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**PROJECTS, PRESSURE AND PERCEPTIONS OF
EFFECTIVENESS: AN ORGANIZATIONAL ANALYSIS OF
NATIONAL CANADIAN WOMEN'S GROUPS**

by

SUSAN D. PHILLIPS, B.A., M.A.

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Political Science

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

January 10, 1990

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AN ORGANIZATIONAL ANALYSIS OF NATIONAL
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SUSAN DARLING PHILLIPS, B.A., M.A.

in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

_____
Chair, Department of Political Science

_____
Thesis Supervisor

_____
External Examiner

Carleton University

ABSTRACT

The approach of this study is to view a social movement as a network of organizations. Through linkages with each other, social movement organizations negotiate collective identities and shape political discourses, but they also necessarily have relationships with the state. The focus of the dissertation is on thirty-three Canadian women's groups and the theoretical base is an integration of social movement and interest group literature. Three analytical tasks are undertaken. The first task answers the empirical question of whether there is a national Canadian women's "movement" at all by applying social network analysis to map the linkages among groups.

Because it is the constituent social movement organizations (SMOs), not the movement as an entity, that act as political and social agents to forge identities and influence policy, the second task centres on the organizational level. The lens of action theory, rather than the traditional approaches of decisions or resources, is used to examine the organizational behaviour of the subject groups. An adaptation of Personal Projects Analysis is applied to elicit and understand SMO project systems and explore the relationships between the meaning derived from action and the structural conditions of action. The third task investigates the relationship of groups with the Canadian government by looking at the frequency of contact of the subject groups with a subset of public officials. It assesses perceptions of group effectiveness held by both public officials and group representatives. The predictors of advocacy effectiveness are examined using regression analysis and differences between the ratings made by policy-makers and those of group leaders are explored.

In contrast to popular assumptions, the network analysis reveals that the Canadian women's movement, although relatively loosely coupled, has distinct form and is quite efficient in moving information among the groups and in facilitating coalition formation. The inclusivity of the network, which encompasses self-defined feminist groups as well as non-feminist ones, multiple constituency as well as specialized groups and both francophone and anglophone groups, indicates that the collective identity is one of liberalized feminism. However, the marginalization of groups representing minority women, and the paucity of extra-movement ties with unions and social policy groups, suggests that the movement has a class bias.

The dissertation tests an eight domain project system by comparing projects on six meaning factors derived from Projects Analysis. Fundraising is found to be a particularly unattractive type of project for women's groups and

is equally as bothersome for government-funded as for membership-funded organizations. The negative relationship between the sense of competency in group projects and level of financial and human resources available to a group provides strong support for the notion of "understaffing" and for Olson's idea that large organizations are more difficult to maintain than smaller ones.

Examination of relations with the state shows that the strongest predictor of perceived group effectiveness is network position and, therefore, that the marginalization of groups within a social movement has negative extra-movement consequences. It was discovered that national women's groups have a restricted range of contacts in advocacy with federal government officials, and tend to concentrate their efforts on the state apparatus specifically designed to deal with "women's issues". However, group leaders have a considerably more positive view of how well they are doing than do the targets of their advocacy. The dissertation concludes with a discussion of why this "illusory glow" is important to social movement organizations and argues that because of their dual role as political and social agents, they must engage in both instrumental and expressive action. Consequently, social movement organizations do not lobby government in the same manner as traditional interest groups. The concept of organizational effectiveness, therefore, must be expanded to capture this duality.

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CHAPTER 1

A Lens With Which to View Social Movements

The women's movement has created an institutionalized space in the Canadian political system. Since its emergence in the late 1960s, the contemporary or second wave of the Canadian women's movement has come to be seen as one of the most significant and successful movements of the post-war era (Adamson, Briskin and McPhail, 1988, chap. 1). Women's groups have been persistent lobbyists on a plethora of issues ranging from pensions to pornography, family law to free trade and childcare to the constitution. They have been resoundingly effective on some issues and silenced, dismissed or defeated on others. In addition to success on particular policies, the effectiveness of the movement can be judged by its sheer longevity, new attention given to gender relations in many realms, the declaration of the period 1976 to 1985 as the United Nations Decade of Women and by the nationally televised debates on women's issues held during recent federal elections. Perhaps the greatest indicator of its impact has been the rise, beginning in the early 1980s, of a right-wing counter-movement advocating pro-family, anti-feminist values and policies.

As a social movement, the women's movement is not a single or unitary organizational entity. Rather, it is composed of a multiplicity of groups in many organizational forms ranging from fluid grassroots collectivities to service-oriented women's centres, from single interest or special constituency groups to highly organized and sophisticated lobby organizations. As one of the

"new social movements", the women's movement is fundamentally socio-cultural or extra-institutional in orientation and is not merely another "interest". Instead, it contributes a new discourse and creates a new "space" in the political system (Cohen, 1982; 1985). In practice, therefore, women's organizations function not only to advocate policy but also to forge a collective identity among women seeking to transform cultural values and, through education, change the behaviour of civil society. In addition, they provide a basis of sociability and political socialization for individuals and have become an increasingly important training ground for women entering electoral politics.¹

In spite of its relative effectiveness, there have been few empirical studies of the Canadian women's movement.² In particular, there is little research which considers the women's movement as a constellation of interconnected organizations or which examines specific women's groups as organizations that must perform a variety of functions in addition to lobbying. Moreover, while we intuitively sense and see examples of various successes of the movement, there has been no attempt systematically to investigate the effectiveness of women's groups.

The women's movement is not an isolated or morphologically unique political phenomenon. Indeed, it is similar in its internal and inter-organizational dynamics and relations with the state to other contemporary social movements such as the ecological or peace movements. Existing literature on social movements, however, does not offer theories adequately developed at the organizational level or suitable methodologies that would

permit us to assess and compare diverse social movements. The purpose of the present analysis is to fill this specific empirical gap in research on the Canadian women's movement by application of both social movement and interest group literature and to develop a theoretical framework with an accompanying methodological tool kit through which any contemporary social movement might be analyzed.

This is a study of organizations, not of feminist philosophy or policy issues. Organizations are the basic unit of social movements because people need to associate to be part of a movement, and association is achieved primarily through organizations. It is through linkages among organizations that a social movement achieves both unity and diversity. On the one hand, organizations permit diversity within a movement by appealing to special constituencies and promoting particular interests. On the other hand, interactions among organizations mold a unifying collective identity and shape a common discourse on the political concerns of the movement.³

The central goal of this thesis is as much the presentation and testing of a conceptual and methodological approach to the study of social movements as it is the testing of specific propositions. Lack of appropriate analytical frameworks and comparable empirical research in the existing literature makes this work necessarily exploratory. New lenses and methods are applied, and heuristic propositions, rather than strict null hypotheses, are used to guide the quantitative analyses.

The ontological perspective is to view organizations of the women's

movement as agents which function as action systems within themselves and which are enmeshed in a broader action system of interorganizational relations. This environment of interorganizational relations--called the "political opportunity structure" by Tarrow (1983)--consists of the cooperative and competitive relationships among groups that constitute the women's "movement", as well as linkages with other social movements, other interests and institutions, and the state itself. Although social movement organizations (SMOs) are embedded in a structure of interorganizational relations, they are individual agents and it is their actions which produce the structure of the social movement. As volunteer organizations, they engage in a variety of different types of activity other than policy advocacy, including at a bare minimum building and servicing a membership, creating an organizational image, raising revenues and organizational administration. The practice and experience of action at the organizational level is dependent upon structural conditions and resources, the organizational demands of other projects, the configuration of organizations in the movement network and on historical and current relations with the state. Finally the perceived effectiveness of social movement organizations in dealing with the state is a function of both group-level characteristics, such as action meaning and resources, and movement-level characteristics, particularly position in the structure of network relations.

The focus of the study is on thirty-three national, volunteer women's organizations which include both self-defined feminist and non-feminist groups, multiple as well as single issue groups and those designed to appeal to

all women as well as those devoted to the concerns of a narrower constituency of women, such as immigrant or native women.⁴ These organizations constitute virtually the totality of national women's groups in Canada. As such, they represent only the national, organized and institutionalized tip of the movement. The current study does not deal with the grassroots, quasi-organized bulk of the movement (Adamson et al., 1988, chap. 1). The national groups analyzed in these pages as organized entities and active pressure groups, form the interface of the women's movement with the federal government, conceive and carry policy forward to government, and are the most visible representation of the women's movement to Canadians at large. Moreover, to date no systematic, comparative analysis of these national groups exists and they are a tractable focus for the initial application of a new framework and methodology. Because the study is conducted by interviews with the leaders of these groups, it is, of course, an analysis of the perceptions of the decision-making elite, rather than a study of the rank and file of national women's organizations. In addition to being manageable, this focus has the advantage of providing a basis for potential future comparisons with other national social movement organizations.

Analytical Tasks

The analytical tasks of this study are threefold. The first step is to map the structure of relations among the national women's groups and thereby to assess whether the pattern of relations is sufficiently interconnected to be considered a

"social movement" at all, rather than merely a series of relatively autonomous groups with related interests. By definition, a social movement constitutes a network of interlinked organizations that share common core, non-negotiable values and objectives, and which through interaction create a shared culture and collective identity (Melucci, 1984, pp. 825, 828). In this study, the existence of a social movement is not taken for granted merely because through popular usage it has acquired a label. Rather, the very existence of a social movement is treated as an empirical question and the density and pattern of ties among all the potential members of the movement are graphed using social network analysis (Berkowitz, 1982; Burt, 1982; Granovetter, 1973).

The configuration of relations among organizations in a social movement has significance both for the individual organizations and for the movement as a whole. For member organizations, the pattern of linkages serves to constrain or facilitate group action by imposing a structure of political opportunities and, thus, affects internal group processes (Eisinger, 1973; Tarrow, 1983). For example, the supportiveness of multiple relations with other social movement organizations may enhance the sense of agency held by a group's membership that it can have an impact on the policy process and this feeling of empowerment may motivate volunteers to work harder on advocacy projects. Similarly, the opportunity to borrow expert information from other organizations may reduce the internal pressures on the group to generate this information itself. To the extent that some organizations are marginalized within a social movement, their interests and participation in the process of

· negotiating a shared collective identity and shaping the political discourse on issues are likely to be diminished and, hence, their need to lobby as individual organizations increased. Finally, there is convincing case study evidence which demonstrates that the greater the number of ties and alliances held by an interest group, the greater its chances of success in pressuring government for policy change (Boles, 1982, p. 572; Jenkins and Perrow, 1977, p. 251; Knoke and Wood, 1982, p. 187).

For the movement as a whole, the pattern of interorganizational ties determines the nature of the identity and parameters of the discourse constructed by interaction among constituent groups. While SMOs create their own specialized appeal and organizational identities, they also share a movement-wide identity. In order to share in the construction of this encompassing identity, individual groups must participate in relationships with other groups. The concept of collective identity can be considered to be the boundary or "fence" around a social movement. However, collective identity is, as Melucci (1988, p. 342) argues, a process, rather than a product, that is constructed and negotiated through repeated activation of the relationships that link individuals and organizations. The collective identity of the Canadian women's movement, therefore, will extend only to those groups which have linkages to other women's groups. Non-integrated organizations may share interests, but cannot be said to be part of the process of identity formation. Through knowledge of which organizations are linked together and with measures of the density and pattern of connections, it is possible to describe the

paradigm of collective identity they have constructed. If, for instance, the national Canadian women's "movement" does not include linkages between anglophone and francophone groups, it cannot be said to be a truly national level movement; if the network includes only white middle-class organizations, the collective identity must be surmised to have a class and race bias.

The specific structure of linkages among organizations and the resulting collective identity also shape the discourse within the movement about its shared policy concerns. This movement-intrinsic selective attention to and framing of political issues is then used by SMOs to influence the broader "universe of political discourse" which, as outlined by Jenson, "comprises beliefs about the ways politics should be conducted, the boundaries of political discussion and the kinds of conflicts resolvable through political processes" (1987, p. 65). Because it is through the universe of political discourse that the legitimacy of participants is determined, the range of issues defined, policy alternatives considered and tactics deemed acceptable, the creation of a discourse "filters and delineates political activity of all kind" (Jenson, 1987, p. 65). In Jenson's terms, this universe is a consequence of the basic social arrangements in a society and its construction includes a potentially vast array of political actors including capital, labour, state bodies, political parties and social movements. Within this context, the organizations of a social movement negotiate among themselves discourses on central issues which then become the common values and positions of the movement--not just the positions of

individual organizations--in interactions with the broader galaxy of players. The extra-movement and intra-movement processes are iterative: while the universe of political discourse encourages the formation of new collective identities and/or the reinforcement of older ones, a collective identity and internal political discourse, once created by a social movement, influences the broader discourse.

Social network analysis is a useful tool for exploring movement relationships because, as Hall (1987, p. 12) observes, it imposes no restrictive *a priori* assumptions about the idealized distribution of linkages among organizations. Rather, it consists of a set of graph techniques and quantitative measures that may be calculated for the network as a unit and for individual elements. It thus serves as a sensitizing device to chart actual patterns of ties. The method allows us to examine the morphology of a social movement in order both to understand the identity of the organic whole and to develop indicators of interconnectedness for individual organizations that can be used as independent variables in subsequent analyses.

A social movement is not itself an active organizational entity, but rather consists of a set of relationships that is the product of actions of individual organizations. Therefore, the second analytical task undertaken here is to explore and explain the action systems of social movement organizations. Action, rather than decision-making, structure or function, is the lens used to view the conduct and operation of social movement organizations because action both reflects and creates structure. Organizations as political actors, argues

Jenson (1989a, p. 236) are both subjects of structures and acting subjects. The meaning derived through action is critical to understanding organizational behaviour and is as real as that of the structure of organizations or the network structure of a social movement. Action meaning is particularly important to the operation of social movement organizations because they are based on volunteer labour and membership commitment. In these voluntary associations, it is extremely difficult for leaders to impose sanctions or offer monetary rewards in order to promote or discourage certain activities. Instead, leaders must rely on the positive inducements of the sense of efficacy or "agency" that is often produced through collective action to encourage volunteers. They must also militate against the negative consequences of projects which are experienced to be very difficult, unenjoyable or stressful. There is a selective process of choice by which group leaders, to the extent possible, specialize in, repeat or promote those types of actions that have positive benefits in producing a sense of political efficacy and member solidarity.⁵ Whenever possible, they are likely to choose to avoid or delay activities which generate high levels of tension for the organization and which are tasks dreaded by volunteers, staff or elected leaders. Although material resources and organizational characteristics are likely to influence the experience of action meaning and mediate the availability of action alternatives, this process of specialization and avoidance in action will occur in all social movement organizations. For example, groups with abundant financial resources may be able to engage in more frequent and effective lobbying of government because

they can hire experts and can conduct supporting research, but the group members must still have a sense that this action is a worthwhile endeavour in order to continue pursuing it.

Organizational action is also conducted and experienced as part of a system of activities, rather than as isolated behaviours. At times, internal needs and pressures may mitigate effective pursuit of externally-oriented activities such as lobbying. For example, the observation that a group is not actively engaged in advocacy on a particular policy issue may not be a reflection of its lack of interest in the issue, but a result of the fact that the time and energy of its leaders and financial resources of the group are already committed to the internal projects of membership service, fundraising and strategic planning. In order to appreciate the dynamics of social movement organizations and their relationship to the state and other organizations, the totality of action in which they engage, the meaning derived from action and the impact of structure on action must be examined.

It is the goal of this part of the study to delineate the categories of action undertaken by SMOs, to uncover the meaning associated with each of these action domains and assess the influence of resources and structural characteristics on the experience of group action. This analysis is an exploratory exercise that charts the relationships among action, meaning and structure and will serve as the foundation for longer-term analytical strategies that model specifics of the dynamics of these relationships.

Methodologically the study aims to apply a method, Personal Projects

Analysis (Little, 1983), which is appropriate to an action theory of organizations and which has been used very successfully with individuals, but not to date with organizations.⁶ Although Personal Projects Analysis was developed as a device for psychological assessment, it is inherently flexible to meet interdisciplinary needs. It has the distinct advantage that it elicits subject-salient, ecologically-representative units of action--projects--by asking respondents to list and rate, on theoretically-relevant dimensions, the activities in which they are engaged. This method thus meets an important prerequisite. It makes possible assessment of the total action systems of groups as their representatives would describe group acts, rather than blinkering our view by limiting analysis to lobbying projects.

The final task is to examine the relationship of women's organizations to the federal government. By their very nature, interest groups and social movements attempt to effect change and, hence, their ability or perceived ability to do so is crucial to their survival. A complete understanding of how SMOs operate, therefore, should include an analysis of their relationship to the government and an assessment of which factors influence how effective they will be in these lobbying efforts. Policy-makers, including politicians and public servants, function as gatekeepers of state interests and their views on pressure groups and policy positions will determine which groups are accorded legitimacy and allowed to participate in the policy process. If policy-makers believe that a particular interest group is legitimate and powerful, then it has achieved the first step in getting substantive policy change. While such judgments may be

subjective, they nonetheless often shape human behaviour: "In effect, whether such perceptions are 'objectively' accurate is less significant than the fact that one often assumes they are, and acts accordingly" (Presthus, 1973, p. 172). The third part of this study compares the relative strength of three categories of independent variables as predictors of perceptions of effectiveness held by a subset of federal policy-makers. These independent variables are: 1) internal action, meaning variables such as sense of agency and stress in group projects; 2) structural characteristics of organizations such as size of membership and level of financial resources and 3) position and number of ties in the social movement network. Although the use of policy-makers' perceptions of effectiveness may not be an objective measure of a group's actual impact on particular policies, it is a measure that can be obtained given the resources of this study. Conceptually, it is also an important and meaningful indicator of the first stage in achieving a pressure group's desired policy outcomes.

Based on the analysis of frequency and intensity of contact with public officials in various positions, this component of the study examines the location in the federal government where groups tend to direct their lobbying efforts. The notion of classic pluralism that the state acts as a neutral arbiter of interests is unacceptably naive. Rather than serving as a passive target of advocacy pressure, the state also acts to regulate interests. As a response to the political mobilization of particular social groupings, such as women, ethnic minorities and disabled people, the Canadian government has created special bodies to address their concerns. In particular, the Department of Secretary of State plays

an active part in funding women's groups and the office of Status of Women Canada has the specific function of advising the Minister Responsible on matters related to the status of women. However, an important question is: does the "women's state" positively promote the interests of and encourage more sophisticated lobbying by women or does it serve to regulate and control their demands? Because this study compares a number of organizations with related interests instead of a cross-section of diverse interests, it is possible to analyze both the impact of the groups on government and the impact of government on the groups.

Effectiveness is a multidimensional concept, however, and an organization's effectiveness viewed from an outside perspective may be quite different from the internal observation of effectiveness made by group leaders. Although self-rated effectiveness may be based on very different criteria than others' ratings, group leaders have an unrivalled view of their organizations and their perceptions should also be treated as valuable, albeit very different, indicators of effectiveness (Cameron and Whetten, 1981, p. 540; Seashore, 1983, p. 68). Therefore, this analysis of organizational effectiveness also measures self-rated perceptions of effectiveness. With this additional information, the study compares the predictive capacity of the same set of independent variables (action meaning, group structure and movement position) that are used to predict ratings of effectiveness made by public officials. It also compares the measures of self- and other-rated effectiveness, offers explanations for discrepancies, and discusses implications for group behaviour.

As an investigation of social movement organizations, this study is situated at the confluence of literature on interest groups and social movements. Although the two fields theorize about similar organizational types and terrain, there has been minimal cross-fertilization of ideas and concepts. While social movement theory tends to be dominated by sociologists, interest group theory remains primarily the preserve of political scientists. In spite of these disciplinary fences, there is considerable scope for annexation and amalgamation of definitions and theories. The social movement perspective tends to emphasize that movements coalesce around ultimate values that are not open to negotiation or compromise, that they necessarily involve an expressive element of solidarity and are part of a network of similar organizations. A social movement, as defined by Melucci (1984, pp. 825, 828) is a "network" or action system of interconnected groups, plural orientations and meanings--often undergirded by a submerged network linking core individuals and small independent groups--which share a common movement culture and collective identity. Other social movement scholars, such as Tarrow, stress the organizational aspects and the importance of goals related to policy change: social movements are "groups possessing a purposive organization, whose leaders identify their goals with the preferences of an immobilized constituency which they attempt to mobilize in direct action in relation to a target of influence in the political system" (1983, p. 7). This definition converges on the approach of interest group theory.

Interest groups are viewed as vehicles to mobilize and articulate interests

and engage in strategic political action in pursuit of policy goals. In the political science tradition, interest or pressure groups have been defined as "social aggregates with some level of cohesion and shared aims which attempt to influence the political decision-making process" (Ball and Millard, 1986, pp. 33-34) or, popularly, as "groups whose members act together to influence public policy in order to promote their common interest" (Pross, 1975, p. 2). Usually, analysis focuses on a single interest group, often examined through a case study method, rather than on its relationships with the community of related preferences and organizations.⁷ In contrast to social movement literature which concentrates on the creation through expressive action of a solidarity of members or mobilization of the interest in the first place, interest group analysis is normally concerned with the calculated promotion of the interest.

Instrumental and expressive actions, however, should not be seen as antithetical because all social movement organizations engage in both. They are simultaneously organizations and part of a social movement and, therefore, function to build solidarity (both within the organization and identification with the movement as a whole) and to engage in rational, strategic decision-making in pursuit of core values, specific policy changes and organizational survival. It is possible to blend social movement and interest group theory into a single framework with which to view social movement organizations generally and women's groups specifically.

