movement to examine their perceptions of the strengths and weaknesses of the movement. This could also be supplemented by the researcher's extensive observation of the groups.

A follow-up study could be conducted some years in the future to further trace the development of feminist groups in Edmonton, and thereby shed more light on the impact of the movement.

Could community development principles be detrimental to the success realization of feminism? This could be another topic for further research. Clearly, community development does not provide the sole answer for the success of a movement. However, the study suggests that community development principles do indicate the direction for more effective action by the women's movement and, in particular, for those feminist groups primarily concerned with long-term attitudinal change.

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APPENDIX I

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

In-depth Interview Schedule

When was your group formed? How? How many people were involved initially?

What is the size of your present membership (active and passive)?

What is the organizational structure of your group? (What are the criteria for membership? What levels of participation for members are available? What are the lines of authority? How are leaders determined? Who are the leaders? How are decisions made? What kind of decisions are made by the group? How are members informed about group activities and/or decisions?)

What are the goals of your group? Which are the most important?

What has your group done to meet its goals (strategies employed)? When?

What kinds of problems has your group encountered in attempting to meet its goals?

What kind of support has your group received from other groups? Individuals? The community at large?

To what extent do you cooperate with other groups in the women's movement?

How effective do you feel your group has been in achieving its goals?

What could the group do to improve its effectiveness?

What importance does this group have for you? What is your perception of the importance of this group to others?

What are your perceptions about the women's movement in Edmonton?

APPENDIX II

QUESTIONNAIRES WITH COVERING LETTER

HELP HELP

HELP!

I need your help! This questionaire is part of a study of some women's groups to determine what kinds of women participate in these groups, in what way women participate and the attitudes they hold about the groups. You have been chosen for the study because you are listed as belonging to one of the following groups: Women's Program Centre, University Women's Club Status of Women Committee, Options for Women, On Our Way, Indian Rights for Indian Women, or Dr. Morgentaler Defense Committee.

This research is being conducted for a Master's thesis in Community Development at the University of Alberta. The information from these questionaires will be made available to the participating groups and it is hoped it will be useful to the groups themselves.

The questionaire is designed to take a minimun amount of your time (probably 15-20 minutes). Short, brief comments to open-ended questions are all that is required. However, lengthier replies are welcome and may be written on the back of the page or an attached sheet of paper, but please note when you do so.

All replies will be kept strictly confidential and no individual persons will be identified. The data will be analyzed as group data, without reference to individual replies.

Your cooperation in completing the questionaire would be very much appreciated. Please return the questionaire as soon as possible (preferably before May 27, 1974) in the stamped, self-addressed envelope.

Thank-you very much for your help!

On Our Way

In this and the following section, we would like to know the way in which you participate in On Our Way and your attitude towards the group.

1) How long have you been a member of On Our Way? .....

2) Please circle the letter which you feel most closely describes your role in the group.

a) a leader (hold an official position or initiate much of the action).

b) a participating member on a continuous basis (but not a leader)

c) a participating member on an occasional basis (may attend meetings or do things once in a while)

d) a contributor (am not actively involved in the group, but have contributed articles to the paper).

3) Could you please indicate the kind of work you do in the group and frequency with which you do the work by circling the appropriate letter in each line?

Research	a) rarely	b) sometimes	c) most of the time
Write articles	a) rarely	b) sometimes	c) most of the time
Art, Graphics	a) rarely	b) sometimes	c) most of the time
Type	a) rarely	b) sometimes	c) most of the time
Edit	a) rarely	b) sometimes	c) most of the time
Layout	a) rarely	b) sometimes	c) most of the time
Distribution	a) rarely	b) sometimes	c) most of the time
Co-ordination	a) rarely	b) sometimes	c) most of the time

WHEN YOU ARE FINISHED THIS PAGE, PLEASE GO ON TO THE NEXT SECTION.

In this and the following section, we would like to know the way in which you participate in the Dr. Morgentaler Defense Committee and your attitudes towards the group.

1) How long have you been a member of the Dr. Morgentaler Defense Committee?.....

2) Please circle the letter which you feel most closely describes your role in this group.

a) a leader (hold an official position or initiate much of the action).

b) a participating member on a continous basis (but not a leader)

c) a participating member on an occasional basis (may attend meetings or do things once in a while)

d) a non-participating member (am not actively involved but am on the mailing list).

WHEN YOU HAVE FINISHED THIS PAGE, PLEASE GO ON TO THE NEXT SECTION.

Women's Program Centre

In this and the following section, we would like to know the way in which you participate in the Women's Program Centre and your attitudes towards the group.

---

1) How long have you been a member of the Women's Program Centre? .....

2) Please circle the letter which you feel most closely describes your role in this group.

A) a leader (hold an official position or initiate much of the action)

b) a participating member on a continuous basis (but not a leader)

c) a participating member on an occasional basis (may attend meetings or do things once in a while)

d) a non-participating member (am <u>not</u> actively involved but am on the mailing list).

WHEN YOU HAVE FINISHED THIS PAGE, PLEASE GO ON TO THE NEXT SECTION.