Social movement organizations may be viewed as a subset of the generic label, "interest group", and in most instances equivalent to the term, "public

interest group" which is a group with non-commercial interests dedicated to achieving a public good that will benefit people beyond their own members and which is deemed to be in the public interest rather than the vested, narrow interests of their constituency.⁸ The important distinction between a social movement organization and a public interest group is that the social movement organization is necessarily nested in and influenced by a network of related groups, while a public interest group may function relatively autonomously and not view itself as part of a larger issue community.⁹ For this reason, all social movement organizations may be considered public interest groups, but not all public interest groups are social movement organizations. Although neither social movement nor interest group literature adequately addresses the totality of group action and the relationships among action, meaning and structure, both offer some useful guidance for the present work.

Social Movement Theory

There are two perspectives which currently dominate the study of social movements: the resource mobilization and the New Social Movement schools.¹⁰ Resource mobilization is a utilitarian, rationality-based perspective which concentrates on the ability of a group to secure collective control over resources.¹¹ As a means of explaining the formation of social movements, the resource mobilization school argues that it is the ability to capture and mobilize resources, not the emergence of societal grievances or strain, that predicts the development of a social movement (Jenkins, 1983; Oberschall, 1973; Turner,

1981; McCarthy and Zald, 1977). As Jenkins observes in an excellent review article, the emphasis on mobilization as the means by which a group secures collective control over resources means that,

[t]he major issues. . . are the resources controlled by the group prior to mobilization efforts, the processes by which the group pools resources and directs these toward social change, and the extent to which outsiders increase the pool of resources. (1983, p. 532-3).

The interests or identities around which movements build are of minimal concern because they are taken as given prior to mobilization.¹²

The focus on resources, therefore, gives minimal attention to tactics, leadership strategies, action and choice at the organization level (Marx and Wood, 1975). In part, this problem arises from the failure to distinguish between types of resources and to recognize, as Freeman (1979) notes, that resources are to an extent interchangeable. For example, a group with a specialized membership such as an organization of women lawyers, may substitute qualified volunteers for paid researchers to prepare a legislative brief. In a well-financed organization, an outside company may be contracted to conduct a direct-mail campaign, rather than relying on a hundred furry-tongued volunteers to stuff and lick envelopes. Projects do not happen just because resources are available. On the contrary, they must be selected, nurtured, promoted and defended. In some cases, group leaders must convince the elected executive and members to commit scarce resources to a particular project, to substitute human for financial resources or to abandon a

project even though adequate resources are available. Factors other than resources need to be considered.

Emphasis on rational strategic decisions has also denuded the resource mobilization perspective of concern with the articulation and ascription of social meaning to action. Gamson laments that

There is little here of loyalty, commitment, solidarity, consciousness or the role of face-to-face interaction. The meanings that participants give to their involvements in collective action are made to seem largely irrelevant. (1987, p. 6)

The resource mobilization approach, thus, is a structural one with emphasis on the importance of resources in shaping the behaviour of organizations, but little attention to choice based on the experienced meaning of action.

Finally, resource mobilization theorists tend to give minimal attention to the role of the state. Because it is assumed that the necessary resources will be provided by the aggrieved population and because there has been insufficient attention to the development of measures of success, the state as supporter and as target of social movements has not been extensively analyzed.

In spite of its shortcomings, however, the resource mobilization perspective has made significant advances over the traditional collective action approach because it established social movements as differentiated and strategic political actors, rather than merely irrational or crowd behaviour.¹³ Although it will not be denied that resources are crucial to the mobilization

and survival of a social movement and it will not be refuted that resources affect the tactical decisions of an organization and are a significant determinant of the influence reputation of groups, the present study asserts that too great a focus on the availability of resources is not the most profitable route to understanding the choices and actions of social movement organizations.

The alternative approach to the study of social movements is the "New Social Movement" (NSM) or "collective identity" school which has been predominant in Western Europe in the post-May 1968 context. It differs markedly from resource mobilization in its concerns, underlying assumptions and level of analysis.¹⁴ In contrast to the Olsonian logic and strategic decision-making that pervades the resource mobilization perspective, the essential function of a social movement, argues Jean Cohen (1983, 1985) is to expand and defend social spaces in which collective identities can form. A collective identity is defined as the capacity of recognizing and being recognized as part of the same social unit (Melucci, 1984, p. 828). Expressive, rather than instrumental, formation of a collective identity is fundamental to a social movement:

collective action is defined by the presence of a solidarity: that is, by a system of social relations that links together and identifies those who participate within it, and in addition, by the presence of a conflict. (Melucci, 1984, p. 76)

The value of the New Social Movement school for the present study is that it points to the fact that social movements do more than lobby

government and strategically pursue resources. They are continually engaged in the formation and reinforcement of member solidarity and collective consciousness by which individuals recognize shared experiences, values and legitimate opposition to other social norms and sectors.¹⁵ This literature, however, says very little about the ways in which collective identities are forged by social movements or by individual organizations. It is, thus, the task of this study to explore specific actions through which women's organizations contribute to the creation of collective movement and individual group identities and to incorporate identity formation as one component of an organizational action system. Viewed from this perspective, the collective identity approach is not necessarily incompatible and incommensurate with the organizational and leadership concerns of the resource mobilization school.

The lens of action which is the basis of the present study has been developed but used in a very different way by the New Social Movement scholars. Intentional, purposive, bounded and accountable acts are not the terminology nor the basis of the NSM sociology of action. Rather, the level of analysis in the NSM approach is often the unit of the evolutionary society--viewed as a plane of action--in which social movements "become central conflicts within a field of possible experiences that institutionalize new cultural and moral competencies" (Cohen, 1982a, p. 34). Touraine, for instance, writing from a post-marxist viewpoint, is concerned with the changing structure of class relations in which social movements serve to

"rediscover social actors where they have been buried beneath either structural marxist or rationalist theories of strategies and decisions" (1985, p. 782).¹⁶ In contrast to the early collective action theorists (Smelser, 1962; Turner and Killian, 1957) who postulated that the social system produces collective action, the NSM school views collective action as producing society (Eder, 1987, p. 16).

The theoretical lacunae of this perspective are first, that the component actions necessary to produce change are not delineated and, secondly, organizations are almost totally ignored.¹⁷ While this approach explains why social movements produce society, it does not explain how this occurs. The present study accords with the view of Melucci who implores us to view social movements as composed of organizations and action systems:

One legacy from the 1970s is that I would call a "skeptical paradigm" towards social movements, by which I mean that one does not take collective action as a "thing", and one does not entirely take at face value what movements say of themselves; one rather tries to discover the system of internal and external relationships which constitutes the action (1984, p. 821).

Movements are *action systems* operating in a *systemic field* of possibilities and limits. That is why the *organization* becomes a critical point of observation, an analytical level too often underestimated or reduced to formal structures. The way movement actors set up their action is the concrete link between orientations and systemic opportunities/constraints. (1985, p. 792, emphasis in original)

It is the goal of the present work to develop a model and provide a

methodology to examine the action systems of social movement organizations and to map the interrelationships of groups in the systemic field of the women's movement.

Another issue which the NSM school has been no more successful at addressing than has resource mobilization theory is the role of the state in relation to social movements. Because many of the NSM theorists are writing as a rebuttal to structural marxism, they have tended to obfuscate the state in order to introduce non-class actors and processes not directly part of economic production (Touraine, 1985, p. 771; Magnusson and Walker, 1988).

Furthermore, because social movements are viewed as a means of forming identities and restructuring the social order, the government is not necessarily the target of their action. Cohen, for example, argues that "social movements do not 'succeed' or 'fail' only to the degree to which they become political movements posing the question of power" (1982a, p. 31). A vital conceptual distinction, thus, is made between the state and civil society (Cohen, 1982b). While this differentiation highlights the importance of the expressive action of identity formation and the need to alter the behaviour of civil society, it nevertheless blurs the fact that social movements are also political agents intrinsically dedicated to the ideology and realization of change and are, therefore, necessarily in a relationship with the state. This relationship may take the form of social movement organizations acting as pressure groups or one of social control in which the state supports, shapes and regulates a social movement through the funding and nodes of access it provides to individual

organizations. The nature of interaction with government departments and public officials, however sporadic, tenuous and discontinuous that may be, is essential to an action theory of social movements organizations.

The final problem that arises in both collective identity and resource mobilization literature which will be addressed in the present study is the question of, "is there a women's movement at all?" Most students of social movements assume that because a part of society has developed a set of shared preferences or reacted collectively to a set of grievances, it must constitute an interconnected social movement merely because it has been popularly named as a movement. Neither approach suggests what number of players, threshold level of organizational connectivity or mobilization of actors is required in order to distinguish a social movement from a set of like-minded individuals and groups who oppose existing institutionalized norms. One advantage of viewing a social movement through its constituent units--organizations--is that the intensity and nature of the linkages among them can be explored.

Interest Group Theory

An alternate way to conceive of the women's movement is as a series of individual groups enmeshed in a policy community of women's issues. The utility of interest group theory for the present study is that it focuses attention on the organizational level by its concentration on groups as strategic actors. However, this focus also has a limitation, because interest

group theory has had little to say about activities other than lobbying and the provision of selective incentives (Olson, 1965; Moe, 1980a, 1981). Because much of the interest group literature has studied particular groups, often through a case study method, there has been a minimum of comparative analysis across groups. The traditional single group approach has gradually been changing, however. It has begun to examine interest groups as interactive with their environment and as part of the policy community in which they are situated. Pross suggests that pressure groups are adaptive organisms:

most pressure groups are chameleons; those that take their lobbying role seriously adapt their internal organization and structure to suit the policy system in which they happen to operate. (1982, p. 182)

The character of a specific group is determined in part by its internal resources, but also by the policy environment it attempts to influence, for its effectiveness as a pressure group will be governed by its ability to adapt to that environment. (1986, p. 109-110)

Examples of the interpenetration of group structures and their environment are offered by Thorburn (1985, chap. 4) who carefully reviews the argument that because national Canadian interest groups must operate in a federal system, they quickly mold their internal organizational structure into a federated form in order to deal effectively with both federal and provincial governments.

Although there is considerable disagreement over the relative fluidity

of the policy domain of other organizations and institutions in which a given group operates, the importance of this interorganizational milieu is increasingly being recognized. While Pross envisages a stable "subgovernment" core composed of lead government departments plus several persistent and dominant interest groups surrounded by a sporadically mobilized attentive public, Heclo (1978) views the issue network of government and groups to be a markedly more labile one, in which alliances are continually reformed and participants freely enter and exit. Until recently, work on the interorganizational policy domain has been primarily theoretical, but empirical research by Laumann and Knoke (1987) analyzes the membership, shape, density and influence of groups in the energy and health domains and Salisbury and colleagues (1987) provide data on alliances and adversaries in several policy communities.

Images of the state have also been recently reworked in the interest group literature. Specifically, the Canadian government has been characterized as embodying "bureaucratic pluralism," a situation in which agencies compete intragovernmentally (Pross, 1986, pp. 170-1). Intrastate competition escalates public policy debate and opens points of access for interest groups. As part of its focus on lobbying and the relationship of groups to government, interest group theory is concerned with the assessment of effectiveness. Although lobbying effectiveness has been investigated in work by Presthus (1973), Gamson (1975) and Knoke and Wood (1981), much of this work is either inapplicable to the Canadian context or is outdated due to

significant changes in the political environment and structures of the Canadian government, notably the evolution of Parliamentary committees. Moreover, most of the Canadian research such as that of Presthus (1973, 1975), examines the lobbying styles and effectiveness of a broad cross-section of groups, including business and public interest groups, in order to determine the general role of interest groups in the policy process, and does not provide a detailed comparison of groups within the same policy community.

Theory Integration

The purpose of the present research is to bridge and integrate the theoretical streams of social movements and interest group theory by making the organization the focal point of study and examining it as an action system embedded in the interorganizational environment of a social movement.

The relationship between the articulation of interests and a group's effectiveness in achieving access to the policy process is seen to be mediated by the way in which action is experienced by the group, its structural characteristics and resources, and its opportunities for alliances with other groups.

Both interest group and social movement theory contribute to this operating premise. From interest group and resource mobilization perspectives is borrowed the notion of groups as strategic decision-makers pursuing resources, forming coalitions and choosing advocacy tactics. Adopted from New Social Movement theory is the notion that there is an

interorganizational environment with its own unifying, non-negotiable values, cultural codes, mores and solidarity. This study also proposes, as NSM theory does, that groups act non-instrumentally (although one might argue that solidarity can be strategically reinforced) in the creation of collective identities. Development of the concept of the interorganizational environment, whether called a social movement or a policy community, is drawn from both fields and is supplemented by methodologies from network analysis. Finally, the two fields in combination point to the dualistic role of the state. Interest group theory portrays the state as the target of pressure but recognizes that it is a pluralistic, non-monolithic entity that is sometimes in competition with itself. The social movement literature, in comparison, underscores the role of government as an agent of social control and regulation which plays its significant part in framing the "universe of political discourse" for policy debate and development.

Conclusions

Given that this approach to the study of social movements is conceptually nested, it is imperative to develop the model and methods on three levels: 1) a map of the interorganizational environment, 2) a model of the action systems of social movement organizations and, 3) assessment of the perceived effectiveness of groups in their relationship with the state. Because the shape and content of a movement are not constructed in a historical vacuum, the following chapter briefly outlines the development and

particularities of Canadian women's organizations. This sets the historical context for Chapter 3 which addresses the question, "is there a contemporary national Canadian women's movement?" Using social network analysis, this chapter maps the configuration of linkages among thirty-three national women's groups and speculates on the implications of this pattern of relations for the collective identity and political discourse on several exemplary issues. From this movement-level analysis, Chapters 4 and 5 turn to the study of organizational action. In Chapter 4 the action approach is explicated, theoretically and methodologically, and the action systems of social movement organizations are conceptually delineated and tested for coherence. The next chapter examines differences in meaning across the action domains. In Chapter 6 the impact of structural conditions on action is investigated. The third analytical task, that of assessing perceptions of effectiveness and relations with the federal government, is the subject of Chapter 7. The dissertation concludes with discussion of the dynamic between action and structure and the resulting inherent tensions within social movement organizations. Reasons are suggested as to why women's groups are, and are likely to remain, less than equal among interests in the policy process.

ENDNOTES

1. Although there is minimal research on the role that women's groups play in launching women into electoral politics, there are many noteworthy examples of individual women who have stepped directly from leadership roles in national women's organizations into elected office. For instance, Lynn McDonald was elected as a New Democratic Member of Parliament in 1982 after her term as president of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women. Similarly, Chaviva Hosek moved from the presidency of the same organization to being a Liberal member (and soon Minister) of the provincial government in Ontario. From her leadership in the Fédération des femmes du Québec, Monique Bégin became a Liberal Member of Parliament and later Minister in the Trudeau government from 1972 to 1979. There are numerous other examples representing many groups and all three major political parties. Brodie (1985) and Bashevkin (1985a; 1985b; 1989) provide insightful analysis of the socialization and barriers to entry of women in partisan politics.
2. As detailed in Chapter 2, most of the analyses conducted to date on the Canadian women's movement have been historical accounts of particular organizations or events. Important works include Strong-Boag's (1976) work on the National Council of Women, analysis of Quebec women by the Clio Collective (1987), Kome's (1983) account of the constitutional debate of 1982 and her review of the role of individual women of influence (1985). Adamson and colleagues (1988) present an overview of feminist organizing, but it is centered on the grassroots level. Burt (1986) gives a useful analysis of the development and lobbying efforts of an array of national groups. There is, however, no comparative analysis across national women's organization or work that integrates organizations into a comprehensive movement-level analysis.
3. It is recognized that individuals, acting as individuals not as leaders of organizations, may also play an important role in social movements. However, organizations normally provide the anchor points around which social movements are built and, thus, are vital to an analysis of social movements. They are an essential starting point after which subsequent analysis might fill in the picture with research on the role of individuals in a movement.
4. A list of the groups included in the study and the criteria for selection appear in Appendix A.
5. There are few studies which examine political efficacy or solidarity from the viewpoint of the organization. Most of the literature on political efficacy examines it as a generalized attitude held by individuals *vis à vis* their relationship to government and their ability to affect policy change. See, for example, the work of Lambert and associates (1986), Marsden (1987), Finkel (1985;1987) and Campbell, Gurin and Miller (1954). There is, however, minimal literature which considers the importance of efficacy within political organizations. Likewise, solidarity is usually examined from the perspective of individuals; it is seen to be an incentive which attracts people to join an interest group (Clark and Wilson, 1961), but is seldom viewed from an organizational perspective as an important means of maintaining the group.
6. Personal Projects Analysis has been well received in the psychological literature and is currently being applied widely. For example, the method has been used to predict well-being and life satisfaction (Palys and Little, 1983; Horley, Carroll and Little, 1988; Little, 1988; Ruehlman and Wolchik, 1988), success in managerial performance (Slack-Appotive, 1982),

adaptation by Vietnamese Boat People to life in Canada (Loh, 1981), assessment of person-place interaction (Little, Pychyl and Gordon, 1986) and has been adapted as a program evaluation method for Ontario District Social Service Councils (Owen and Little, 1981). For a full listing of studies using Personal Projects Analysis, see Little (1989b).

7. There are some notable exceptions to the case study method in the interest group literature. Pross (1986) in his conceptual treatment discusses the importance of policy communities and Forbes (1985) examines the political community of interests in agriculture. While he presents a picture which positions groups relative to each other and to government departments, Forbes does not develop quantitative measures of interconnectivity. In more general terms, Ball and Millard (1986) outline a useful comparative framework for the study of interest groups.
8. The term, "social movement organization", was popularized by Zald and Ash (1966) and later by McCarthy and Zald (1977).
9. Note that there is longitudinal mobility in a group's connectedness to other organizations. While at one point in time a given public interest group might be part of a social movement network, at another time the same public interest group might not be part of such a network.
10. For an excellent discussion of overlap and distinctiveness of the resource mobilization and New Social Movement perspectives, see Tarrow (1989).
11. There is a debate in the literature over the most effective organizational structure of a social movement organization. The debate centers on whether a centralized and bureaucratic structure for both organizations and movements is more effective, as Gamson (1975) and McCarthy and Zald (1977; 1987) argue, or whether decentralized and informal groups and movements are more effective in achieving policy change. This latter perspective is made by Piven and Cloward (1977) in their study of poor people's movements. See Jenkins (1979) for an overview of the different points of view.
12. Although this approach gives a great deal of attention in theory to social movement organizations and to alliances between them, in practice it has been used less to study the interconnected organizations in a movement than to explain individual participation (Carden, 1987; Klandermans, 1984; 1988; Zurcher and Curtis, 1973), movement formation, growth and decay (McCarthy and Zald, 1977; Oberschall, 1973; Zald and Garner, 1966; Zald and McCarthy, 1987) and the trend toward professional organizations led by political entrepreneurs (McCarthy and Zald, 1987).
13. Resource mobilization was a significant development over the earlier approach of "collective action" which viewed the action of social movements as primarily under-organized, marginally legitimate and often as the irrational responses of crowds. For example, scholars such as Smelser (1963) and Turner and Killian (1972) gave little attention to organization, made virtually no differentiation within a movement and viewed action as an automatic response to strain or grievance. A useful contrast of the resource mobilization approach with earlier perspectives is provided by Jenkins (1983) and Turner (1981).
14. A series of articles published in Social Research (1985) provides an excellent overview of the underpinnings, assumptions and objectives of the New Social Movement school.

15. In contrast to Olson (1965) or Wilson and Clark (1961), the New Social Movement theorists see solidarity as an end in itself, not as a means to an end. In the Olsonian and incentive approach, solidarity is a means of attracting members in order to achieve the end of lobbying.

16. For Touraine (1981; 1985), the inherent struggle that moves society on its evolutionary trajectory is the tension of Identity, Opposition (definition of the adversary) and Totality (the stakes over which the movement and adversaries are in conflict). He uses the model of tension among Identity, Opposition and Totality to view the feminist movement and argues that the movement has failed because it does not adequately integrate these three elements. While radical feminists have become exclusively focussed on the affirmation of "Identity" and, thereby become detached from any social basis, the moderate wing has been limited because they have concentrated on achieving institutional concessions, rather than working on defining the adversaries and the stakes (that is, on the "Totality") (1981: p. 221). See also Hannigan (1985: p. 445).

17. Jenson is one of the few scholars to examine collective identity at the organizational level. Identity formation via organizations is the basis of her analysis and for this reason, her work is distinguished from the mainstream of the NSM approach. For example, Jenson argues that, "the 'working class' is an identity which can take on popular resonance only *after* political struggle and *after* the hegemonic ideology has been breached by the world views propounded by organizations of workers and their allies." (1986, p. 26, emphasis in original). See also her discussion of how unions contributed to the creation of different identities for working women versus men in France and the United States before 1914 (Jenson, 1989a).

CHAPTER 2

The Canadian Women's Movement in Historical Perspective

The term "women's movement" has widely accepted, if conceptually loose, usage in everyday language. It popularly refers to women seeking political and societal change. But in social theory the term "social movement" is a more precise concept. In order to constitute a social movement, a number of groups with purposive organizations and shared preferences must be interconnected through joint actions to develop a politicized collective consciousness. The initial analytical task of the present research is to conduct a social network analysis of the relationships of thirty-three national women's organizations, deemed to be the totality of such groups in Canada, in order first to ascertain whether they are sufficiently linked to be considered a movement at all and, secondly, to explore the pattern of relations among them so that interpretations of the collective identity and political discourse can be made. While social network analysis will provide a snapshot of current linkages among the subject groups, the implications of these relations cannot be understood purely in the abstract. On the contrary, the historical context of the development of national Canadian women's organizations and the crises which in the past have brought them together or spun them apart is an important foundation for a sensitive analysis of the pattern of contemporary relationships. In addition, many of our popular suppositions about the "women's movement" have been acquired

through isolated observations of women's groups organized at the grassroots level or from movements in other countries. It is not adequate, however, to assume that all women's movements are alike; rather, each national movement has been influenced by the political opportunity structure of that jurisdiction and by the degree of historical receptivity of the state to the demands made by women's groups.

Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to present a brief historical overview which outlines the significant political forces that have shaped the development of national Canadian women's groups and their interconnections. After assessing the evidence of history, propositions about the configuration of the contemporary interorganizational relations of national women's groups are developed as the basis for testing via social network analysis in the following chapter.

The central concern of this retrospective view is to ask: is there any reason based on historical evidence to postulate that women's groups today would be interconnected to form a movement at the national level? In particular, the women's "movement" generally is recognized to have been mobilized in two waves--the first at the turn of the century and the second beginning in the late 1960s. Although many of the groups created in the first wave are still in existence, it is important to establish whether there is substantial reason to believe that these traditional groups bear a resemblance to or would be connected in a network with the second generation, primarily feminist, groups. It is also a distinctive fact of the Canadian political system that

linguistic and cultural differences between Quebec and English Canada tend to create two solitudes in social activism (Raboy, 1986). Whether women's organizations in Quebec have any connection with anglophone groups will depend in part on historical events, crises or individuals that may have brought them together. Finally, it is important to outline the distinctive characteristics of the national Canadian women's "movement" because most of the work to date has been conducted on women's liberation movements and has generated a presumption that women's groups are highly atomistic, decentralized and often very short-lived. It is the argument of the present study that such is not the case with the national Canadian groups in part due to their national status and in part due to historical events. If, in fact, there historically has been stability in organizations themselves and in their relationships with each other, it is not a chimerical exercise in subsequent analyses to map interconnections and make comparisons among groups.

The focus in this historical sketch is to explore the relationships of the first and second wave as well as the anglophone and francophone groups and the multiple versus special constituency groups. It also assesses the impact on interorganizational cohesiveness of the crises faced by these groups because it is at times of crisis that political alignments and identities may be adjusted and discourses altered. Although later analysis examines the existence and integration of the contemporary movement as an empirical question, the term "movement" is used in this chapter for convenience in interpreting existing literature on Canadian women's groups. The term is applied loosely at this

point and does not preempt the important empirical issue of whether national women's groups are sufficiently integrated to constitute a single women's "movement".

As a result of a political culture shaped by the demographics of anglophone and francophone peoples and by the actions of individuals and the state, the Canadian women's "movement" has acquired several distinctive characteristics. First, there is great diversity and longevity of organizations. As McDonald (1979a, p. 40) argues, organization, not the articulation of feminist theory, has been the strength of the Canadian women's movement. Bashevkin (1985a, chap. 1) and Cohen (1989, p. 225) note that there has been an historical preference among Canadian women to remain independent of partisan politics by forming and joining voluntary associations, rather than channeling their political participation into traditional political parties.

Secondly, while the movement is organized at both the national and local levels, the two levels are not completely isolated. Although women's movements are often divided conceptually into two branches--the women's rights movement with institutionalized structures and the women's liberation movement, organized at the grassroots level by transitory, loosely structured groups, the Canadian movement features the cooperation of the two wings and to some extent integration through the innovative organizational form of umbrellas such as the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (Lovenduski, 1986; Vickers, 1988, 1989; Adamson et al., 1988). Thirdly, within the institutionalized national wing there is tremendous diversity and

demonstrated survival capacity of individual organizations. Indeed, several of the subject groups will soon celebrate their one-hundredth anniversaries as national organizations. In spite of the diversity, there is also considerable similarity of structures and overlap of interests. As a consequence of the cooperation and coalitional juxtaposition of old and new--rights and liberation groups--there has been a blurring of the distinction between gender role equity and role change groups with the result that most national groups have at some time in their history lobbied on both types of issues.¹

Finally, in contrast to many European or American radical feminist groups, Canadian women's groups have been more committed to the ordinary political process (McDonald, 1979a, p. 32; Richardson, 1983, p. 202; Vickers, 1988, p. 13). Although, like most SMOs, they have an anti-institutional bent and have been dissatisfied with state policy, they are less revolutionary and have not sought to bypass existing political channels. In fact, Canadian women's groups have displayed considerable faith in the state and have worked with it to achieve policy change. There is, however, a differentiation between the English Canadian and Quebec groups as to which government is most trustworthy. For Anglophone groups, there has been a strong orientation to the federal government, while Quebec women's groups have tended to look to their provincial government for support of their interests.

The contemporary or second wave of the Canadian women's movement can be dated to the establishment of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (RCSW) in 1967 as a historical moment (Morris, 1982). However, the

momentum of organization that resulted from the RCSW cannot be viewed as a birth of an entirely new movement because the much older "traditional" groups had never died (Black, 1988, p. 83).² They were revitalized and the movement became multigenerational as older women and older groups worked side by side with the women inaugurated as feminists in the 1970s. Since the Royal Commission the movement has grown and diversified with the result that the fledgling organizations of the early 1970s are now institutionalized and the neophyte organizations of the 1980s are composed of new players. These emerging organizations are groups of minority women such as the disabled, immigrants and visible minorities.

During the twenty years of the second wave, there have been two crises that have challenged the core interests and very existence of many women's groups. In general, the outcome of these crises has been to galvanize diverse groups and radicalize the traditional groups, rather than to drive groups apart. The first event, the constitutional debate of 1982, was handled by a very small self-appointed band of women lawyers, but through their actions they became an "expansive moment," as most national women's groups--at least the white anglophone groups--were united in the single cause of securing equality rights for women in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Burt, 1988; Hosek, 1983; Kome, 1983; Gotell, 1988). In 1986, the spectrum of women's groups was again unified to fight the challenge brought by anti-feminist forces to end their government funding. These challenges have had important regenerative consequences for advocacy action by individual groups and for integration of

various parts of the network of groups. They have served to emphasize equality rights and to reinforce the focus of English Canadian groups on the federal government.

Maternal Feminism of the First Wave

The contemporary women's movement cannot be divorced from its roots in the "maternal" or "social" feminism which began in the late 1800s. Not only are many of the first wave groups still in active existence, but the second generation groups have been greatly influenced by them (Black quoted in Burt, 1987, p. 2). In particular, the dual duty of women's organizations was established early in their history: even today there are concerns both with lobbying the government for policy reform and with direct social service to women and community. In contrast to modern feminism, however, the first wave was neither based on a collective identity that emphasized equality rights for women nor on a political discourse critical of the inequities created by patriarchy and demanding gender role change. Rather, the basis of feminism in Canada at the turn of the century centered on women as mothers and, therefore, as the morally superior sex which could lead social reform (Errington, 1988; Strong-Boag, 1977). The early groups established in the 1870s and 1880s, such as the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) or Girls' Friendly Society were secular, if also conscientiously sectarian organizations (Strong-Boag, 1977, p. 89). That is, while they were motivated by Protestant or sect reformism, they were not part of the

institutional structures of the Church. They paved the way for the formation of a national parliament of women--the National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC)--in 1893 whose motto is to support family and nation by following the Golden Rule.

Rather than striving simply for the rights of women, these groups were part of a larger North American progressive movement that organized as a challenge to the traditional political parties and was focussed on rehabilitation of the poor and degenerate (Bashevkin, 1985a; Bacchi, 1976; Strong-Boag, 1976).³ "In this great task they epitomized the widespread faith in female superiority" (Strong-Boag, 1977, p. 89). These early women's groups also held a strong upper-middle class bias and were overwhelming urban: these were the "club women" and the Lady Bountifuls who felt that they had a duty to participate in the public sphere and to help the less fortunate (Strong-Boag, 1986; Errington, 1988, p. 67). As a result of their social service orientation and maternal feminism, groups such as the National Council of Women were reluctant to support the suffrage organizations and did so only when the vote could be seen as a tool for the social reforms they advocated most strongly (Roberts, 1979, p. 22). As urban elites with Protestant biases, groups such as the NCWC and YWCA had virtually no presence in rural Canada or in Quebec outside of Montreal.

Rural women, particularly in the west, argues Bacchi (1979, pp. 106-107), tended to identify more with their class than with their sex. The organizations created to provide services to farm women through education in home economics, health and hygiene were the Women's Institutes. Founded in

Ontario in 1898, the Women's Institutes quickly spread throughout the west, in part because of the need among rural women for association and education and, in part, because they enjoyed the moral support of the farmers' unions and financial support from provincial/territorial governments (Bacchi, 1979, p. 103; Crowley, 1986, p. 80). The funding assistance provided to the Women's Institutes by governments is the first example of the practice of state clientelism that was to become very popular in the second wave of feminism. In 1919 a national Federation of Women's Institutes of Canada (FWIC) was formed to coordinate work of provincial groups and to serve as a clearinghouse for their activities.⁴

Rural women were not the only ones isolated from the urban feminist movement. Francophone women were also separated by the barrier of language and by the societal influence of the Catholic Church in Quebec which precluded association with the Protestant-tinged "secular" groups. Although a branch of the National Council of Women was formed in Montreal in 1893 that temporarily united anglophone and francophone women, there was a strong need for an organization to diffuse feminist ideas among Catholic-francophone women. This need was filled in 1907 by the creation of the Christian-feminist organization, the Fédération Nationale Saint-Jean Baptiste (FNSJB), which tried to balance the nationalistic spirit and tenets of Catholicism with feminism and social reform (Lavigne, Pinard and Stoddart, 1979, pp. 74-75; Clio Collective, 1978, pp. 250-251). However, bourgeois francophone women, unlike their English sisters, were not joiners of clubs and were torn between gender, nationalism and

religion. Faced with the additional problem of resistance from the clergy, the FNSJB remained class-bound in its work and foundered in the 1920s.

In rural Quebec, as in rural anglophone Canada, separate women's organizations were created and flourished. Using the model of Women's Institutes, two agronomists with the Quebec provincial Ministry of Agriculture assisted in the creation of the Cercles des Fermières in 1915. The Cercles were intended "to instill women with a desire to stay at home and use their housekeeping skills to keep 'our sons on the land and stop our daughters from deserting the rural parish'" (Clio Collective, 1987, p. 236).

In both Quebec and anglophone Canada the momentum of feminism died down with the diminution of social reform after the 1920s and remained relatively quiet until the 1960s.⁵ Several associations of professional women were created--notably the Canadian Federation of University Women (CFUW) in 1919 and the Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs (CFBPWC) in 1930. These organizations and the existing social feminism groups continued to work quietly and persistently on a plethora of issues including unemployment, women and work, penal reform, appointment of women to the public service, international development assistance, social and child welfare, alcohol abuse, education and civil liberties. But they received little public attention.⁶

The history of the Canadian women's movement clearly demonstrates the institutional longevity of national non-partisan organizations. The National Council of Women, YWCA, Federated Women's Institutes, National

Council of Jewish Women, Canadian Federation of University Women and the Federation of Business and Professional Women all remain operative and have been included in this empirical study.⁷ The significance of the continuity of the first wave is that it kept women involved in social issues, even in the doldrums of the 1930s to 1950s, and encouraged both social service and political activism. Moreover, the organizational structures created by the turn of the century groups served as important models for the more explicitly feminist organizations of the 1960s and 1970s. These archetypical structures feature local chapters and affiliate groups in federations and stress the importance of regional representation and participation of the grassroots in a direct manner through annual conventions and in a hierarchical fashion through policy resolutions transmitted via the route of local-regional-provincial-national levels. This practice of democracy based on hierarchical and regional representation was adopted in later national feminist organizations in preference to a model of egalitarian feminism (Vickers, 1989). Even in the few rare cases in which national women's groups were organized and initially run by a small cadre of political entrepreneurs, they soon evolved into democratic structures with regional representation and local participation.⁸

Finally, this early organizational superstructure became important to mobilization of the second wave of feminism because these existing organizations actively supported the founding of new--feminist--groups in the 1960s and 1970s.⁹ Moreover, these traditional groups became engulfed in the new ideology, although many of the issues were already familiar to them, if

previously not analyzed through an explicitly feminist perspective. As a result, the universe of political discourse among women's organizations abandoned the identity and language of maternal feminism in favour of a liberal vision of feminism that focussed on gender equality and rights. Over time, the definition of issues as political gradually expanded even among the older traditional groups.

In 1960, a new organization was created with branches in both English Canada and Quebec which served as the basis for renewed politicization of women and provided a significant training ground for individual women who soon came to be founders and leaders of other organizations (Kome 1985, p. 87).¹⁰ The Voice of Women for Peace (VOW) was established in 1960 as a response to the fear of an escalated arms race after the collapse of superpower summit talks earlier that year and within two years the VOW had a national membership of more than 10,000 women (Kome, 1985, p. 75-76; Macpherson and Sears, 1976, pp. 72-73). In its membership and initial orientation, Voice of Women was another variation of maternal feminism--women who as mothers were concerned about the safety of the world for their children--but over time the group became more strongly feminist in arguing the gender implications of policy (Black, 1980, p. 85; Morris, 1980, p. 5).

Kay Macpherson, one of its leading activists, observes, "One of VOW's strong points was the means it provided for women with time but little money, often tied to their homes and children, to take responsibility for action, to DO something constructive and effective" (1987, p. 61). Although the lobbying

campaigns and international women's peace conferences organized by VOW are credited with being instrumental in getting the partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963, the real significance of the Voice of Women for the Canadian women's movement is the leaders it produced and its acquired role as a crucial link between mainstream women's groups and left-leaning and international organizations.¹¹

Although the feminist revival had not yet caught on in English Canada during the 1960s, with the exception of VOW, such was not the case in Quebec. Here modern feminism as a social movement was initiated in 1966. As a result of a conference celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the provincial vote for women, Thérèse Casgrain (founder of the VOW in Quebec and former leader of the Quebec CCF) and other Quebec feminists worked together to form the *Fédération des femmes du Québec* (FFQ) (Clio Collective, 1987, pp. 336-341; Bégin, 1988, pp. 10-11). The FFQ represented a new solidarity among associations of Quebec women which were joined in a pluralistic, multi-ethnic federation that would provide a political platform for demands on improvement of the status of women. Its federated structure was copied from the NCWC founded in 1893 and the FNSJB established in 1907.¹² From the beginning, the FFQ decided to identify and work closely with those male policy makers who could understand their issues and would cooperate in supporting status of women issues in their spheres of influence (Bégin, 1988, p. 346).

Also in 1966, a complement to the predominantly urban FFQ was forged by the amalgamation of two existing groups--l'Union catholique des femmes

rurales and Cercles d'économie domestique. The new organization, Association féminine d'éducation et d'action sociale (AFEAS), has an extensive network of local groups throughout small town and rural Quebec and represents moderate feminists who are working for both role equity and role change issues even though they tended to live traditional roles as wives and mothers. Burt (1986, p. 146) suggests that AFEAS is indicative of the essential difference between anglophone and francophone women's groups: the Quebec version of traditionalism is consistently more militant than that of English Canada.¹³ The impetus for nation-wide mobilization of women came when the leaders of some of the traditional groups in English Canada supported by Quebec women began to lobby for a Royal Commission to investigate the status of women.

Organizing around the Royal Commission

The creation of a Royal Commission on the Status of Women (RCSW) in 1967 gave public visibility to women's concerns, sparked the spread of the new feminism and provided the momentum that eventually led in 1972 to the formation of the most comprehensive federation of women's groups of all time, the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC). However, the continuity of the mobilization with the traditional women's groups that lead to this event is important to recognize. The establishment of the Royal Commission was not the product of a visible mass social movement or widespread social unrest by women (Morris, 1980, p. 19). Rather, it was the result of elite pressure from a wide array of credible and respected women's groups

including, among others, the National Council of Women, Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Canadian Federation of University Women, Federated Women's Institutes, National Council of Jewish Women and Voice of Women. The establishment of a Royal Commission was also, and perhaps even more directly, the result of considerable internal persuasion by the only female Cabinet Minister, Judy LaMarsh (Kome, 1985, p. 79; LaMarsh, 1970, pp. 315-316).

The process began when Laura Sabia--no braless banner waving feminist, but a staunch Tory in Queen Mum hats and then president of the Canadian Federation of University Women (Gray, 1988, p. 232)--organized a steering committee in 1966 representing thirty-two women's groups to press for a Royal Commission.¹⁴ When the committee's brief was presented to the federal government later that year, the impression was given that there was organizational integration of the francophone and anglophone women because Thérèse Casgrain and Rejeanne Colas (then president of the FFQ) read the french version. "The politicians," remarked Sabia, "were amazed that the French and English could get along so well, but there was absolutely no difference between us" (Kome, 1984, p. 79). Although the idea of a Royal Commission had been received by Quebec women with only lukewarm interest, the FFQ participated because it wanted to strengthen a Commission's chances of success (Morris, 1980, p. 13). The relationship, thus, was one of elite accommodation between the FFQ and the anglophone Committee for Equality rather than true organizational integration (Vickers, 1988, p. 18). Although Pearson's minority Liberal government at first resisted and even vetoed the idea of a Royal Commission,

the threat, made somewhat inadvertently, to march two million women on Ottawa, and the ongoing efforts by LaMarsh, led to the government's acquiescence.¹⁵

The Royal Commission under the chair of Florence Bird received 468 briefs, more than 1000 letters of opinion and heard 890 witnesses during public hearings held in fourteen cities across the country (Kome, 1983, p. 87).¹⁶ Its Report, although criticized by some as too liberal, and lacking an adequate theoretical analysis of the underlying causes of women's oppression, was generally well received by national women's groups (Morris, 1982, p. 161; Appelle, 1987, p. 20). Because it incorporated issues such as accessible childcare and choice on abortion into the core demands related to improving the status of women, the Report moved the liberal feminist project beyond its own theory (Appelle, 1987, p. 20). The significance of the Report was that it came to serve as a blueprint for social change because it redefined the universe of political discourse. Issues which had previously been invisible because they were deemed to be private or family matters (like abortion or childcare) or economic issues (such as women's labour force participation) became publicized as political issues related to systemic gender inequities that demanded government attention. Women's groups no longer had to identify the issues, but merely to set priorities for their attention to them (Kome, 1985, p. 89; Vickers, 1988, p. 36). Even to the present day, it has entrenched a focus among anglophone Canadian women's groups on the federal government. The creation of NAC as a watchdog over the implementation of the recommendations of the Commission

was its most important institutional contribution.

The second "parliament of women" began in 1971 when the National Ad Hoc Committee on the Status of Women was established by bringing together liberation as well as mainstream women's groups to oversee action on the recommendations of the Royal Commission. Again under the leadership of Laura Sabia a major conference of over 500 women representing forty-one organizations, called the "Strategy for Change" conference, was convened in 1972 in Toronto with substantial government assistance in travel funding (Kome, 1985, P. 93).¹⁷ The diversity of interests made for lively debate:

The conference was a nightmare--500 delegates from ultra-conservative to radical feminists meeting for the first time and trying simultaneously to put across their ideas on everything from abortion to the Kraft cheese boycott. It was euphoric, it was exhilarating, it was confusing, it was horrendous. But somehow priorities were agreed upon and an umbrella organization emerged, containing member groups that range across politics from the Communist party to the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire.
(Saturday Night, September, 1978, p. 4)

The conference created the opportunity for alliance and ended in the formation of a permanent organization: NAC was to be an instrument of convenience to coordinate this mélange in lobbying the federal government so that it could not set them arguing against each other (Appelle, 1987, p. 27; Vickers, 1988, p. 23). Vickers notes that in this process "the traditional segment of the movement found itself engulfed both literally and politically by the more radical elements

of the Women's Liberation Movement" (1988, p. 35). Like the FFQ, NAC adopted a highly functional umbrella structure that held radical, socialist and liberal feminists, partisan women's caucuses, special interest groups and some of the more traditional groups.¹⁸ Although the traditional organizations were important partners in the creation of this voice for feminism, for the most part they did not remain active in NAC thereafter; conversely, the existence of NAC did not extinguish their work or memberships. However, there has been continued, if at times tenuous, participation of the FFQ.¹⁹

From its original number of forty-one member groups, NAC grew quickly and now represents approximately six hundred groups. Several original decisions have shaped and in part limited NAC's discretion for action (Appelle, 1987, p. 28). First, the fact that NAC originated and remains based in Toronto has created internal tensions from both Quebec and the west over the adequacy of regional representation. The strategic process of organizational review currently is attempting to improve representation and participation by all member groups. The Toronto home base also pits members who think that the primary function of the organization is to lobby and that it should be based in Ottawa against those who believe NAC's main function is membership service and that it should be located close to its largest constituency.²⁰ Unlike the National Council of Women, NAC has no intermediate level of provincial councils, which tends to attenuate its ability to mobilize pressure politics against provincial governments.²¹ Finally, beginning with its founding conference, NAC has been heavily dependent on federal government financing, the implications of which

are examined in subsequent chapters. In spite of its internal problems, NAC has remained the central organization of the Canadian women's network and has been involved in lobbying on a tremendous range of issues. As Lynn McDonald, a past president of NAC, observes "probably in no other country is there as much harmony across such a diversity of interests and styles" (1979a, p. 43).