University Women's Club

Status of Women and Human Rights Committee

In this and the following section, we would like to know the way in which you participate in the University Women's Club Status of Women and Human Rights Committee and your attitude towards the group.

1) How long have you been a member of the University Women's Club, Status of Women and Human Rights Committee? .....

2) Please circle the letter which you feel most closely describes your role in this group.

A) a leader (hold an official position or initiate much of the action)

b) a participating member on a continuous basis (but not a leader)

c) a participating member on an occasional basis (may attend meetings or do things once in a while)

d) a non-participating member (am <u>not</u> actively involved but am on the mailing list).

WHEN YOU HAVE FINISHED THIS PAGE, PLEASE GO ON TO THE NEXT SECTION.

Options for Women

In this and the following section, we would like to know the ways in which you participate in Options for Women and your attitude towards the group.

1) How long have you been a member of Options for Women?.....

2) Please circle the letter which you feel most closely describes your role in the group.

a) a leader (hold an official position or initiate much of the action)

b) a participating member on a continuous basis (but not a leader)

c) a participating member on an occassional basis (may attend meetings or do things once in a while)

d) a non-participating member (am not actively involved but am on the mailing list).

3) Are you a member of the Co-ordinating Committee?

a) Yes b) No

4) Are you participating in any of the action groups?

a) Yes b) No

If yes, please circle which ones and the role you play in each.

1	Women on Their Own	a) co-ordinator b) member
2	Political Action	a) co-ordinator b) member
3	Legal	a) co-ordinator b) member
4	Task Force on Women in the Alberta Labor Force	a) co-ordinator b) member
5	Source	a) co-ordinator b) member
6	Edmonton Newsletter	a) co-ordinator b) member
7	Consciousness-Raising	a) co-ordinator b) member
8	Women in Film	a) co-ordinator b) member
9	Status of Women	a) co-ordinator b) member
10	Other (please specify)	a) co-ordinator b) member

Indian Rights for Indian Women

In this and the following section, we would like to know the way in which you participate in Indian Rights for Indian Women and your attitude towards the group.

---

1) How long have you been a member of Indian Rights for Indian Women? .....

2) Please circle the letter which you feel most closely describes your role in this group.

A) a leader (hold an official position or initiate much of the action)

b) a participating member on a continuous basis (but not a leader)

c) a participating member on an occasional basis (may attend meetings or do things once in a while)

d) a non-participating member (am <u>not</u> actively involved but am on the mailing list).

3) Are you presently sitting on the Board of Directors of the group?

A) yes

b) no

WHEN YOU HAVE FINISHED THIS PAGE, PLEASE GO ON TO THE NEXT SECTION.

For the following statements, please circle:

SA if you Strongly Agree with the statement

A if you Agree with the statement

N if you are Not certain or the question does Not apply

D if you Disagree with the statement

SD if you Strongly Disagree with the statement.

Please circle N (not certain or does not apply) only if you cannot agree or disagree. That is, please circle Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree or Strongly Disagree where possible.

1 I feel I am adequately informed by the group about the meetings held by the group.	SA	A	N	D	SD
2 I feel like an outsider in this group. (That is, I do not feel part of the group.)	SA	A	N	D	SD
3 I attend group meetings most of the time.	SA	A	N	D	SD
4 I take part in decisions made by the group.	SA	A	N	D	SD
5 I do not feel participation in group decisions is open to me.	SA	A	N	D	SD
6 Often I am unable to attend group meetings, because I have not been given adequate notice of the meeting to enable me to make arrangements to come.	SA	A	N	D	SD
7 I feel one or a few persons dominate the group.	SA	A	N	D	SD
8 I feel I am adequately informed about what other members of the group are doing.	SA	A	N	D	SD

9 I feel other members in the group listen to me and take what I have to say into account. SA A N D SD

10 I feel the survival of the group is dependent upon one or a few people. SA A N D SD

11 I feel it is easy to introduce changes into the group. (That is, I perceive the group to be responsive and flexible.) SA A N D SD

12 I feel leadership is distributed throughout the group. SA A N D SD

13 Important decisions are made by one or a few persons, rather than by the group as a whole. SA A N D SD

14 I feel the group uses innovative approaches in dealing with the problems it faces. SA A N D SD

15 As the needs for leadership or initiative arise in the group, the same few members fulfill these needs. SA A N D SD

16 As a member of the group, I am dissatisfied with the information I receive about decisions made by the group. SA A N D SD

17 I feel the leadership of the group is open to me (regardless of whether or not I want it). SA A N D SD

18 I feel there are rigid and standard methods for doing things in the group. SA A N D SD

19 I feel I am well aware of the activities of other groups in the women's movement. SA A N D SD

20 I am dissatisfied with the extent to which I feel I can express my personal feelings in the group. SA A N D SD

21 I am satisfied with the way decisions are made in the group. SA A N D SD

If you circled D or SD in the previous question, would you please state why you are not satisfied?

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22 I feel that I either have too much influence or not enough influence in the group. SA A N D SD

23 I am satisfied with the kinds of relationships I am maintaining in the group. SA A N D SD

24 What do you feel are the goals of this group?

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25 What kinds of problems do you see in everyday life which make the goals of the group important?