Feminist organizing did not stop with the creation of NAC, but has significantly shifted direction. The remainder of the 1970s witnessed in all parts of the country the creation of community-level "liberation" groups which often were centered more on self-help and solidarity than policy advocacy. They also frequently were short-lived, often disbanding and being reconstituted as new organizations (Adamson et al., 1988, p. 53-61).²² The declaration of 1975 as International Women's Year as well as considerable government funding which was generated by the existence of the "year" led to creation of several new national groups. Most notable among these are the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (CRIAOW) dedicated to feminist research, and MATCH, created for the promotion of international development, both established in 1975. A few years later, in 1981, the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women (CCLOW), a feminist organization which promotes training and education for women, and the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women in Sport (CAAWS) were added to an already impressive number of national organizations.²³

In Quebec during the late 1960s the more radical women's liberation groups had begun to mobilize in Montreal and their number grew during the

1970s. In contrast to the national organizations, these groups emphasized consciousness-raising and a service ethic (Richardson, 1983, chap. 1). During the 1970s the liberation movement in Quebec became closely tied to Quebec nationalism as evidenced by the popular slogan, "Pas de libération des femmes sans Québec libre, pas de Québec libre sans libération des femmes" [no women's liberation without a free Quebec; no free Quebec without the liberation of women] (Lamoureux, 1987, pp. 53, 66). As a result of its tie with nationalism, the francophone movement, especially at the grassroots level, became increasingly distant from English Canada. However, Lamoureux notes that, paradoxically, as the national question became the dominant issue in Quebec politics it waned in importance for the Quebec feminist movement, but became reheated as the referendum on sovereignty association approached. Although the Parti Québécois publicly tried to show its commitment to the status of women, Lamoureux (1987) argues that the conservative influence of traditional nationalism was still felt in its programmes, and that it became explicit in response to the "Yvette" mobilization around the referendum.²⁴ While most Quebec women's groups undoubtedly still see the provincial government and society as their field of action, in recent years there has been a push by the federal state for at least two of the largest Quebec groups--the FFQ and AFEAS--to have a presence at the national level. Representation by the Quebec groups gives national legitimacy to government-sponsored conferences and meetings and, thus, there are state-generated pressures on the Quebec groups to take an interest and be active at the federal as well as the provincial level.

In the 1980s, new groups continued to be formed at the national level, but the constituencies have changed dramatically. This decade has been characterized by the rise of organizations of minority women--women who did not feel fully represented by the white middle-class groups and who knew oppression on grounds other than gender. The emergent groups of the 1980s include the Congress of Black Women (CBW) established nationally in 1980 (local groups existed earlier), Inuit Women's Association or Pauktuutit (IWA) created in 1984, Disabled Women's Network (DAWN) in 1985 and the National Organization of Immigrant and Visible Minority Women (NOIVMW) in 1986.²⁵ With the exception of the Inuit Women's Association, which by geography has a highly inaccessible constituency, the other groups chose umbrella structures composed of local chapters and affiliated organizations. NOIVMW, for instance, has a membership of 500 organizations.

State clientelism, especially in the form of funding and assistance in organizing a founding conference, was an important element in the formation of most of these groups.²⁶ Without state assistance such conferences may never have been organized at the national level due to the inability of minority women, who usually have considerably fewer financial resources than other women, to subsidize personally their own organizational costs. In reference to the creation of rather artificial groupings of immigrant and visible minority women, Carty and Brand argue that the motives of government in funding these were substantially self-serving:²⁷

The state's efforts were meant to create a continuing network, while simultaneously diffusing the tensions against itself which were building up in each individual women's group, but because of its inability to deal with the different issues such as racism, sexism, better wages and better jobs, its organizing created new divisions (1988, p. 40).

These emerging hyphenated identities of native-women, visible minority-women and disabled-women are posing serious challenges, both within NAC and as distinct organizations, to expand the conception of female experience and to deal more explicitly with issues such as racism, reproductive choice and poverty.

Federal Government Response to the Women's Movement

The response of the federal government to the women's movement has been three-pronged: first, there have been policy changes, albeit incremental; secondly, there has been the structural addition of the "Women's State" and thirdly, financial support has been given to voluntary groups. In her analysis of the federal government's policy reaction to the RCSW, Burt (1986, p. 150) argues that while the government formally committed itself to legislating for equality, the approach has been incremental with the result that there has been only partial success in implementing the RCSW recommendations. Most of the policy emphasis has been on promoting equality in the paid labour force and on encouraging the participation of women in senior levels of the public service. Furthermore, a 1979 publication by the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status

of Women, entitled Ten Years Later, which reviewed the record of the federal government, noted that only 43 of the 122 recommendations of the RCSW which fall under federal jurisdiction have received attention. Since the politics of restraint assumed dominance in the second Mulroney term, government interest in issues related to the status of women have been severely curtailed as evidenced by the fact that the government decided in the 1989 budget to delay indefinitely its proposed Canada Child Care Act. However, this study is not intended to be an indepth analysis of the record of the federal government in furthering status of women policies. As an examination of the relationship of the national women's groups to the state, the structural and funding responses are of more direct concern.

The "Women's State" consists of three primary government bodies: Status of Women Canada, the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women (CACSW) and Women's Program of Secretary of State (WPSS). To fulfil one of the recommendations of the Royal Commission, the position of Minister Responsible for the Status of Women was created in 1972. The network of women inside and outside of government overseeing implementation of the RCSW pushed for this responsibility to be assumed by a "full" Minister who would add Status of Women to his or her regular portfolio so that there would be the resources of an existing bureaucracy and so that both the Minister and department staff would develop a sensitivity to women's concerns. They were also afraid that unless a relatively senior Cabinet minister undertook the responsibility, it would be all too easy to bury status of women issues in the

obscurity of a junior person who did not command the attention of Cabinet.

(Bégin, 1988, p. 347).²⁸

In 1972 a Coordinator on the Status of Women, Freda Paltiel, was appointed within the Privy Council Office and in 1976 this position was enlarged into an independent office reporting directly to the Minister Responsible, with the job of coordinator elevated to the deputy minister level. Although the office is very small, its responsibilities have been expanded to include policy analysis and advice to the Minister, coordination of policy on an interdepartmental basis, cooperation with provincial governments on policy development and communication of information to the public. However, Status of Women Canada has no line responsibility for the implementation of programmes or policies to women (Status of Women, 1985, pp. 1-3). The Women's Bureau of Labour Canada and the Senior Advisor in Health and Welfare have similar responsibilities focussed more specifically on the relationship of status of women issues to the mandates of their departments. Although the Office of Status of Women has acted as an important lobby from within and serves to coordinate the initiatives of other departments through an interdepartmental committee, a serious issue which has not been explored adequately is the extent to which the office has facilitated the lobbying activities of women's groups to the federal government. Has Status of Women Canada served to politicize and encourage advocacy by making group leaders more aware of the parameters of the policy process? Or, has it ghettoized women's issues by focussing attention of both group leaders and government departments on this one office? The impact

of Status of Women Canada on the lobbying effectiveness of national women's groups is explored in more depth in Chapter 7.

The creation of the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women (CACSW) in 1973 was also an institutional change emanating from the Royal Commission.²⁹ Its function is to bring before the government and the public matters of interest and concern to women and to advise the Minister Responsible on such matters relating to the status of women (CACSW, 1983, p. 6). However, the history of the Council has been a troubled one, because neither its relationship with government nor with women's groups has been unambiguous. In particular, there is little integration between the Council and government advisors, with the result that its work is often unrelated to that of departments (Burt, 1986, p. 154). At times the Council has oscillated between being a complacent messenger of government policy to women's groups and a vociferous critic of government policy.³⁰ Although the research conducted by the Council has been widely used by women's groups, there was strong criticism by the National Organization of Immigrant and Visible Minority women of a paper on immigrant women published in 1988.³¹ Grant states that CACSW regards its primary client to be the federal government and its secondary constituency is seen to be individual "grassroots women", but the clientele of the organized women's movement is of only minimal importance to the Council (1988, p. 88).

Finally, the Council is a political body prone to the abuses of patronage. Some very good appointments were made in the early years. But because these

positions were not seen to be political plums, and the Council was not anticipated to be effective, later ones have been criticized as patronage appointments of people not experienced in women's policy matters (Morris, 1982; Grant, 1988, p. 87; Findlay, 1988, p. 90; Sweet, 1988, pp. 90-91). Findlay concludes that the Council has been relatively powerless in the policy process because there is no political will behind it; in her view, CACSW has been "neither a challenge to the government nor a particular support to the women's movement, apart from several useful but poorly distributed research reports" (1987, p. 44).

The third component of the "Women's State" is the Women's Program of Secretary of State. Established in 1973 (also as a product of RCSW recommendations), the Women's Program (WPSS) provides both operational and project funding to voluntary groups in order to "increase the capability and effectiveness of women's organizations and groups working to improve the status of women" (WPSS, 1984, p. 1). From an original amount of only \$223,000, the budget had risen to \$13.1 million in 1988 and supports grants to over 700 groups across the country (Standing Committee on Secretary of State, 1987, p. 2). To be eligible for funding, groups must promote equality of women through advocacy and information exchange and must have a democratic decision-making structure, membership participation in policy and a sound financial management system. Groups that help the "doubly disadvantaged" are given priority, while groups or projects dedicated solely to advocacy on abortion or sexual orientation are ineligible (Ross, 1988). In addition to the Women's

Program, the Native Women's Program, also located in Secretary of State, provides financial assistance to organizations of aboriginal women and the Multicultural Program has provided some joint sponsorship for multicultural women's groups.

At first, maintains Findlay (1987, p. 42), public servants in the Women's Program saw themselves as responsible to and as strong internal advocates for women's groups. In the late 1970s, a less sympathetic federal government chose to control the feminist perspective represented by the WPSS by imposition of onerous bureaucratic processes and regulations and diminished the Program's legitimacy in order to get on with the real issue of the day--national unity (Findlay, 1987, p. 42). As a result, the Program lost touch with the movement. Although the 1987 report of the Parliamentary Standing Committee which reviewed its mandate supported the program, its real demise has begun with the politics of restraint in the mid-1980s; most dramatically, the 1989 federal budget slashed funding to WPSS by \$2 million for the 1989 fiscal year (Department of Finance, 1989, p. 17).

In conclusion, the Women's State has given visibility to the issues and legitimacy to the women's movement. The most important function of these three bodies--Status of Women Canada, Advisory Council on the Status of Women and Women's Program Secretary of State--may be as a moderate lobby from within. However, critics of the Women's State (Findlay, 1987, pp. 48-49) assert that these bodies have been designed to validate the identity of liberal feminism as the "public face" of the movement and have served as limits to

reform because relations with women's groups have become largely ritualized and, hence, the effectiveness of consultation with them minimized. In addition, Burt (1986, p. 155) claims that the policy process and structures created by the federal state in which different themes are addressed by different agencies or departments represents a dispersion of effort and the segregation of "women's issues" from related issues and from the heart of power. Although the Women's State may have begun with close ties between individual feminists within the state and leaders of women's groups, these relationships were gradually extinguished beginning in 1979 (Findlay, 1987, pp. 46-67). In reporting results of a 1984 survey of 144 women's groups funded by Secretary of State (including local groups), Burt (1988, pp. 9-11) observes that the groups had very few contacts with public servants and that while policy makers may be sympathetic to their issues, they are quite unwilling to act on these empathies. It is suggested by Gray that women in positions of power in Ottawa no longer have any use for the "F-word" (feminism) and the resulting sense of powerless in NAC has forced it to become more confrontational:

today's smart power-dressed young women who work on Parliament Hill demonstrate little loyalty to either NAC or feminist ideology. The leftward tilt of the NAC executive during four years of Conservative government has pushed it to the political margins. (1988, p. 240)

There is, however, no comparable empirical research which examines the perceptions and attitudes of policy makers toward women's groups.

Response to Crisis

The impact of crisis, argue Brodie and Jenson (1980, chap. 1), is to force strategic choice and potentially to realign players and redefine the basis of politics. In the Canadian women's movement, there have been two important crises that have significantly affected the cohesion of alignments among national women's groups and, therefore, altered the universe of political discourse and influenced collective identities.

The first crisis centered on the constitutional debates of 1980 to 1982, specifically on the entrenchment of equality provisions in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The constitutional challenge is significant because it was a mass collective action through which the anger of women was crystallized into law (Billings, 1983, p. 13). The mobilization of women's groups began when the Minister Responsible for the Status of Women (supported by Liberal members of CACSW) cancelled a conference planned by the Advisory Council scheduled for a month after a revised Charter had been brought to the House of Commons.³² This version of the Charter represented a minimalist response to demands already made by women's groups for equality provisions. The conference cancellation appeared as a heavy-handed attempt to silence women's voices in the debate and it resulted in the resignation of Doris Anderson, president of the Advisory Council. The organization that should have been a major player, NAC, was sidelined due to internal ideological struggles over the desirability of entrenchment of the Charter and by the fact that the Fédération des femmes du Québec withdrew from the umbrella organization over the constitutional issue

due to the federalist stance of some NAC anglophone leaders. NAC, thereby, appeared less representative than usual Canadian women and they could make no move without forever alienating either the anglo or francophone membership.

As a result of the incapacity of both NAC and CACSW, a small group of about thirty women, mainly lawyers, came together as the Ad Hoc Committee on the Constitution to organize a substitute conference and lobby for entrenched equality provisions. Unfettered by responsibility to a mass membership or democratic decision-making processes, the Ad Hoc Committee could act as "political entrepreneurs" and use personal contacts to reach individual women and organizations across the country. The Ad Hoc Committee elevated networking to an art form with the result that 1300 women attended its conference in Ottawa on merely three week's notice. The Committee's skillful one-on-one lobbying of provincial premiers got the premiers to cave in on their position in favour of an override on section 28 of the Charter.³³ The Ad Hoc Committee also reached a very wide spectrum of women's groups who actively came to support equality rights and it formed alliances with other Charter-susceptible groups, notably the disabled, visible minorities and aboriginal peoples.

The eventual success of preventing section 28 from being subject to override has been viewed as a "political earthquake" (Kome, 1983, p. 3) and probably the only time the women's movement has gotten the state to act "against its own best interest" (Billings quoted in Burt, 1988, p. 74). Less

enthusiastic observers note that the victory was not so dramatic because the federal government was already committed to the notion of equality. As one participant is often quoted, "Twenty eight was a helluva lot to lose, but it was not a helluva lot to win" (Ryan-Nye quoted in Kome, 1985, p. 135).

The significance of the constitutional challenge for the movement itself is that it unified and galvanized a wide array of women's organizations in a single cause. Gotell (1988, pp. 4, 17) argues that the more traditional groups--and liberal feminism itself--became "radicalized" in the process because liberal feminists were forced to question the role of the state as neutral arbiter and to recognize that their equality demands cannot be satisfied in a substantive sense without fundamental structural change. Like the effects of the Royal Commission, the universe of political discourse was pulled in the direction of increasing the scope of the questions deemed to be political by women's organizations. Equally significant is that the constitutional debate made the francophone (and native) women suspicious of the representational capacity of NAC and leery of the interests of the "sisterhood". Although the FFQ eventually rejoined NAC, the same tensions quickly surfaced again over the Meech Lake Accord. To date, the product has been an emphasis on lobbying for legislation on equality rights by most national women's groups and the creation in 1985 of a new organization, the Women's Legal Education and Action Fund (LEAF), to undertake litigation under the Charter concerning the rights of women. Over the long term, critics such as Gotell (1988, pp 32-33) and Mandel (1989, pp. 256-273) argue that this Charter-orientation will serve to emphasize

individual rights over collective concerns, harden the ideological separation of public-political and private-economic spheres so that women segregate and limit their grievances to the limited categories of law. By undermining feminist collective consciousness with atomistic rights, demobilization is feared to be inevitable.

The second crisis was perceived by women's organizations to be a struggle for their very survival and was wrapped in the cold realization of how little politicians and the media really knew about women's groups and their goals. The challenge was ignited in 1985-86 when R.E.A.L. Women and new right organizations such as the National Citizens' Coalition, put pressure on very receptive Conservative backbenchers about the operation and perceived biases of the Women's Program of Secretary of State.³⁴ R.E.A.L. Women claimed that they were unable to get funding for motherhood while several lesbian groups had received funding from the Program.³⁵ When delays in grant approvals and rumours about possible funding cuts occurred in 1986, an emergency consultation of fifty-five groups with the Minister and staff of the Women's Program was held (ironically, funded by WPSS) to educate the Minister about women's organizations and their funding needs³⁶. Later that year, the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Secretary of State decided to undertake a review of the Women's Program to examine funding criteria indepth.³⁷ After holding hearings in five major cities across Canada and receiving briefs from 247 individuals and groups (ranging from the Girl Guides to Feminist Grandmothers), the Committee reaffirmed the mandate of the Women's

Program and determined that the objective of improving the status of women in "the home, work place, community or world at large" would remain the primary criterion for funding and would be interpreted in relation to the equality provisions of the Charter, the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies (Standing Committee on Secretary of State, 1987, p. 15).³⁸ While the anti-feminist challenge was beaten and the WPSS remained intact, security of funding has already been removed and in 1989 R.E.A.L. Women succeeded in getting a grant from the Women's Program for the first time.

To a greater degree than the constitutional debates, the Emergency Consultation and Parliamentary Committee unified women's organizations, including Quebec groups, in a single purpose against a common enemy; for the first time it directly involved serious participation by minority women. In her address to Minister Benôit Bouchard at the Emergency Consultation, Ginette Busque, president of the FFQ, highlighted the historic character of the meeting:

You see assembled here, to fight for their survival, women from all across Canada, anglophones and francophones, native women and immigrant women, visible minorities and disabled women, women who together represent all the status of women issues and services offered by feminist community groups. I can assure you that the atmosphere which prevailed during our workshop yesterday was a guarantee of enduring future solidarity. *The power of this group is thus not to be ignored.* (Convergence Consulting, 1986, pp. 24-25, emphasis in original)

In contrast to the constitutional debates which directly focussed on equality rights, the WPSS Committee hearings had a dilative effect on articulation of collective identity, feminist ideology and policy goals of women's groups because group leaders publicly stated what their organizations stood for. The reaffirmation of communalities had a important rejuvenating influence on the "movement" and reminded leaders that in the competitive environment of the universe of discourse, there were some strong opponents to their interests and ideology. Indeed many women interviewed said that the anti-feminist challenge was the best thing that could have happened to groups that had become somewhat complacent about the purpose of their existence. However, while women had the opportunity to enunciate their organizations' identities and objectives, there soon came the disillusioning realization that the process had minimal impact on government policies.

The Contemporary Movement as Shaped by Historical Development

The next part of this study will map the morphology of contemporary linkages among national Canadian women's organizations. Later analyses examine and compare the conduct of organizations and assess the impact of both group and movement characteristics on their perceived effectiveness in relations with the federal government. But the propaedeutic issue is whether these national organizations are very disparate kinds of groups or whether they share an organizational communality and collective identity. In spite of interest

and constituency diversity, is there an historical basis for ongoing relationships that would link them in a movement network?

This historical overview indicates that there have been tremendous particularities in interests and originating constituencies. There have been organizations formed for urban women and others for rural women, organizations for Catholic, Protestant and Jewish women, ones for visible minority and native women, and the list continues. However, there is also great affinity among organizations as well as similarity in their structures. Because the second wave groups of the 1960s and 1970s did not rise out of the ashes of the traditional groups, but instead grew with the assistance and participation of organizations and individuals from the first wave, the "movement" became multigenerational. Both old and new groups coexisted and the organizational structure of the new groups often were fashioned purposively after the hierarchical structures of the first wave groups. Moreover, groups have been cross-linked in a plethora of issues over the past century. Although the underlying theory and ideology may have been different, the social or maternal feminist groups have often been advocates on policy issues more often associated with the younger socialist or radical feminist organizations. The overlap of policy interests suggests, as Black (1989, pp. 1-7) maintains, that the labels of feminism are too restrictive and that women as activists are not neatly compartmentalized into the conceptual categories of "liberal", "socialist" or "radical" feminist. Although issues may be differentiated as relating to role equity or role change (Burt, 1986, pp. 136-142), women's organizations are not so

clearly separated.

As a consequence of the overlap of the two waves of mobilization and the preeminence of equality that emerged from the constitutional challenges, Burt argues that there is a single identity and ideology that binds all national Canadian women's groups. In her view this common denominator most closely approximates liberal feminism.

If feminism is defined as a belief in equal treatment of men and women, most women's groups in Canada either explicitly or implicitly accept that label. This is not a new development. As early as 1920, the platform of the traditional National Council of Women included a list of reforms for the equal political rights of men and women. Even the recently formed REAL Women, a group which publicly denounces feminism and the feminist label, supports the principle of equal opportunities for women. (1986, pp. 138-9)

Similarly, Vickers (1989, pp. 12-14; see also Richardson, 1983, pp. 28-35) describes a single operational code of Canadian women's groups which she calls "radical liberalism" and is based on the principles of pro-statism (belief in the efficacy of state policy), pro-activism (belief that change is possible), tolerance of individual differences and an orientation to social service.

In many accounts, the mobilization of women in English Canada and Quebec are treated as separate solitudes (Adamson et al., 1988; Black, 1988; Burt, 1986, pp. 132-149). Although women's groups in Quebec were created in response to different political forces than in English Canada and have been primarily focussed on the provincial government, there has been elite accommodation of

francophone and anglophone leaders during important events such as the Royal Commission on the Status of Women and the review of the Women's Program. But, there have also been times of isolation or even open conflict, as on the constitutional issues. The fact that there has been the will by both the primary anglophone group, NAC, and the predominant francophone group, FFQ, to compromise, smooth tensions and restore torn relations suggests that the English Canadian and Quebec groups do not exist in total isolation from each other.

In recent years, women's organizations have faced a challenge of representation and competition for funding by R.E.A.L. Women, who claim that the feminist community has disenfranchised and devalued women with families who choose to remain in the home. While some observers claim that this organization is merely another node of the women's movement because it too supports equality (Burt, 1986, p. 139), others claim that it is part of the counter movement of pro-life and pro-family organizations and is antithetical to the goals of the women's movement (Erwin, 1988; Dubinsky, 1985). As with francophone groups, the positioning of R.E.A.L. Women relative to other women's groups--while it might appear obvious to some-- has not been empirically determined.

Based on this literature which suggests that there is a single unifying identity that is based on gender consciousness and liberal equality and that linkages have been created among anglophone and francophone groups, it can be anticipated that all of the subject groups will be joined together in a single

network. To be part of a "network", an actor need not be connected to every other actor in the pool, but to a minimum of one other actor who is linked to others. In the next chapter, quantitative network analysis will test the proposition that:

Proposition 1: All thirty-three national women's groups are connected into a single interorganizational network.

A central observation of this historical analysis is the strength and longevity of the national organizations. Once created, all of the national women's groups of this century have survived to the present and on several important occasions there have been major joint advocacy coalitions that united a wide range of groups. This stands in stark contrast to reports of the women's movements in the U. K. and western Europe (Gelb, 1986, 1987; Coote and Campbell, 1982; Bouchier, 1983; Dahlerup, 1986; Jenson, 1989b; Rucht, 1988) in which they are described as highly decentralized and disaggregated. For example, Bouchier says of the British case,

The British feminist movement lacks an overall network in which different views may find expression and audience. If as suggested here, it is a 'deliberately dispersed collection of groups, campaigns and political tendencies with no single ideology,' the absence of coalitional structures prevents organization around multiple issues on a continuing basis (Bouchier, 1983 quoted in (Gelb, 1986, p. 109).

Likewise, in a comparative analysis of the women's and environment movements in West Germany, Rucht (1988) claims that the women's movement is a highly disaggregated, under-organized and unstable entity

because there is a different logic and field of action for the women's movement than for other types of social movements. Rucht argues that the women's movement pursues primarily an expressive rather than an instrumental logic and that the preferred field of action is civil society, cultural reproduction and socialization in contrast to an instrumental calculus to achieve social change by influencing or taking over institutional power (Rucht, 1988, pp. 318-325). For him, "political issues are not the *raison d'être* of the women's movement" (1988, p. 321).

In contrast to these European studies which tend to focus on the women's liberation or grassroots movements, the present work concentrates on national, political advocacy organizations which are interested in and actively pursuing institutional change. On the basis of historical analysis, it is anticipated that the network of the subject women's groups will be more highly interconnected than is generally presumed in the European literature.

Proposition 2: The national Canadian women's movement is not highly decentralized and disaggregated, but is characterized by sufficient density of ties to have distinct form that provides the basis for sharing information or mobilizing coalitional support.

However, there is no comparative empirical network analysis of women's movements in other countries or of other types of social movements to serve as a yardstick against which to assess objectively the density of the national Canadian women's movement.

Not only does this historical overview indicate that the relations among national Canadian women's groups will have an integrated pattern, but that

there will be definite shape to this network. Among the women's groups there is one superordinate federation--the National Action Committee--which boasts a membership of approximately 600 groups representing in total about three million women and which joins together francophone and anglophone, traditional and radical feminist, national and community, partisan and non-partisan groups. It, therefore, can be expected that NAC will be positioned at the hub or focal point of the network. This proposition is in contrast to a study by Laumann and Knoke (1986) on networks in the energy and health fields in which they find an empty centre with groups associated in a "doughnut" shape.

However, there is also tremendous diversity of constituency specialization among the groups and there exist several other large organizations, such as the YWCA and the National Council of Women. The National Action Committee, therefore, is not likely to be able to operate as a super cell and the network will not be hierarchical in shape.

Proposition 3: The network will have a defined centre (NAC) which can reach and co-ordinate diverse parts of the network, but which is not sufficiently centralized to function as a super cell that controls the network.

As Gerlach and Hine (1970) observe, a network with several "peaks" or heads tends to be efficient in moving information, yet permits adaptation and specialization.³⁹

A network may be formed by "strong" ties among actors that encompass ongoing and multifaceted relationships or by "weak" ties that involve transitory contact or a specialized and limited purpose, such as the exchange of

information. Strong bonds among national organizations may produce a highly stable and cliquish network, but not necessarily a more functional one. On the contrary, Granovetter (1973, p. 1366; 1982, p. 209) asserts that in social networks there is strength in weak ties because weak ties serve as bridges between cohesive clusters and thereby allow information to be diffused across great social distances. In a study of women's reform organizations in New York state at the turn of the century, Rosenthal and colleagues (1985) argue that any established social movement that has achieved some measure of legitimacy will be built on a large number of weak ties. Indeed, a small proportion of weak ties is evidence of institutionally isolated and socially marginal movement or organization (Rosenthal et al., 1985, p. 1051). Those organizations that play a unifying central role within a social movement, observe Rosenthal and associates (1985), will need to maintain a relatively dense set of strong and weak ties. Given the recognition that national Canadian women's groups have considerable longevity and legitimacy, it can be expected that:

Proposition 4: The network will be based on a preponderance of weak ties.

Given the importance of NAC, it is further expected that:

Proposition 5: The largest organization (NAC) will have a large number of strong and weak ties.

In contrast to the coordinating multiple interest groups, the strength of special interest groups--those groups with a single cause--is likely to be built on a large number of weak ties. Weak, in preference to strong ties, permit them to transmit their particular message far afield and give their issue saliency among a

broad spectrum of groups. The expertise and data amassed by a special interest group on its issue may be offered to, or requested by, other groups for which that particular issue is only one of a myriad of concerns and which do not have the finances or labour to devote to original research on the subject. Although there may be no equal reciprocal exchange of information, the *quid pro quo* for the special interest group is that it becomes instrumental in framing the problem and shaping the discourse on the issue by the very nature of the information it provides. Among the multiplicity of interests held by Canadian women's organizations, special interest groups have formed around two issues: birth control and reproductive rights are the interests of Planned Parenthood and the Canadian Abortion Rights Action League (CARAL) respectively, while state-subsidized, quality childcare is the sole concern of the Canadian Day Care Advocacy Association (CDCAA). In analyzing social movements as networks, it must be recognized that a preponderance of weak ties is not necessarily a sign of weakness of the network, but that weak ties have a different function--to serve as bridges--than strong ties which serve as bonds of endurance and isomorphism. Thus, a wise special interest group will cultivate as many weak ties as possible:

Proposition 6: Special interest groups will have a disproportionately large number of weak ties.

The portrait of interactions among national Canadian women's groups which emerges is one of a single interconnected network in which NAC is at the hub of the relationships serving as a coordinating mechanism through a large

number of strong and weak ties with other members and in which the integration of special interest groups is achieved through highly functional weak ties. In the national women's movement, as in all social movements, there is argued to be both unity, created by an encompassing collective identity and joint advocacy actions, and diversity, created by responsiveness to special constituencies and the pursuit of different interests. One consequence of the growth of associations dedicated to minority women that occurred in the 1980s is increased diversity of interests within the movement and specialization in interests and identity sets (Dunleavy, 1988). In spite of the central coordinating role of NAC, it, therefore, is probable that,

Proposition 7: There will be a high degree of role specialization among the women's groups.

It is through role specialization--that is, uniqueness in the constituencies served and pattern of ties among groups--that competition within a movement is managed because SMOs have differentiated positions in serving particular constituencies of other organizations.

Conclusions

The response to the particularities of the Canadian political opportunity structure and the positive centripetal effects of crises have produced different types of women's organizations and patterns of interorganizational liaisons than in the United States or western Europe. Several features are evident in the Canadian context. There is above all a strength and diversity of organizations.

The organizational form of an umbrella structure with memberships consisting of local chapters or affiliated organizations has been a highly appropriate one in the Canadian context and the leaders of these federated groups have been able to create distinct organizational identities apart from those of the member organizations. There is no evidence that these groups are merely small front organizations for ambitious political entrepreneurs who established umbrella structures in order to circumvent the encumbrance of a mass membership. Instead, umbrella structures appear to be adaptable enough to meet the requirements of regional representation and provide the ability to mobilize at local levels. The strength and variety of organizations is in part a result of the fact that there have been two distinct cycles of mobilization such that the second wave built upon the first in order to make organizations and the "movement" multigenerational. Furthermore, the crises faced by national Canadian women's groups did not permanently tear them apart from each other, but in most cases encouraged coalitional support among them.

From this historical overview, it has been hypothesized that the pattern of interorganizational ties in the contemporary movement will bind all thirty-three national groups in a network of sufficient density to have a distinct shape with NAC at the centre cementing the network through a large number of strong and weak ties. The next chapter uses social network analysis of current advocacy linkages among national women's groups to test the propositions developed above and assess the extent to which results of this quantitative investigation accord with the conventional wisdom of historical analysis.

ENDNOTES

1. The distinction between issues related to gender role equity and gender role change has been developed by several scholars including Carden (1978), Boneparth (1982), Gelb and Palley (1982) and Burt (1986). Role equity is defined in terms of providing women political and economic opportunities commensurate with those available to men, without endorsing the breakdown of gender role differences. Role change implies a fundamental alteration in the distribution of sex roles in society. Equality of opportunity without gender discrimination has been a basic tenet of both traditional and feminist women's groups and lobbying on such issues has met with relative success (Burt, 1986). In contrast, role change issues which involve a move away from woman's primary role as mother, wife and homemaker to an independent individual without expectation of traditional home-centered responsibilities have deeply divided women's groups and in general have met with less success in policy advocacy. Burt argues that the distinction between role equity and role change must be made at the level of the issue, rather than as a distinction between types of groups, because most women's groups at some time have worked for both types of issues.

2. Tarrow argues that the new movements beginning in the 1960s and 1970s, including the women's movement, should not be viewed as entirely new phenomena, but in most cases merely as new cycles of mobilization of old grievances. His position on cycles of protest is that "the new social movements were not a tidal wave of new politics, they were the evidence that an alluvial deposit of new forms of participation, new frames of meaning, and new participants had been left on the old beach of institutional politics by the cycle of protest" (1989, p. 68)

3. For example, the YWCA, which was modelled after a British experiment, became the major group helping single working women in cities (Pederson, 1986). These groups were also part of a growing international "motherhood" of women's organizations with similar goals (Strong-Boag, 1977, p. 97). As Silverman says of the National Council of Jewish Women (founded in Toronto in 1897), "as wives and mothers they were not concerned with politics but with community." (1987, p. 149)

4. From this initial assistance, the FWIC has enjoyed continued and expanded support from several provincial governments as well as from the Women's Program of Secretary of State and other federal departments on a project basis.

5. A small number of other national organizations were formed or consolidated during this period. Most notable are the Catholic Women's League and the Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies.

6. This list is drawn from the policy handbooks of national organizations (when they exist in sufficient historical depth) and from several historical accounts. See: Errington (1988, p. 75), Harshaw (1966), Forbes and Dane (1983, pp. 28, 59) and Strong-Boag (1976, pp. 317-371).

7. Even the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) is still in existence although it is a faint shadow of the vital organization it once was. While an interview was conducted with an

executive member, the group is not included in the study because it is a declining organization (as evidenced by the fact that it attracts few younger members) and because it was discovered to be almost entirely isolated from other women's groups.

8. Only a few national groups could be argued ever to have been cadre structures composed of a few elite members with minimal participation by rank and file members. The Women's Legal Education Action Fund (LEAF) was created in 1985 without a democratic structure in order to prevent infiltration of the leadership by anti-feminists, but it has since initiated the creation of local chapters and democratic processes (personal interview). Similarly, Media Watch was the creation of a few activists, but has attempted to create active chapters. By the nature of its constituency which is dispersed geographically across a wide area with minimal means of communication, the Inuit Women's Association was also created without individual members, although all Inuit women are considered to be members and there are no fees. Finally, R.E.A.L. Women was primarily the creation of one woman, Gwen Landolt, who still remains very powerful in the organization, although she no longer is president.

9. In the American context, Jo Freeman (1975) makes a similar observation that the traditional groups (such as the Business and Professional Women) were important to the mobilization of feminist groups in the late 1960s.

10. The leadership roles of VOW women in other organizations is impressive. For instance, Kay Macpherson, a life-long leading member of VOW, became president of NAC and was active in creating Women for Political Action which was a forerunner of the Feminist party (see Bashevkin, 1985a, pp. 28-31). The first president of VOW, Helen Tucker, was a key player in lobbying for the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. Thérèse Casgrain, founder of VOW in Quebec and its second national president went on to establish the Fédération des femmes du Québec and was active in mobilization around the RCSW. Another important event in 1960 was the establishment of Planned Parenthood in Canada.

11. During the 1960s, the organization became internally torn by the difficulty of transcending partisan politics over the Bomarc missile issue. Mrs. Pearson, wife of the Prime Minister, was a member and resigned when her husband agreed to accept nuclear weapons on Canadian soil. After a period of decline in the 1970s, VOW has been revitalized to some extent in the 1980s, despite the fact that many of its original (and still core) members are now over seventy years of age.

12. Because the new federation was non-denominational, the powerful and Catholic-oriented, Cercles des fermières declined to join it. The Cercles evolved to represent the voice of conservative women in the province (Clio Collective, 1987, p. 336-340).

13. The difference between the YWCA in Quebec versus the YW in the rest of Canada is another good example. While the YWCA outside Quebec historically has been concerned with providing social services and outwardly is not feminist, the YWCA in Montreal is actively and visibly feminist in its approach (Burt, 1986, pp. 146-147).

14. Laura Sabia was also strongly supported by Margaret Hyndman of the Business and Professional Women's Clubs. An editorial written by Doris Anderson in *Chatelaine* magazine

provided strong support to the idea of a Royal Commission and gave the idea public visibility.

15. Sabia recounts how she only quipped to a reporter that two million women would march on Ottawa; it was not a serious planned action. When the story appeared as headlines, however, and Judy LaMarsh was asked by the Prime Minister if Sabia could achieve such a feat, LaMarsh assured him that she could. See Kome (1985), Morris (1980) and LaMarsh (1970) for accounts of the incident.

16. The research staff of the Commission served as a training ground for many women who later became important in both the movement and in partisan politics. See Vickers (1983, p. 35) and Kome (1985, p. 87) for a list of women who began their prominent careers with the Royal Commission.

17. Because the federal government would not subsidize temporary, ad hoc groups, the Committee prudently dropped the "Ad Hoc" from its title to become simply the National Action Committee on the Status of Women.

18. Initially the Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire (IODE) and the Catholic Women's League were members of NAC, but did not remain so for long. The constitution of many of the other large traditional groups, such as the Canadian Federation of University Women and the National Council of Jewish Women, preclude membership of the national organization in another, but several local chapters are members of NAC and these other national groups regularly send observers to NAC annual general meetings. However, the National Council of Women has always remained separate from NAC and there is minimal overlap in membership. For instance, in 1988 the NCW and NAC held their annual meetings on the same weekend in different cities.

19. There have been several serious rifts, particularly over the constitutional debates which resulted in the withdrawal or threat of withdrawal by the FFQ. Part of the problems at the 1988 annual general meeting (AGM) of NAC resulted from the insensitivity of member groups to the agreement carefully patched together between NAC executive and that of the FFQ over NAC's response to the Meech Lake Constitutional Accord. Because the FFQ supports the Meech Lake agreement while other NAC member groups, such as the Ad Hoc Committee on the Constitution, are strongly opposed to it, NAC's official position on the Meech Lake Accord was to have no position other than to condemn the process. At the AGM, members of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Constitution aligned with native, disabled and visible minority women to try to force an emergency resolution denouncing the Accord. At this point, the FFQ threatened to walk out, but a small group meeting produced a compromise and the FFQ, at least for the present, remains a member of NAC. Gray (1988, p. 232) provides a description of the event.

20. There was a small Ottawa office, but cuts in NAC's budget in 1989 forced its closure.

21. The absence of provincial structures in NAC stands in contrast to the theories presented by Thorburn (1985) and Schultz (1980) which argue that national pressure groups will automatically reflect the power structures of federalism in their own organizational structures.

22. No accurate information is available on the number of community level organizations which have formed during the second wave. It is also significant to note that during this time lesbian women were organizing at the community level but there has been no national organization. In part, this may be due to differences in preferred action fields and in part due to the fact that Women's Program Secretary of State will not fund groups which have sexual orientation as their primary advocacy interest.

23. It was during this time that women in universities also become politically active and Women's Studies Programs were established in many universities. See Brodribb (1987).

24. The important role that Quebec women, popularly dubbed Yvettes, came to play in the referendum decision is described in Kome (1985, pp. 127-128).

25. National organizations for native women are also important, but many were a product of the 1970s. For example, the Native Women's Association of Canada was formed in 1974. Smaller organizations, such as Indian Rights for Indian Women, were also mobilized in the 1970s—many to fight for changes to the Indian Act for loss of rights of status Indian women upon marriage to a non-status men. Vickers (1989, p. 1) argues that native women are primarily part of the movement of native peoples, not the women's movement. The book Enough is Enough (edited by Silman, 1987) is an excellent discussion by aboriginal women of their political concerns. For a more detailed discussion on the formation of other organizations for minority women, see Carty and Brand (1988) and Hernandez (1988) on the National Organization of Immigrant and Visible Minority Women; Stone and Doucette (1988) and DAWN Canada (1987) on disabled women.

Organizations representing local women's service groups have been much more difficult to organize, in part due to radical differences in feminist philosophy about the kind of services to deliver to their clients. For example, the Canadian Association of Sexual Assault Centres was formed in 1979 (with the aid of a grant from Health and Welfare) to represent thirty-eight member centres across Canada. The group was active for several years on issues of violence against women, but internally it was very loosely connected. Gradually the national group disbanded beginning in about 1985 and no equivalent exists at present (personal interviews with former executive members).

26. For instance, the federal government through the Women's Program provided about \$10,000 to the founding conference of DAWN (Dawn Canada, 1987) and also funded the founding convention of NOIVM Women.

27. Ng (1986) observes that the notion of "immigrant women" is a socially constructed category that often does not fit women's reality. Among the five hundred member organizations of NOIVMW, there are considerable differences and occasionally tensions between the "immigrant" and "visible minority" components because their constituencies, experiences and political concerns are often quite different. For example, language training is an important issue for immigrant women, but many visible minority women are Canadian born and fluent in one or both of the official languages. A prime concern of theirs is racial discrimination, but immigrant women are not necessarily members of a visible minority.

28. Because there were so few women in the Cabinet and virtually no senior female Ministers, for the first decade the Minister Responsible for the Status of Women was a man (Bégin, 1988, p.361). To date the Ministers Responsible for the Status of Women have been:

1971 : Hon. Robert K. Andras, Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs

1971-72 : Hon. Bryce Mackasey, Minister of Manpower and Immigration

1972-74 : Hon. John Munro, Minister of National Health and Welfare

1974-79 : Hon. Marc Lalonde, Minister of National Health and Welfare

1979-80 : Hon. David MacDonald, Minister of Social Development

1980-81 : Hon. Lloyd Axworthy, Minister of Manpower and Immigration

1981-84 : Hon. Judith Erola, Minister of State (Mines),

Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs

1984-86 : Hon. Walter McLean, Secretary of State

1986- : Hon. Barbara McDougall, Minister of State (Privatization and Regulatory Affairs); Minister of Employment and Immigration

29. The Council reports to Parliament through the Minister Responsible for the Status of Women. Members are Governor-in-Council appointments and consist of a full-time president and two vice-presidents plus twenty-seven members selected on a geographically representative basis from the provinces and territories. The appointment in December 1989 of Glenda Simms as President of the Council may signal a new direction for CACSW. Simms, a long-time activist and former president of the Congress of Black Women, has been critical of the Advisory Council for dealing primarily with the concerns of white middle-class women and she has stated her intention to assist minority women in being heard (*Ottawa Citizen*, December 7, 1989, p. A4). However, this new direction may come at the expense of francophone women because Simms is a unilingual anglophone.

30. The critic role of CACSW was most evident in the constitutional debate of 1982, on the National Strategy on Childcare in 1987-88 and on the abortion debate in 1988-89. Its "Shocking Pink Paper", printed during federal election campaigns, is a widely used pocket brochure designed to give women a list of important questions to ask their candidates.

31. NOIVMW Newsletter, 1988; personal interview.

32. An earlier conference had been planned by CACSW for one week prior to the First Ministers meeting on the Constitution (a critical time for debate), but had to be cancelled due to a strike by translators (Kome, 1983).

33. Section 28 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms says, "Notwithstanding anything in this Charter, the rights and freedoms referred to in it are guaranteed equally to male and female persons."

34. R.E.A.L. stands for Realistic, Equal and Active for Life.

35. In fact, few lesbian group are or have ever been funded by WPSS. The reasons given by WPSS that R.E.A.L. Women was not funded were that the organization did not have a democratic decision-making structure with member participation in policy formation and would not reveal membership lists (Ross, 1987).

36. For background see the paper prepared on the Emergency Consultation by Convergence Consulting (1986).

37. The Standing Committee on Secretary of State had already begun to hold hearings on post-secondary education when the Chair, Geoff Scott, decided to switch focus. The committee was deeply divided in its support for women's groups. Scott, Pépin (Liberal) and Mitchell (NDP) were strongly supportive of the WPSS while most of the Conservative members were strongly opposed. The Conservative MP, Jim Jepson—although not formally a member of the committee—sat as a substitute on many of the hearings and at the end issued a dissenting report which criticized continued support for the Program.

38. See Status of Women Canada (1988).

39. Gerlach and Hine (1970) suggest that social movement networks may be described as: 1) segmentary, that is composed of autonomous local cells, 2) decentralized in a polycephalous and sometimes rival leadership that lacks central direction, 3) reticulate with organizations tied

together not through a central point but through intersecting sets of personal and intergroup links and, finally, 4) hierarchical with a super cell as the focal body of the movement with a two-way flow to the periphery organizations that are not laterally linked. In their study of the black and Pentacostal movements, these authors conclude that a segmented or polycephalous structure is the most adaptive; it facilitates rapid growth of the movement, encourages personal commitment, contributes to system reliability and prevents suppression of the movement's goals.