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26 The goals toward which this group is working are not important to me as a person. SA A N SD

27 I feel the group is effective in achieving its goals. SA A N D SD

28 Could you please state some of the problems you see that prevent the group from being fully effective?

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29 What do you feel the group could do to make itself more effective in achieving its goals?

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30 What personal satisfactions are you seeking in the group?

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31 The group provides the kinds of satisfactions I am looking for. SA A N D SD

32 Could you please state in what ways you feel the group may fail to provide these satisfactions?

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33 I feel communication between our group and other groups in the women's movement in Edmonton is poor. SA A N D SD

34 I consider myself part of the women's movement. SA A N D SD

35 On the whole, I think the women's movement has had very little, if any, impact upon Edmonton. SA A N D SD

36 Please state what you see as the major problems the women's movement in Edmonton encounters.

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WHEN YOU HAVE FINISHED THIS SECTION, PLEASE GO ON TO THE NEXT SECTION.

Finally, we would like to know a little about you so we can see what types of people are involved in the group to which you belong. (A reminder, however, that all replies will be kept strictly confidential.)

For the following questions, please circle the letter of the correct answer, where applicable.

37 What is your sex? A) Female B) Male

38 What is your age? .....

39 What is your marital status?
- A) single
- b) married
- c) divorced, separated or widowed
- d) other (please specify) .....

40 Do you have any children? A) yes b) no

If yes, how many? .....

41 At this time, which level of education have you completed?

A) Elementary School
b) Junior High School
c) High School
d) High School Certificate
e) Technical and/or Vocational training
f) University or College
- i) less than two years
- ii) two years or more
- iii) Bachelor's degree
- iv) Master's degree
- v) Doctorate degree
- vi) Other (please specify)

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42 What is your occupational status?
- A) homemaker
- b) full-time employed
- c) part-time employed
- d) student
- e) unemployed
- f) other (please specify) .....

43 If you are employed, in what type of work are you employed?

a) student
b) clerical
c) sales
d) technical or skilled
e) unskilled or semi-skilled
f) professional
g) managerial or administrative
h) other (please specify)

44 If you are married, in what type of work is your spouse employed? (If you are not married, please ignore this question.)

a) student
b) clerical
c) sales
d) technical or skilled
e) unskilled or semi-skilled
f) professional
g) managerial or administrative
h) unemployed
i) other, (please specify) .....

45 What is your total annual income? (if married, please state combined total income for the family.)

a) under $5,000
b) between $5,000 and $7,500
c) between $7,500 and $10,000
d) between $10,000 and $12,500
e) between $12,500 and $15,000
f) between $15,000 and $20,000
g) over $20,000

YOUR COOPERATION IN COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE HAS BEEN VERY MUCH APPRECIATED. PLEASE RETURN IT IN THE ENVELOPE PROVIDED. THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

APPENDIX III

REMINDER TO ALL NON-RESPONDENTS

May 27, 1974

Hello!

Sorry to bother you, but sometime ago you received a questionnaire for a study on the following women's groups: Women's Program Centre, University Women's Club Status of Women Committee, Options for Women, On Our Way, Indian Rights for Indian Women, or Dr. Morgentaler Defense Committee. The purpose of this study is to determine what kinds of people participate in these groups, in what ways they participate, and what attitudes they hold about the groups.

If you have already returned the questionnaire, I would like to take this opportunity to thank you very much for your cooperation. You may ignore the rest of this letter.

If you have not already filled out the questionnaire and mailed it back, would you please do so as soon as possible? It is very important that the replies be received as early as possible. The questionnaire should not take very much of your time (probably 15-20 minutes). Short, brief comments to open ended questions is all that is required.

Just a reminder that all replies are being kept strictly confidential and no individual persons will be identified.

If for some reason you are unable to locate your questionnaire or your stamped return envelope, please call 432-5630 during office hours (8:30 - noon, 1:15 - 4:30 PM) so a questionnaire and envelope can be sent to you. Thank-you for your anticipated cooperation.

Looking forward to your response,

Vera Radio

APPENDIX IV

COVERING LETTER

June 18, 1974

Hello!

I need your help again! Has the questionnaire you received sometime ago on women's groups (for either the Dr. Morgentaler Defense Committee, Indian Rights for Women, On Our Way, Options for Women, University Women's Club Status of Women Committee, or the Women's Program Centre) been lost? Forgotten? or just recently got in?

In any case, here's another questionnaire that I am kindly requesting you to fill out as soon as possible. It should only take a few minutes of your time and it is very important for a reply to be received. Also enclosed for your information is a copy of the original letter that accompanied the questionnaire.

If you have recently returned your questionnaire, do not bother with this one. However, if you could jot a note to the effect that you have already completed the questionnaire on the first page and drop this questionnaire off in the mail, it would be very much appreciated.

If for some reason you do not consider yourself part of the group, please indicate so on the first page of the questionnaire and return it in the envelope provided. (You need not fill out the questionnaire.)

Your cooperation in this endeavour is sincerely appreciated! Thank-you very much!

(Signed) Vera Radio