CHAPTER 3

The Movement as an Interorganizational Network

The pattern of linkages that creates a social movement has significance for both the movement as a political force and for the conduct of participating organizations. Some aspects, such as the collective identity and political discourse of the movement, are inherently processes of the whole movement and can be understood best through knowledge of the relationship of organizations to each other. The environment of interorganizational ties also forms part of the structural conditions for action by individual groups and is itself continually reproduced through the activities of social movement organizations (Giddens, 1984). "The strategic actions of . . . organizations are both constrained by--and culminate into--a population structure that defines the conditions of life to members of the population" (Fombrun, 1986: p. 407). If for instance, the interorganizational environment is highly competitive for resources and recognition and fluid in its relationships, constituent groups may need to engage in considerably more image-building activities than if it were a stable community. On the other hand, the existence of specialized interest groups willing to share their expert information on a policy may obviate the need for other organizations to conduct original research in that field because they can borrow from other network partners.

In addition, the network milieu is likely to affect the relations of individual organizations with the government. There is considerable evidence

to indicate that the greater the number of ties of a SMO and the more central it is in a social movement, the greater the degree of influence that will be attributed to the organization and more effective it will be in achieving policy change. For example, in a study of the success of protest groups, Tarrow (1983) concludes that allies and support groups are a vital aspect of the political opportunity structure that positively affect the successful achievement of reform. Strong empirical evidence of the significance of other organizations in a group's success in obtaining policy change and in enhancing an organization's reputation for influence is provided in the work of Jenkins and Perrow (1977) on the supportive relations within the American farm workers' movement. Similarly, in a study of a wide range of voluntary associations, Knoke and Wood (1981: pp. 164, 187) conclude that the variable of a group's ability to participate in or mediate the exchange of resources and information with other organizations, is second only to the level of financial resources in predicting perceived effectiveness.

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate systematically and empirically the pattern of linkages among the national women's groups by mapping the network of their current joint advocacy relationships. Through this analysis, it is possible to determine as a fundamental starting point for subsequent analyses whether there exists sufficient integration among women's groups at the national level to be considered a "social movement" at all. If women's groups operate as autonomous organizations without a unifying superstructure of interaction, the notion that their conduct is determined, in

part, by shared non-negotiable values and identities would have to be abandoned. In addition to establishing whether a national women's movement exists in Canada, this chapter aims to examine and explain the implications of the specific pattern of relations among the subject organizations. Because no social movement is impermeable to the influence and interests of outside groups and movements, this chapter also analyzes the extent of external linkages. The degree and nature of ties that women's groups have with movement-external organizations may impact upon the saliency and attention given to issues with the women's movement and upon the centrality of position that individual organizations are afforded in the movement network.

Quantitative measures are developed at two levels: 1) for the network as a whole which describe its overall density of connectedness, centralization and shape and 2) for individual organizations that both describe the intensity of relations with other actors (the "relational" approach in Burt's (1980) terms) and its position in the system (a "positional" approach). In Chapter 7 these organizational indices of connectedness are used as independent variables to predict perceived effectiveness in dealing with the state. With the exception of the work of Rosenthal and colleagues (1985) who have applied network analysis to a study of the overlapping individual memberships in women's reform organizations at the turn of the century in New York state, this research is a first attempt to model empirically relations among organizations in a contemporary social movement.

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Social network analysis, as used primarily in sociology, is a useful

analytical tool to map the interconnectedness of a social movement. Network analysis is not a simple statistical test or measure; rather, it is a loose federation of approaches (Burt, 1980, p. 79) that includes graph techniques and quantitative indices and that carries few theoretical or normative assumptions (Hall, 1987, p. 12). The advantage of network analysis is that it serves primarily as a sensitizing device in exploring the nature of social influence among a set of actors. The emphasis is on actual relations among actors, not on an idealized social form. An interorganizational network is defined simply as "all organizations linked by a specified type of relation and is constructed by finding the ties between all organizations in a population" (Aldrich, 1979, p. 281). As an analytical construct of the investigator, a network is not a corporate body that can "act" as can an organization (Aldrich, 1979, p. 281). Rather, the assumption is that network structure constrains and facilitates the actions of constituent members. By providing a quantitative means of describing a social movement, network analysis permits comparison across time and across different types of movements.

Measurement of Relations

Although there are a variety of types of relations among social movement organizations, the focus of the present analysis is on women's organizations as political agents. Therefore, linkages are based on cooperative advocacy activities, rather than overlapping memberships, resource exchanges or influence reputation.¹ The methodology for determining ties is simple and direct. In

interviews, a representative of each of the thirty-three subject groups first was asked to list four advocacy projects that her organization was presently engaged in (or which had been completed in the recent past) and to name the groups (not necessarily women's groups) that had been associated with that action. A single mention is classified as a "weak" tie because potentially the relationship may be short-lived and project-specific or may be highly specialized, such as sharing information only. If a group is mentioned in two different projects by a subject group, however, the link is considered to be a "strong" tie. Secondly, each respondent was asked to indicate which other groups (again, not exclusively women's groups) her organization generally works with in its advocacy activities. These relationships are designated as "strong" ties because the question implies ongoing, continuous relations, even if presently latent, that can be rekindled as desired.¹

This measurement method provides a snapshot of network relations among women's organizations based on advocacy actions. The linkages are necessarily cooperative, not competitive, and may include a number of specific exchanges such as sharing information, exchange of financial resources and donation of time to the lobbying projects of other groups.² However, the specific commodity exchanged is immaterial because the focus is on the relationships created through advocacy supportiveness. The net is cast as widely as possible by including asymmetrical weak ties as well as symmetrical and strong relationships and by not limiting specification of advocacy partners to women's groups.³

The first empirical question is to determine whether the set of 33 national women's groups form a single network that could be called the national Canadian "women's movement" or whether there are several disparate and specialized networks of groups. The second task is to examine the characteristics of the network(s); to accomplish this, measures of network density, shape, intensity of ties and structural position are developed. Because no comparable empirical network analyses of women's movements or other types of social movements exist, the results must be interpreted without benefit of norms or a yardstick of related evidence. Rather, the analysis draws upon the expectations posed as propositions in Chapter 2 which, in aggregate, indicate that there will be a single, moderately interconnected network built on both strong and weak ties.

The specific propositions are:

1. All 33 national women's groups are connected into a single interorganizational network.
2. The national Canadian women's movement is not highly decentralized and disaggregated, but is characterized by sufficient density of ties to have distinct form that provides the basis for sharing information or providing coalitional support.
3. The network will have a defined centre (NAC) which can reach and co-ordinate diverse parts of the network, but which is not sufficiently centralized to function as a super cell that controls the network.
4. The network will be based on a preponderance of weak ties.
5. The largest organization (NAC) will have a large number of both strong and weak ties.

6. Special interest groups will have a disproportionately large number of weak ties.
7. There will be a high degree of role specialization among the women's groups.

Boundary of the Network

Social movements engage in the process of creating a politicized "we"--that is, an identity of being part of a collectivity of others who share a set of goals and values that distinguishes the members from others. Melucci defines collective identity as "an interactive and shared definition produced by several individuals and concerned with the orientations of action and the field of opportunities and constraints in which the action takes place" (1988, p. 342). Similarly, Mueller defines the concept of collective identity or consciousness as "a transforming set of ideas that legitimates opposition to traditional norms, roles, institutions, and/or the distribution of scarce resources" (1987, p. 92). In contrast to the notion of an interest which refers to an objective policy goal such as "supporting a system of quality childcare" or "stopping the expressway", the concept of collective identity is both personally salient and reflexive. It is an allegiance which on the recognized basis of shared experience binds one to a particular package of values, people and organizations which makes one realize that his or her welfare is inseparable from that of the identity set. Because collective identity is built on personal saliency of collective welfare, it is constructed for individuals by participation in relations with others in organizations and, through organizations, in social movements.⁴ Groups

choose either to enter into relations with movement organizations because they feel that the collective identity shared by those organizations applies to them and they, therefore, wish to be part of it or they reject connections because they do not share the identity. In network terms, all organizations which are joined together engage in the process of identity formation while those outside do not.

It is the concept of collective identity that may be used as the boundary or "fence" to delineate the breadth of a social movement. By mapping the outer perimeters of the network--that is, by determining which groups from a population are included and which are excluded--it is possible both to discern the constituencies to which the collective identity applies and to obtain insight into the parameters and orientation of that identity. If, for example, the national Canadian women's groups formed two distinct, uncoupled networks--one composed of self-defined feminist groups and one comprised of groups which did not distinguish themselves as feminist--it could be surmised that there is a "feminist" movement, and a "women's" movement. Similarly, if francophone women's groups were not linked with anglophone groups, it would be impossible to speak of a national women's movement; rather, it would be necessary to distinguish the anglophone Canadian movement from the francophone one.

The review of the historical development of women's groups in Canada presented as Chapter 2 leads to the proposition that all the subject groups will be tied together in one movement. Burt (1986) argues that there is a single overarching collective identity of the Canadian women's "movement": an

identity based on liberal feminism with an emphasis on gender equality. As a kind of lowest common denominator of feminism (in contrast to socialist or radical feminism which are more exclusive), a liberalized vision of feminism is likely to have wide appeal among women's groups whatever the composition of their particular membership. Indeed, it is hard to imagine that any women's group which espouses gender equality could reject participation in such a liberal identity.

The network map of the groups is created using digraph techniques (Harary, 1969; Harary, Horman and Cartwright, 1965), although with such a large number of elements, presentation becomes complex.⁵ As Figure 3.1 illustrates, 29 of the 33 women's groups are connected through strong or weak ties into a single network. The notable exceptions are R.E.A.L. Women, the Catholic Women's League (CWL), Canadian Association of Executives and Entrepreneurs (CAWEE) and Women in Science and Engineering (WISE). R.E.A.L. Women is entirely isolated from the other women's groups, except for a very weak tie with the Catholic Women's League. It is evident that although R.E.A.L. Women argue that they are not opposed to equality on the basis of gender, theirs is a distinctly different vision of women's role in society. Rather than merely avoiding participation in the network, this group has actively attempted to establish a competing node to attract women uncomfortable with changing gender roles. It must be seen as an alternative to, not a variation of, the rest of the Canadian women's movement.⁶ A crucial point of dissension is the issue of choice on abortion which is a fundamental one to contemporary women's

NETWORK MAP OF 33
NATIONAL WOMEN'S GROUPS

FIGURE 3.1

movements. It should be noted that the link between R.E.A.L. Women and the CWL is tenuous one based on their joint actions in the pro-life movement and that the Catholic Women have not offered whole-hearted public support for R.E.A.L. Women. The CWL remains strongly embedded in the institution of the Church and its field of action is primarily at the parish, rather than the national level. On the basis of its lack of integration in the women's movement, it can be speculated that the identity promoted by the CWL is one of being first Catholic and secondly a woman, instead of one centered on gender.⁷

Also isolated are two small profession-based groups: an organization of female scientists (WISE) and one of female executives and entrepreneurs (CAWEE). Neither group would define itself as a feminist organization and, as relatively small organizations, neither is particularly active in advocacy activity.⁸ In both cases, their first order links tend to be with mixed-gender professional associations. This suggests that these organizations serve more as personal "networking" instruments among professional women to advance career development and share an affiliation focussed on professional identities than as organizations for the more expansive purpose of gender identity construction. Their social distance from other women's groups intimates the problems that feminist organizations may have in the future of appealing to professional, highly educated women who have "made it" in male dominated occupations.

The fact the remaining twenty-nine organizations are linked into a network demonstrates that there is an interconnected movement at the national level in Canada. The fact that there are not two separate networks--a feminist

and non-feminist one—indicates that the collective identity is based on an expansive construct of politicized consciousness of gender and most likely has an orientation of liberal equality. Even though almost one-half of these groups would not apply a feminist label to themselves, they do support the basic principles of gender role equity—a kind of liberalized feminism. Although individuals and some organizations may have a socialist or radical feminist vision which entails more systemic analysis of women's position in society and the family, no other version of feminism besides liberal feminism could appeal to such a diversity of organizations and constituencies that include the National Council of Women and the Canadian Federation of University Women as well as NAC, the Voice of Women and Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women in Sport (CAAWS). It is also significant to note that there are no groups which have an explicit group ideology of socialist or radical feminism organized at the national level.

As outlined in the historical analysis of Chapter 2, the older, first wave women's groups such as the National Council of Women, Canadian Federation of Women and the Business and Professional Women's Clubs were important to the mobilization of the feminist organizations of the 1960s and 1970s. It appears that these relationships have not been extinguished. In particular, the crisis over Secretary of State funding to women's groups and the issue of childcare brought a wide array of women's groups together, mixing the traditional, non-feminist organizations with the more explicitly ideological ones. Because it enhances the breadth of the construction and application of the

collective identity to diverse social groups and thus increases public legitimacy, this blending of feminist and non-feminist organizations must be seen as a positive sign for the women's movement in Canada. The fact that the movement as a network is integrated into a one unit, rather than being segregated into feminist and non-feminist sectors, is a basis for movement longevity and political power because the potential for coalition formation is extensive.

Density of the Network

One defining characteristic of a social network is the density of ties among the constituent elements. Network density is a measure of the degree of completeness of ties; it is operationally defined as "the proportion of actual ties made as a function of the number which could have been formed" (Berkowitz, 1982, p. 46).⁹ The intensity of interconnectedness is significant both for individual organizations and for the network as a whole. Ties within a network provide the structure through which resources and information may be exchanged and on the basis of which coalitions may arise. McAdam (1983), for instance, attributes the successful diffusion and deployment of lunch counter sit-ins by the organizations of the American civil rights movement to the density of preexisting communications links among groups. A multiplicity of connections not only assists in diffusion of advocacy tactics and support for coalitional politics, but may create an *esprit de corps* that overcomes the isolation of being fundamentally anti-institutional and provides the sustaining

motivational drive necessary in a social movement. At the organizational level linkages allow an organization to promote its interest, share in information resources and enhance its influence potential. It is a wide breadth and large number of linkages, argues Aveni (1978, p. 190), that allows an organization to sustain itself and carry out its programs.

Case studies of the women's movement in Britain and western Europe have portrayed decentralized, disaggregated and atomistic networks (Rucht, 1988; Gelb, 1986, 1987; Coote and Campbell, 1982; Bourchier, 1983; Dahlerup, 1986). Canada, in contrast, is unusual in the number of national level women's groups which exist. As national organizations, they have more resources and an institutionalized presence than do grassroots collectivities. It, therefore, is hypothesized that the national Canadian women's movement will not be decentralized and disaggregated, but will be characterized by sufficient density of ties to have distinct form, considerable stability over time and a relatively strong basis for coalition formation.

Calculation of the measure of density among the 29 organizations which form a network indicates that 17.7 per cent of all possible ties among the groups are made.¹⁰ This suggests that there is sufficient interconnectedness to constitute a continuous network which does not resemble the amorphous discontinuity of autonomous groups as suggested by European scholars of liberation movements. The national Canadian women's movement, however, is sufficiently loosely coupled that coalitions are likely to align and realign as new issues emerge because the network is not dominated by strong and entrenched cliques. In the

language of interest group scholars, this network is likely to be situated between Pross's (1986) stable "policy community" and Heclo's (1978) fluid "issue network".¹¹

Several explanations may be offered for the relatively low density of ties. First, formal organization-to-organization ties may be supplemented by informal personal relationships between individuals. It was stated more than once in interviews that, "there are about 100 women activists in Canada; whenever I want to get something done, I just give a few of them a call, who call a few more and in no time at all, we've got the message out across the country." This phenomenon reaffirms the notion that social movements are often undergirded by a submerged network of activist individuals and that at times social movement linkages are quite informal. This does not diminish the significance of organizations because most of these women initiated and developed these personal connections and bonds through participation in social movement organizations. Instead of being seen as replacing SMOs, the personal ties should be viewed as providing a reinforcing scaffold around organizations. Given the lasting nature of personal ties, even after individuals have vacated official positions of leadership in SMOs, it is not surprising that women's groups have made "networking" an art form and an accepted verb in the language. The interview procedure, however, explicitly inquired of present leadership about relationships with other organizations and, hence, many of the informal relationships were out of the purview of the methodology.

An alternative explanation may be inherent in the democratic nature of

voluntary associations. Because the elected executive of these groups tends to be replaced every two or three years, the leaders may barely have time to get to know and develop working relations with the executives of other organizations before their terms are over. In addition, the process required to create official policy on which the representative can act is often painstakingly slow, because many organizations require resolutions from local chapters, often with ratification at the annual general meeting. As a result of constitutional restrictions, leaders may be unable to enter into alliances with other groups at the opportune time when the issue is on the government agenda.

Density of relations may also be reduced, as Zald and McCarthy (1987) suggest, by reliance on government funding. The effect of state funding is to create one-on-one project-based ties and, because a state-funded group does not depend for financial resources on other social movement organizations, it reduces the need for the group to build an image and ties with other organizations (Savas, 1987, p. 386-391; Zald and McCarthy, 1987, pp. 370-371).

A final explanation for the relatively low density is that a "loosely coupled" system is highly functional. By loose coupling, Weick (1977, p. 3) means that units are responsive to each other, but that each preserves its own identity and maintains its physical or logical separateness. As a result, a loosely coupled network as a whole can retain a greater number of mutations and novel solutions than could be tolerated in a densely tied system (1977, p. 7). This diversity serves as "cultural insurance" which can be drawn upon in times of radical change to buffer pressures against the network. In addition, a loosely

coupled system is inexpensive to operate because of the reduced costs of coordination. Therefore, the relatively low density of ties found in the Canadian women's network may be viewed as a functional consequence of and solution to the lack of resources possessed by individual women's groups. Until the last few years, the Canadian women's movement has viewed diversity and the occasional inability to speak with a single unified "women's voice" as a weakness. This approach argues that the loose coupling, which does not appear to be so minimal as to threaten the existence of the movement, in fact may be its strength and the sign of a mature social movement. The pattern suggests that, over time, the movement is likely to be quite fluid internally because coalitions will emerge or realign as new issues arise. This flexibility would not be feasible in a very densely connected network bound by strong ties. However, density alone is not an adequate representation of the nature of a social movement. In order to explore specific patterns of the network, measures such as centrality and network shape also must be examined.

Network Shape

Shape of a network is an essential feature because this measure captures the degree of centralization and distribution of ties, and thus offers explanation of the control over or coordination of the flow of resources and information. Several prototypical network shapes have been discerned from the literature. Gerlach and Hine (1970) suggest that social movement networks may be described as: segmentary (autonomous local cells), decentralized (with a

polycephalous leadership that lacks central direction), reticulate (organizations tied together laterally through intersecting sets of personal and intergroup links) and, finally, hierarchical (a super cell as the focal body with hierarchically arranged peripheral organizations). Given the size and breadth of affiliation of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, it can be expected that the network will be highly centralized with NAC positioned at the hub or focal point of the national Canadian women's network.

Shape of the network is most commonly examined among network analysts by calculating quantitative measures of centrality (Freeman et al., 1979; Knoke and Kuklinski, 1982; Burt, 1982). One aspect of centrality is "reachability" or "closeness" which refers to the dispersion, or alternatively, compactness, of ties in the network. Reachability is calculated as the number of units a given unit, i , must go through in order to reach other units (often referred to as the "path distance" between elements) (Mizruchi et. al. 1986, p. 26; Berkowitz, 1982, p. 40).¹² At the network level, the average number of nodes that can be reached within a given path distance is an indicator of the compactness of the overall network, that is, how widely and easily resources and information can be dispersed (Haray et al., 1965). Thus, reachability is a distinct concept from density and it is not necessary that a network have high density of ties in order to have a high measure of reachability. A range of reachability (that is, path distances) across the member organizations indicates a significant difference in the facility with which individual nodes can send or receive information (Berkowitz, 1982, p. 40). The distribution of reachability is often equated with an operational

definition of power; a skewed distribution means that the ability of members to mobilize resources and exert influence within the movement is inequitable (Berkowitz, 1982, pp. 40-41).

Examination of path distances (minimum number of links that must be traversed to join element i with j) shows that there is a high degree of reachability for most parts of this network. The maximum path distance to join any two nodes in the movement is 4.0 with an average path distance of 2.1. This suggests that information and resources may reach all parts of the network with relative efficiency, in spite of the fact that there is a relatively low density of ties. As Table 3.1 illustrates, there is considerable difference in closeness among the groups. NAC (with a cumulative path distance of 36) and the YWCA (with a cumulative path distance of 43) are by far the most easily reached by all part of the network.¹³ In contrast, as Table 3.2 shows, the most socially distant groups are the native, disabled and visible minority groups, the oldest of the non-feminist organizations and some of the special interest groups. The remaining groups are relatively similar in their reachability measures. In reviewing the reachability coefficient in relation to the digraph in Figure 3.1, it is evident that the central position of the National Action Committee plays an important role in creating a compact network; without the bridging function of NAC, the path distances among the remaining groups would be considerably higher.

TABLE 3.1

Network Reachability: Path Distances among
the 33 Women's Groups

<u>Group</u>	<u>Max</u>	<u>Path Distance</u>		<u>Range</u>	<u>Sum</u>
		<u>Mean</u>	<u>Mode</u>		
AFEAS	4	2.7	3	4	79
CARAL	3	1.8	2	3	54
CAAWS	4	2.0	2	4	57
CAEFS	4	2.8	3	4	80
CCLOW	3	1.8	2	3	47
CDCAA	2	1.6	2	3	47
Bs & Ps	4	1.9	2	4	58
CFUW	4	2.0	2	4	60
CRIAW	4	2.1	2	4	60
CBW	4	2.1	2	4	60
DAWN	4	2.2	2	4	63
FWIC	4	2.8	3	4	83
FNFCF	3	1.9	2	3	57
FFQ	3	1.8	2	3	53
FJL	4	1.9	2	4	57
IWA	3	2.2	2	3	64
Match	4	2.4	3	4	69
Media Watch	4	2.2	2	4	63
NAC	3	1.2	1	3	36
NAWL	3	1.9	2	3	54
NCJW	4	2.6	3	4	54
NCW	4	2.6	3	4	75
NOIVM	4	2.1	2	4	61
NWAC	4	3.2	4	4	93
PP	3	2.0	2	3	57
VOW	4	2.2	2	4	63
WSA	4	2.1	2	4	62
LEAF	3	1.8	2	3	53
YWCA	2	1.5	2	2	43

TABLE 3.2

Socially Distant Groups
Groups with a Cumulative Path Distance > 60

<u>Group</u>	<u>Cumulative Path Distance</u>
NWAC	93
FWIC	83
CAEFS	80
AFEAS	79
NCW	75
Match	69
IWA	64
DAWN	63
Media Watch	63
VOW	63
WSA	62
NOIVM	61

In comparison to reachability (a measure of dispersion), the complementary measures of network and point centrality (Freeman et al., 1979) show the concentration of ties in a social network. A member's position in a network is central to the extent that all relations in the network involve that member (Burt, 1982, p. 33). In operational terms, centrality is:

$$\frac{\text{no. of direct ties with } i}{(\text{number of ties in network}) - 1}$$

The significance of point (organization) centrality is normally considered to be one of potential for communication activity: greater centrality produces a wider

potential influence domain and enhanced ability to send and receive communication. As Freeman notes, "a person [organization] who is in a position that permits direct contact with many others should begin to see [it]self and be seen by those others as a major channel of information" (1978, p. 82). In contrast, organizations with relatively low centrality are likely to be seen as peripheral and will have minimal ability to control, coordinate or influence the control of information. An entire network may be said to be centralized to the extent that all relations within it involve a single actor (Knoke and Kuklinksi, 1982; Burt and Minor, 1983). The greater the tendency of a network to be centralized, the greater its speed and efficiency in solving problems and greater the member satisfaction of participation and stronger perceptions of a leadership structure. As noted above, it is hypothesized that the Canadian women's movement will be relatively centralized due to the size and budget of the umbrella organization, NAC.

Analysis of network centrality reveals that there is a high proportion of linkages with NAC. As Table 3.3 illustrates, 30 per cent of all the actual ties in the network involve NAC.¹⁴ There are, however, several other "peaks" or organizations which also engulf a relatively large proportion of network ties. The YWCA is involved in 18.6 per cent of all network ties, CDCAA in 12.0 percent and FFQ, LEAF and CCLOW in 11.4 per cent each.¹⁵ Centrality and influence depend not only on the number of ties that an organization has, but

TABLE 3.3
Number of Direct Ties and Relative
Centrality of the Subject Groups

Group	Number of Direct Ties	Percentage of Ties with Group	Relative Centrality*
AFEAS	2	2.9	.071
CARAL	6	8.6	.214
CAAWS	4	5.7	.143
CAEFS	1	1.4	.036
CCLOW	8	11.4	.286
CDCAA	9	12.9	.321
Bs & Ps	5	7.1	.179
CFUW	4	5.7	.143
CRIAW	3	4.3	.107
CBW	4	5.7	.143
DAWN	1	1.4	.036
FWIC	1	1.4	.036
FNFCF	4	5.7	.143
FFQ	8	11.4	.286
FJL	5	7.1	.179
IWA	3	4.3	.107
Match	2	2.8	.071
Media Watch	2	2.8	.071
NAC	21	30.0	.750
NAWL	5	7.1	.179
NCJW	6	8.6	.214
NCW	4	5.7	.143
NOIVM	3	4.3	.107
NWAC	1	1.4	.036
PP	4	5.7	.143
VOW	1	1.4	.036
WSA	2	2.8	.071
LEAF	8	11.4	.286
YWCA	13	18.6	.464

* number of direct ties with group / (No. of network ties) - 1
range is from 0 to 1.0

on the centrality of the nodes to which it is linked. As demonstrated by Figure 3.2, the "peaks" or nodes of high relative centrality are themselves interconnected, and consequently the position of each is strengthened. Not only is this network relatively compact (that is, reachable), but the five interlinked peak organizations further enhance the efficiency of transfer of information and resources through the network.

FIGURE 3.2

Interconnections among Peak Organizations

Compared to the menu of shapes suggested by Gerlach and Hine (1970), the national Canadian women's movement seems to most closely approximate the polycephalous pattern of multiple nodes that lack uniform central direction. It is not a pure polycephalous type, however, because one organization--NAC--is clearly more central and has greater density of ties than any other of the network heads. As revealed in both the reachability and relative centrality measures,

NAC plays a key role in coordination and connection of diverse parts of the network. It is likely that a message or tactical innovation initiated by NAC would spread rapidly and widely across the movement. However, the movement is not so centralized that NAC is likely to be able to control, rather than coordinate, the activities of other organizations. The shape, thus, could not be considered to have a single super cell with a hierarchy of relations diminishing to the periphery. Note that the structure of this network stands in sharp contrast to the empty centre that Laumann and Knoke (1987) find among American interest groups in the health and energy policy communities. The Canadian women's movement is likely to be able to move information, resources and political support efficiently without risking fear on the part of autonomous organizations of being consumed by the super cell. For these reasons, it appears to be a highly functional form.

A striking feature of the national women's network as noted above, is that it encompasses feminist and non-feminist organizations in a single network. Although a t-test of the relative centrality scores reveals that there is no significant difference ($p > .05$ in a one-tailed test) in the number of linkages held by the feminist versus non-feminist groups, scrutiny of the network graph (Figure 3.1) illustrates that there is a difference in the target of these ties. The feminist sector of the women's movement is more connected within itself and, similarly, traditional non-feminist organizations (such as the Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Canadian Federation of University Women, National Council of Women and National Council of Jewish Women) are more

integrated with each other than cross-linked with the feminist sector. However, the YWCA-- not self-defined as feminist in orientation--plays an important bridging role between the traditional non-feminist groups and the second-wave feminist organizations. The only strong tie linking these two sectors involves the YWCA which has ties not only with NAC, but with more specialized groups such as NAWL, LEAF and CAAWS. Moreover, the YWCA is one of only two bridges between the aboriginal women's groups and the rest of the movement and is an important link for the international development group, MATCH, with the bulk of the network.

The number and diversity of ties held by the YWCA may be a function of the fact that it has more financial resources and a larger staff than any other group and may be a result of the attention it has recently given, and resources it has committed, to organizational image-building.¹⁶ In part, its connectedness may be a function of the changing role of the YWCA. Perhaps due to its service base, especially its residences and shelters for women, the YWCA is in contact with and actively reaching out to non-white, non-middle class women. Yet the umbrella of its conservative mainstream image is a safe place from which committed activists may strive toward major social change without being branded, and possibly dismissed, as feminist radicals.¹⁷

The relationship between francophone and predominantly anglophone organizations is a constant concern in the Canadian women's movement. It is often presumed that women's groups in Quebec operate more or less in isolation from national women's organizations. Quebec groups, it is commonly

argued, are almost exclusively focussed on the provincial government, and in addition to barriers of language, the nationalist spirit enhanced by a century of *survivance* ideology makes Quebec groups somewhat suspicious of national anglophone organizations (Clio Collective, 1987; Burt, 1986, pp. 143-145).

However, as Chapter 2 discussed, there have been significant moments of elite accommodation among some of the Quebec groups and their anglophone sisters.

Examination of the map of the national women's movement reveals that while there is a distinct "clique" of the three francophone groups--FFQ, AFEAS and FNFCF--this clique is not isolated from the rest of the network.¹⁸ Rather, the FFQ (relative centrality = .286) acts as a vital bridge that efficiently connects the francophone sub-group to diverse parts of the network because it is directly connected to the other peaks (NAC, YWCA, CCLOW and CDCAA) which, thereby enhances its own relative centrality. Because the FFQ is itself an umbrella organization composed of provincial women's groups, it probably serves to integrate Quebec groups other than those included in the study. The popular supposition that there are two solitudes in the Canadian women's movement operating in isolation is not substantiated by this analysis. Although there are some important distinctions and some serious rifts, notably the debate over the Meech Lake Constitutional Accord, there is also considerable potential connectivity through the bridge of the FFQ.

In contrast to the francophone groups, the minority groups of aboriginal, disabled and visible minority women are quite marginalized in the network. None of the five organizations for minority women has strong ties with any

non-minority groups, nor do they have a large number of weak ties with other parts of the network. The aboriginal women's groups have high cumulative path distances (see Table 3.1) and quite low centrality scores, indicating few ties with other groups. The organization for disabled women has only one link in the entire network. Although the visible minority groups tend to be less socially distant than the disabled or native groups due to their links with the peak organizations of NAC and CCLOW, these are their only ties in the movement.

This pattern of marginalization raises a familiar question: is the women's movement overtly middle-class and racist? The mere fact that this is a pertinent concern that is openly debated is an encouraging sign. There is also the reality that women of colour have become leaders within multiple constituency women's organizations (notably NAC). In part, the hinterland of minority women's groups evident in this network may be a function of lack of financial and human resources to engage in networking. It may also be the case that these groups are more tightly integrated into the native, disabled or ethnocultural communities, rather than the women's movement. In this capacity, they may provide important boundary spanning roles.

Alternatively, Carty and Brand (1988) argue that the National Organization for Immigrant and Visible Minority Women (NOIVM) has been created artificially by the state and is meant to be an instrument of identity containment, not mobilization of political demands:

In doing so the state signified these women's "immigrantness" and "visible minorityness" as the organizing principle. Their "womaness"

was secondary. Had women themselves formulated the issue, the intersections between race and gender may have been more obvious (1988, p. 41).

As a result, argue Carty and Brand, there is a demarcation of advocacy domains between visible minority groups and organizations such as NAC; the minority groups have been limited by their designated 'otherness' identity to dealing with issues of race and immigration and have left issues such as abortion, daycare and pay equity (also fundamental to minority women, but preempted by the state-imposed identity) to NAC. Therefore, ties with special interest and specialized constituency women's groups are constricted. It may also be the case that the other predominantly middle-class groups have been so preoccupied with their own welfare and issues that they as organizations have not reached out to the minority groups. Although the reasons for marginalization cannot be adequately explicated with these data, it can be concluded that the minority organizations exist in relative isolation within the women's movement.

Strength of Ties

The strength of ties is also crucial to understanding how a network operates. While strong ties are vital in a network because they produce enduring alliances, homogenization of ideas and enhanced morale, there is also strength in weak ties (Granovetter, 1973; 1982). Granovetter asserts that weak ties serve as "bridges" between cohesive clusters and allow information to traverse far beyond one's own immediate friends or allies.

Whatever is to be diffused can reach a larger number of people and traverse greater social distance (i.e. path length) when passed through weak ties rather than strong. If one tells a rumor to all his close friends, and they do likewise, many will hear the rumor a second and third time, since those linked by strong ties tend to share friends. If the motivation to spread the rumor is dampened a bit on each wave of retelling, then the rumor moving through strong ties is much more likely to be limited to a few cliques than that going via weak ones: bridges will not be crossed. (Granovetter, 1973, p. 1366)

In a social movement, weak ties are necessary for diffusion of innovation and for spanning the breadth of the network.

As hypothesized in Chapter 2, an established social movement that has achieved some measure of legitimacy will be built on a large number of weak ties. Organizations that play a unifying central role in a social movement--in this case, NAC--will need to maintain a relatively dense set of strong and weak ties. Special interest groups may make very skillful use of weak ties; by developing and sharing their expert information with many other SMOs, they may give their interest saliency far afield and shape the discourse on the issue in their own terms.

All three propositions are supported by the empirical evidence. First, it is evident that this network is built predominantly on weak ties: 77 per cent (54 of 70) of the linkages in the network are weak ties--that is, they are project-based, rather than ongoing alliances.¹⁹ Secondly, NAC has a large number of both strong and weak ties, but as the stabilizing and coordinating hub of the movement, it has a greater portion of strong ties than do any of the other

organizations that also have a high frequency of connections. This suggests that the centre must be able to build and activate enduring alliances in order to provide stability of membership, commitment and morale that weak ties alone cannot produce. As Table 3.4 shows, other organizations which provide bridging functions--specifically, YWCA, CCLOW and FFQ--exist on a large proportion of weak ties; this further substantiates their role as couplers between diverse parts of the network. Finally, the proposition is generally supported that special interest groups--with one notable exception--have a disproportionately large number of weak ties.

TABLE 3.4

**Proportion of Strong and Weak Ties
for Groups with Six or more Ties**

Group	Number of Strong Ties	Number of Weak Ties	Percentage of Weak Ties for Group*
CARAL	3	3	50
CCLOW	2	6	75
CDCAA	1	8	89
FFQ	1	7	88
NAC	6	15	71
NCJW	0	6	100
LEAF	1	7	88
YWCA	3	10	77

No. of Weak Ties for Group X 100
Total No. of Ties for Group

A good example of the strength that can emanate from weak ties is the Canadian Day Care Advocacy Association (CDCAA). This special interest group

has effectively cultivated interorganizational links to raise the saliency of its issue for a wide audience and has been called upon by other organizations to provide its specialized information on childcare for the preparation of legislative briefs.²⁰ In this way, disparate groups such as the Federation of Junior Leagues, Inuit Women's Association, Canadian Federation of University Women and the National Council of Jewish Women have become active in the childcare debate and the CDCAA has been instrumental in framing the discourse on the issue. Due to the diversity of their mixed-gender membership, especially strong trade and public service union involvement, the CDCAA's perspective on childcare is not fundamentally a feminist analysis. Rather the general approach stresses quality care for the sake of children above transformed gender relations. Although childcare emerged from the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in 1970 as a feminist issue, the debate, as Prentice (1988) argues, more recently has become "mainstreamed". The effectiveness of the pattern of weak ties maintained by the CDCAA within the women's movement may be one reason for this shift in political discourse.

The same pattern of strength in weak ties is not the case for the other major special interest group in the study--the Canadian Abortion Rights Action League (CARAL). In contrast to the CDCAA which has eight weak ties and one strong tie, CARAL has only three weak ties and three strong ones. This suggests that CARAL is less likely to diffuse its message, expertise or tactical innovations widely throughout the movement than is the daycare group. This finding provides strong empirical evidence to support Jenson's (forthcoming) analysis of

the discourse of liberalisation of reproductive choice in Canada. She argues that the part that the issue of choice on abortion has played in gender identity construction in Canada is unique to Canada. In contrast to other countries, the Canadian state has not treated abortion as a "women's issue" and the voices in the debate over changes to the Criminal Code in 1969 and in more recent debates were those of humanists, doctors, lawyers, religious leaders and moralists--and were primarily men (forthcoming, p. 2).

In part, abortion politics have been played without strong participation by women because the women's movement failed to place protection of reproductive freedom high on its agenda. Jenson writes that,

Paying more attention to equality of employment opportunities and other matters related to women's labour force participation, as well as to changes in women's civil and constitutional rights, liberal feminism was uneasily silent on the growing crisis of access throughout the 1970s and early 1980s. Liberal feminism launched on a trajectory in search of civil rights in the 'public sphere', found it difficult to incorporate an insistence on the effects of biological difference into a programme which took as its *raison d'être* the elimination of biology as the legitimate grounds for differentiation in social life. Therefore, these feminists--who constituted the majority of the women's movement in Canada--always argued that women should have the right to make reproductive choices but they tended to stress other matters in their political struggles, matters which fit more easily into the familiar categories of liberalism (forthcoming, p. 4).

The fact that women's groups have still not formed a large number of strong or weak ties with the group dedicated solely to choice on abortion illustrates that the collective identity of liberal feminism still finds reproductive

choice to be a difficult issue.

In general, as Granovetter (1972; 1983) asserts, the number of weak ties in this movement should not be viewed as a failure, but rather as its strength. On the basis of these weak ties, it is likely that information can be diffused quickly to all parts of the network through the spanning effect of weak ties. It is also likely that weak ties permit realignment and mobilization of new groups as issues arise and present the possibility of creating coalitions with very diverse bases; dominance of strong ties would merely reinforce past alliances and restrict formation of new ones. Finally, weak ties seem to permit special interest groups which can develop extensive expert information to be very effective in shaping issue significance and political discourse within a social movement.

Structural Equivalence Analysis

The methods of analyzing the network presented so far have been conducted from a "relational" perspective--that is, the measures describe the intensity of relations between pairs of actors. The alternative "positional" approach considers the roles (in the sociological concept of "roles") that organizations play in a social system by examining the pattern of relations defining an actor's position in a system of actors (Burt, 1980, p. 80; White, Boorman and Breiger, 1976). In positional analysis, network members are considered to be "structurally equivalent" if they have similar patterns of linkages to all third parties across the network. Structural positions, unlike relations, may be jointly occupied by one or more organizations (Burt, 1982, p.

40; Knoke and Wood, 1981, p. 169). A network in which many organizations jointly occupy the same structural position can be said to be relatively undifferentiated in terms of member roles, whereas the absence of structurally equivalent organizations may indicate a high degree of specialization in patterns of relations. Based on the diversity of groups, identity sets and interests represented in the network, it was hypothesized in Chapter 2 that there would be a high degree of role specialization among the groups, that is, that there would be few jointly occupied positions.

Following an accepted procedure in network analysis, cluster analysis of path distances is used to create "blocks" or clusters of groups that have similar patterns of relations to other actors.²¹ Organizations in a cluster may be considered substitutes in regard to the pattern of ties with the rest of the network; however, they need not be connected to each other. For this network, the optimal interpretable solution of hierarchical cluster analysis provides seven clusters of organizations that generally confirm the results of the earlier relational analysis of network peaks.²² The fact that six of these seven clusters contain only one organization shows that, as postulated, there is tremendous specialization of network positions and uniqueness in connecting to other groups. The seven clusters, in order of aggregation are:

- 1) National Action Committee (NAC)
- 2) remaining 23 groups
- 3) YWCA
- 4) Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women (CLOW)
- 5) Legal Education Action Fund (LEAF)
- 6) Canadian Day Care Advocacy Association (CDCAA)
- 7) Fédération des femmes du Québec (FFQ)

Relational analysis has already revealed the special role that each of the groups plays:

- 1) NAC is the central organization with extensive links to all types of other groups;
- 2) YWCA links feminist with non-feminist groups as well as linking aboriginal groups with the rest of the network;
- 3) CCLOW is an important link of the visible minority organizations (probably due to its interest in literacy and training for women) with NAC, the YWCA and other groups;
- 4) LEAF, although not revealed earlier as a peak organization, serves as a link between those groups which have brought equality rights challenges (CAEFS, CARAL, CAAWS) to the Supreme Court as well as the legal-professional group of NAWL with other parts of the network;²³
- 5) CDCAA as a special interest groups has an extensive pattern of weak ties with disparate types of women's groups;
- 6) FFQ acts as an important bridge to join the francophone groups with many other organizations.

There is no structural differentiation in the pattern of ties of the remaining groups that appear as a single cluster.

The significance of this positional analysis is that it demonstrates specialization of organizations in linking constituencies and special interests within the women's movement and suggests that the creation of organizational identities are very important in a social movement. The uniqueness of structural positions intimates that each organization in the six single group clusters has a distinct identity and has cultivated or become enmeshed in a separate constellation of constituencies and interests. The fact that the

specialized litigation arm of the movement emerges as a unique position in the network reinforces the liberal feminist orientation--an emphasis on equality rights--of the national movement.

Relations with Other Interests and Social Movements

The purpose of the first part of this analysis has been to examine interconnections within the national Canadian women's movement in order to map and explain its internal dynamics. However, no social movement exists in isolation from other organizations, interests and social movements. Indeed some social movement organizations may be equally situated in two social movements and, thereby, serve important boundary spanning functions. The permeability of a social movement is likely to affect the relative importance of issues within the movement, inter-penetration of identities and the diffusion of advocacy tactics as well as the need of individual groups to reinforce organizational linkages. If, for example, women's organizations have extensive links with the trade union movement, it is likely that issues related to women and wage labour will appear persistently on the agenda and will shape the political discourse of the women's movement.

Because the questions about associated groups (at both the general and project-specific level) were posed in an open-ended manner, it is possible to consider the other types of interest groups that impinge upon and influence the women's movement and whose behaviour it, in turn, is likely to affect. The interpenetration of social movements has a reciprocal impact--each influences

the interests, behaviour and resources of the other movement. It is beyond the present study, however, to measure the extent of influence. Instead, this discussion is confined to examination of the pattern of ties with outside organizations and movements.

Based on existing literature of the historical spheres of influence of women's movements and on the particular interests of subject groups, several specific connections can be hypothesized. There generally are agreed to be four "core" new social movements that cross-national research reveals have been significant over the past two decades in western democratic countries (Klandermans and Tarrow, 1988, pp. 17-23). These are the student (no longer significant in the west, although on the rise in many Communist countries), the women's, ecological and peace movements. These "new" movements are characterized by middle-class actors, the presence of radical forms of action and themes of anti-modernism (Klandermans and Tarrow, 1988, p. 18) and have developed as adjuncts to an "old" movement--the labour movement. Although the logic and interrelationships of these core movements, including labour, may vary from one country to another, research has shown in many cases that there has been considerable overlap and conjoint activity among these core movements. On this basis, an analysis of other movement connections for the national Canadian women's groups is likely to reveal that:

Proposition 8: The hyphenated identities--the minority women's groups--will be strongly associated with mixed-gender native, visible minority and disabled organizations respectively.

Research from the U. K. and western Europe where women's trade union membership is roughly equivalent to that of Canada suggests that women's movements and individual women have had a significant effect on the labour movement (Cook, Lorwin and Daniels, 1984; Gelb, 1987). It, thus, can be anticipated that,

Proposition 9: There will be relatively high frequency of contact by women's groups with trade and public sector unions.

Poverty and social policy are issues which have differential impact based on gender. Due to the importance of social policy and poverty issues to women, it can be expected that,

Proposition 10: Women's organizations will be connected with social policy and welfare rights organizations.

As individuals, women have always been very visible participants in peace movements (Klandermans, 1988). It therefore is likely that,

Proposition 11: Many of the women's groups will have relations with peace groups.

It should be noted that this analysis of movement-external relationships is viewed from the perspective of the leaders of women's organizations and connections among the secondary groups are not considered. However, the intent is to delineate the organizations and movements which leaders of women's groups see as their allies and which help to shape the political discourse of the national women's movement; the objective is not to explain relationships among these other movements and policy communities.

The findings indicate that women's groups have extensive interests and

ties outside the women's movement. Only four of the thirty-three groups did not spontaneously mention that they work with organizations that have a primary constituency or interest other than women.²⁴ These outside connections include: health groups (for example, Canadian Mental Health Association and anti-smoking groups), sport groups, family organizations (for instance, the Canadian Council on Children and Youth), justice associations, pro-choice organizations (such as Doctors for Choice), the Jewish community, Protestant churches, international development organizations, adult education and literacy groups (notably the Teachers' Federation).

As expected, the minority women's groups are strongly related to the mixed-gender organizations representing the "otherness" of their hyphenated identity. Native-women, for instance, have more and stronger ties with aboriginal groups than they do with any of the women's organizations (see Figure 3.3). This supports the case made by Vickers (1989, p. 1) that native women increasingly relate more to the re-emerging movement of aboriginal nation than to the women's movement. Similarly, the visible minority women's groups are linked to ethnocultural organizations and the disabled women's organization is linked to other organizations for handicapped persons.²⁵ As illustrated in Figure 3.4, it is significant to note that LEAF (a group specializing in equality rights litigation) is also connected to these outside minority organizations, which reflects its role in taking cases for the doubly disadvantaged under the Charter.

FIGURE 3.3

Connections of the Aboriginal Women's Groups with Outside Organizations

FIGURE 3.4

Connections of the Visible Minority Women's Groups with Outside Groups

A surprising finding is that there are relatively few ties between women's organizations and unions. Only NAC and the CDCAA (which has the Canadian Labour Congress and Canadian Union of Public Employees, among others, as members) have ties with national unions. In the case of NAC, contact with labour was further enhanced by its involvement in the anti-Free Trade Coalition during 1988. As noted by Burt (1986) and substantiated here, the Quebec groups, especially the FFQ, have relatively greater involvement with the provincial union movement than anglophone groups have with either provincial or national labour organizations. It appears that the enmeshing of women's interests within the labour movement occurs primarily as a result of the activism of individual women within unions (Briskin and Yanz, 1983) rather than as a product of organization-to-organization alliances.

FIGURE 3.5

Connections of Women's Groups with Unions

Another significant lacunae of linkages is with social policy and anti-poverty organizations. The major national organization which advises on social policy, the Canadian Council on Social Development, is tied to only three organizations: NAC, YWCA and the Federation of Junior Leagues. Even more startling is the finding that the National Anti-Poverty Organization (NAPO), which just prior to the interview period had released a major report on women and poverty, has linkages only with the CDCAA. This suggests two things. First, the political discourse within the women's movement appears to be relatively class-bound such that the feminization of poverty, while discussed, does not have saliency for most groups. Secondly, the CDCAA as a special interest group has forged a wide diversity of linkages. Evidence of the effectiveness of its alliance building is contained within the transcripts of the Parliamentary committees on childcare which heard representation from the broadest spectrum of interest groups ever to appear on any social policy issue (Phillips, 1989, p. 172).

In contrast to expectations, none of the subject groups--excluding the Voice of Women for Peace (VOW) which is above all else a peace group--have links with the peace movement. Although Canada, like Western European countries, has widespread participation of women in the peace movement, it appears that participation with peace groups is either by women as individuals or by grassroots women's groups instead of by national organizations. This is not to say that peace issues are not in the policy handbooks of many of the

FIGURE 3.6

Connections of Women's Groups with
Social Policy and Welfare Rights Organizations

national women's groups, but it again indicates that women's organizations presently are not aligned as organizations with peace groups and that they remain more focussed on issues of equality. Another significantly absent tie is with environmental groups. As with peace issues, while many groups have policy resolutions on ecological concerns, few are actively involved in coalitions with environmental groups.

Figure 3.7 presents a synthesis of the relations of the network groups with outside interest communities. From this extra-network analysis, it can be concluded that women's groups have multiple interests and alliances and many undoubtedly perform important boundary spanning roles with other social movements such as multicultural, disabled, anti-Free Trade or social

**SUMMARY OF CONNECTIONS OF WOMEN'S GROUPS
WITH OTHER SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND INTERESTS
FIGURE 3.7**

justice/human rights communities. The surprising result, however, is that there are few connections with unions, peace, environmental or social welfare organizations. It is speculated that women either specialize in their activism--for example, in the labour movement or the women's movement--or they participate in both as individuals. National women's organizations, as organizations, are not highly active in coalitions with these other core movements.²⁶ The relatively low frequency of ties of minority women's groups in the network may in part be explained by the strength of their ties to organizations which represent the "minority" component of their dual identities.

Finally, it is significant to note that women's organizations are also staunchly non-partisan as witnessed by the fact that none have organizational ties with political parties. As Bashevkin (1985a) explains, partisan and independent politics are two separate spheres of political participation for women. While group leaders, as individuals, may have partisan leanings and connections, as leaders they have chosen to keep their organizations strictly non-aligned to give them the freedom to be critical of all political parties.

Further analysis is required to examine the specific patterns of these extra-movement linkages in adequate detail. It is evident from this preliminary investigation, however, that the women's movement does not exist in isolation and that the collective identity of gender is not an impermeable boundary. Given the frequency and breadth of outside linkages, the behaviour of the organizations that comprise the Canadian women's movement are very much

affected by interdependencies with other health and social interests, but they are significantly unaffected by organizations dealing with class interests.

Conclusions

This component of the analysis offers several conclusions specific to the national Canadian women's movement as well as some generalized propositions about the utility of the method and about social movements conceived of as networks. From a methodological perspective, the technique of social network analysis proved to be a very useful vehicle for conceptualizing and mapping a social movement without assumptions about the patterns of relations.

Network analysis reveals that there is a single interconnected movement at the national level which serves as an overarching structure to shape relations, identities and discourse for individual organizations. Because the network incorporates both self-defined feminist organizations and those unwilling to wear a feminist label, it cannot be described as strictly a feminist movement, but more expansively as a women's movement bounded by an expansive collective identity of politicized gender consciousness--that is, liberalized feminism. The labels of ideology, however, are probably not highly relevant for participation in public policy because traditional women's organizations, such as the National Council of Women and National Council of Jewish Women, are also actively involved in issues fundamental to feminism.

The analysis of movement shape demonstrates that the national

Canadian women's movement bears little resemblance to the grassroots women's "liberation" movements which have been analyzed as, or presumed to be, highly decentralized. The general shape is one of a polycephalous structure with NAC playing an important coordinating, but not controlling, central role. In contrast to many historical analyses of the Canadian context, this study does not find a francophone and an anglophone solitude of organizations. However, it does uncover significant social distance between minority groups, especially native women, and the rest of the movement. As Chapter 7 discusses, this marginalization within the movement has detrimental implications for the effectiveness of the poorly-linked groups in participating in the policy process.

Extra-movement analysis illustrates that women's organizations have multiple interests and may be important boundary spanners with other social movements. There is, however, a distinct paucity of linkages with unions and social movements mobilized around environment, peace and social policy issues. It appears that there are distinct divisions in women's political participation along class lines: in general, national women's groups are quite distant from any organizations with class-based interests.

The limitations for the parameters of political discourse and the structure of movement relations have several obvious implications for the action of individual organizations. First, the political discourse of this movement is likely to exclude several perspectives. Because the collective identity that provides the social glue among organizations is one of liberalized feminism and because women's groups are quite isolated from class politics, issues such as

women's labour force participation and the feminization of poverty tend to be dealt with as issues of equality, rather than as part of a critique of the position of women *vis a vis* the capitalist economy.²⁷ The marginalization of minority women's groups and the extent of their ties with mixed-gender multicultural and native groups indicates that they probably deal with issues of race as part of their participation in visible minority or native communities and with issues of gender as part of the women's movement, but their position in this network makes analysis of policy based on the intersection of race and gender difficult. While the perspective of a woman of colour may be very different from either that of a man of colour or a white woman, the peripheral position of these groups diminishes their ability to make a race by gender analysis part of political discourse.

It is also likely that the movement discourse has trouble dealing with the concerns of women who have chosen traditional roles as mothers who forego participation in the paid labour force. The invisibility of homemakers is reflected in the fact that the only national organization that purports to speak for women in the home is not connected to the rest of the network, but acts as a counter-movement.²⁸

Finally, the limitations of liberalized feminism are evident in the current debate over choice on abortion. In spite of the very sweeping coalitions which have formed among women's groups on the issue, they remain primarily paper alliances. Few groups are willing to articulate the argument for choice based on biological and cultural difference--an argument that would contradict the gender

equality tenets of liberal feminism--and as a result the debate has become a narrow legal argument over the proper role of the courts and an equality issue about the rights of the foetus and men. Although many women have been demonstrating, marching and writing letters, the national women's groups have not fiercely supported reproductive rights as a fundamental issue of feminism.

As a structure of interorganizational relations that influences the actions of participating groups, this network is not a rigid structure built on entrenched alliances and tight bonds. Rather, the absence of both dense and intense ties suggests the movement is quite fluid and that coalitions will emerge or realign as new issues arise. This means that individual organizations will need to create coalitions and find allies as part of the lobbying process, instead of having support pre-specified by the cliquish nature of existing linkages. There is also a strong need for groups to construct organizational identities that differentiate them from other groups and to conduct original research on which weak ties can be built in order to move their message through the network and get the attention of other SMOs. The analysis demonstrates that some women's groups clearly have less power within the movement than others and, thus, these marginalized groups need to try hard to get their issue on the agenda of the movement. The effectiveness of expert information as a means of creating network ties implies that, over time, there will be a rise of specialized groups dedicated to a single cause that behave more like traditional interest groups focussed on lobbying than as social movement organizations concerned with

creating identities, raising consciousness and influencing the behaviour of civil society. While this development would promote a multitude of causes, the triumph of interests over identities rapidly would lead to the demobilization of the social movement.

The following three chapters explore the actions of individual organizations within this context of interorganizational relations and relate experienced meaning to the structural conditions of action. In Chapter 7 measures of network position, calculated for each of the thirty-three organizations are used as independent variables in the assessment of perceived effectiveness. In this way, the inward connectiveness of a social movement is related to its outward linkages with the state. Just as this chapter has presented a new approach to and method for analyzing a social movement, the next chapter outlines a new lens with which to view and a method to analyze the conduct of social movement organizations.

ENDNOTES

1. Ties among actors in a network may take a variety of forms and may be assessed by different criteria. First, there may be bonds of resource dependencies based on the infusion of funds or the cooperative effort to generate financial resources (Benson, 1975; Yutchman and Seashore, 1967). In this case, power is derived from control over strategic interdependencies (Aldrich and Pfeffer, 1976; Boje and Whetten, 1981, p. 378). Alternatively, ties may be assessed on the basis of interlocking memberships such as the membership of a group in umbrella organizations or the overlap of individual memberships in two or more groups (Rosen et al., 1985; Mariolis, 1983; Mintz and Swartz, 1981). Communication networks have been surveyed using recalled information-sharing linkages (Granovetter, 1973; 1982). Finally, networks have been measured in a hypothetical context by experimental testing such as Milgram and associates have done in the "small world" investigations in which individuals are asked to get a letter to a destination person by sending it to a personal acquaintance who is more likely to know the target (or other contacts) than is the sender (Milgram, 1967; Travers and Milgram, 1979).
2. Competitive linkages may also be important in a social movement, but as an exploratory analysis, this study is confined to delineating the network based on cooperative relations.
3. In network analysis, a symmetric tie is one in which actor *i* mentions a relationship with *j* and, when asked, *j* mentions *i*. In an asymmetrical linkage, *i* mentions *j*, but *j* does not list a relationship with *i*. This does not mean that upon prompting the respondent of group *j* would deny a linkage with the other group. Indeed, they are likely to say it was merely forgotten in spontaneous recall. The elicitation method, however, includes only spontaneous mentions so as not to provide undue influence by the researcher.
4. There is also considerable literature which suggests that individuals develop identities through vicarious experiences from the media, rather than through direct participation. See Overton (1989). However, it is argued that organizational identities are still primarily created through direct participation with other SMOs rather than through exposure to reporting about groups and issues in the media.
5. The digraph technique constructs networks by plotting triads of actors; those groups which are connected are plotted adjacent to each other. It naturally becomes difficult to follow this rule with a large number of actors with cross-cutting linkages.
6. The differences in identity and policy objectives are reaffirmed when one examines the literature of R.E.A.L. Women in comparison with that of the other subject groups. For instance, in their newsletter, Reality, R.E.A.L. Women state that,

R.E.A.L. Women has been bitterly attacked by the feminists in the past few months. Why? Because it dares to put forward a different approach for the advancement and equality of women. (1986, IV, 4, p. 4)

Their interpretation of the problem with feminist organizations is that feminists have undervalued the importance of women in the home, that they support lesbianism, choice on abortion and legalized prostitution (Reality, IV, 4, p. 4). R.E.A.L. Women also disagree vehemently with

non-parental, government-subsidized childcare programmes (*Reality*, VI, 1, 1987, pp. 14-15) and they oppose equal pay for work of equal value as being unfair (*Position Papers*, n. d., pp. 4-5). Their position paper also states that the group is against affirmative action, easy divorce, legalized prostitution and laws protecting homosexuals. One of the few points of policy overlap with the feminist groups is on legislation favouring regulation of pornography, but R.E.A.L. Women also want depiction of explicit sexual behaviour banned, whereas feminist groups are concerned with pornography as the exploitation of women.

The national feminist organizations have a very different interpretation of their goals and would not agree that they are trying to destroy motherhood. For example, Dubinsky says to feminists:

unless we challenge the perception of feminism which [R.E.A.L. Women] are exploiting, we run the risk of losing the little ground we have gained. (1987, p. 7)

7. For instance, the 1988 CWL President, Irene Lefort, describes attending an international conference on women and the Church (the theme was "Developing Structures for Equality"): "We were Catholic women who prayed together and talked together." (*The Canadian League*, 63, 4, 1988, p. 5).

8. Both CAWEE and WISE have been in existence for about ten years. CAWEE is based primarily in Toronto and is perhaps the least nationally representative organization among the subject groups.

9. Density is defined as:

$$\frac{\text{number of actual ties (including asymmetric ties)}}{\text{number of possible ties}}$$

Only ties among the twenty-nine organizations which form the network are included.

10. Calculation of measures of density may be based on either asymmetrical or symmetrical ties (Knoke and Kuklinski, 1982). For this network, density based on all ties (including asymmetrical ones) is 17.7 per cent. Density calculated as the number of mutual or symmetrical ties is 17.2 per cent. Because there is not a large number of asymmetrical ties, the two measures provide very similar densities. However, the former index is reported as the more inclusive measure which recognizes that even one-way ties permit information and resource flow.

11. Pross defines a policy community as that part of a political system that by virtue of its functional responsibilities, its vested interests and its specialized knowledge acquires a dominant voice in defining government decisions in a specific field of public activity (1986, pp. 98-99). At the heart of the Prossian policy community is a small core or "subgovernment" of government agencies and interest groups with sufficient resources to maintain institutionalized access. Relationships in this inner community are based on cooperation and compromise, restraint of conflict, privilege of consultation, access and routinization of the issues. Surrounding this core is a less powerful "attentive public" which is loosely knit and ill-defined. It is composed of any government agencies, private institutions, pressure groups and individual experts who may from time to time be interested in the policies that enter the domain. This model suggests that cooperation, coalition and competition are all present and that the attentive public imposes an element of diversity, but that relative stability of actors, issues and process will be maintained over time.

Heclo, in contrast, argues that the "issue network" is a much looser constellation in which participants move in and out constantly and in which sources of support and opposition continually

split and recombine: "in fact it is almost impossible to say where a network leaves off and its environment begins" (1978, p. 102). The set of participants is, therefore, unlimited and unpredictable and decision-making processes tend toward atomization. It is argued by Jordon (1981) and Gais and associates (1984) that the degree of fluidity may vary from one policy network to another but that, in general, there has been a tendency in both the U.K. and the U.S.A. to move from iron triangles to elastic issue networks due to the increased number of participants, especially, public interest groups and social movement organizations, seeking reallocation of values. While Pross' idea of a community and Heclo's notion of an issue network may vary in the degree of stability and predictability presumed, both focus on policy rather than the network itself as an important entity.

12. A path is the link between any two adjacent actors. Path distance between two actors is simply the number of paths that must be traversed to go from one to the other. For example, if group A is connected to B which is connected to C and C is tied to D, the path distance from A to D is calculated as 3. Both symmetrical and asymmetrical ties are included in order to consider all possible connections by recognizing that some ties may exist but may not have been mentioned in interviews. As noted earlier, there are few asymmetrical ties in the network.

13. The "cumulative path distance" is the sum of the path distances from a group to all other groups in the network. The lowest possible cumulative path distance would equal the total number of groups minus one (ie., 29-1 in this network) and would indicate that the subject group is directly connected to every other group. The measure indicates the overall level of connectedness of a network member. As Table 3.1 shows, the cumulative distances range from 36 to 93.

14. Freeman and associates (1978) offer a single measure of graph centrality based on degree (number of direct ties each member has) which ranges from 0 to 1.0. This is based on the sum of the differences in point centrality between the most central and all the other actors divided by the maximum centrality. As calculated for the present network, this measure is .022. In the absence of other comparative studies, this measure offers little to the interpretation of results so more simple indicators are used in presentation of results.

15. Attempts were made to perform a "peak analysis" in the manner described by Mizruchi (1984) and Mariolis (1983) and as applied by Rosenthal et. al. (1985). Because the network is not hierarchical and the peaks (organizations with high relative centrality) are themselves connected, this analysis was not particularly illuminating. Blockmodelling through cluster analysis is a preferred tactic for the present network.

16. For example, the national YWCA began a major image-building campaign in 1988 through advertisements in newspapers which was designed to create visibility and an image of viability for the organization. This communication exercise was part of a larger strategic planning process which is described in YWCA, Annual Report 1988 (Toronto, YWCA of/du Canada, 1989, pp. 2-3).

17. The safety of the YWCA as a place from which to conduct social activism, but remain in the mainstream, was mentioned in several interviews with executive members and among other women active in and knowledgeable about the movement.

18. In network terms, a "clique" is a sub-set of interconnected actors, each of which is connected to every other member of that sub-group.

19. Note that this is a relatively strong measure of "weak" ties because the groups at least have had contact on a project basis. In other studies, including those of Granovetter (1983; 1982), weak ties are mere acquaintances with very minimal direct contact.

20. All group representatives were asked in a supplemental question to describe their group's position on childcare and detail how this position was developed. Of those groups which had an interest in childcare, almost all had obtained information from the CDCAA.

21. Many blockmodel approaches use binary matrices of ties (Breiger, Boorman and Araine, 1975; Boorman and White, 1976). Path distances are used here because they can provide enriched information on distances, not merely whether ties exist. See Laumann (1974) and Burt (1980) for discussion of the use of path distances in blockmodels.

22. The clustering method was an agglomerative hierarchical procedure using an average linkage between groups as type of linkage and squared Euclidean distance as the proximity measure. The method is part of the SPSSX package.

23. The Court Challenges programme was created by the federal government when the equality section of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms came into effect in 1985. The purpose of the programme is to provide funding for court tests of federal legislation under the Charter equality provisions. LEAF receives a block of funding, about \$1 million, from the programme as well as another million from the Ontario government to take Charter cases that are initiated in Ontario. The Court Challenges programme expires in March 1990 at which time it may or may not be renewed (Shefrin, 1989, p. A14).

24. The supposition that the Catholic Women's League and R.E.A.L. Women, which are not connected to the rest of the women's movement, would have ties to the pro-life movement was also examined. As expected, both have strong ties to pro-life groups. As noted earlier, the CWL has more numerous and stronger ties with church organizations than with women's groups. R.E.A.L. Women, in contrast, has links not only with the pro-life movement, but with right-wing groups such as the National Citizens' Coalition. A bridge between the Catholic Women's League and the women's network is formed by the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops: NAC has worked with the Conference on several advocacy projects and the CWL has relatively strong ongoing ties with the Conference.

25. An organization which is growing in importance but which was not included in the study because it is still primarily Toronto-based is Intercede--an organization representing domestic workers. Intercede is an important contact for the national groups of visible minority and immigrant workers and has been very visible in lobbying at the provincial level.

26. An alternative way in which SMOs might be linked is not through joint advocacy actions, but through the deliberate mimicking of the behaviour of another group. In particular, it has been observed by Richardson (1983) that the American women's movement has served as a model for Canadian women's groups. In order to determine if women's organizations in other countries or if other types of interest groups have been used as models whose actions or structures were copied by the subject groups, each representative was asked, "Has your group followed the example of another group in deciding how to do--or not to do--particular activities? If so, which groups served as models?"

While respondents said that group leaders, as individuals, implicitly had models of exemplary behaviour by other groups in mind when constructing the actions of their own groups, there was no planned and purposeful mimicking of behaviour by the subject groups. Not even those organizations which have direct American counterparts said that they base their activities on the models of their southern affiliates. It, thus, appears that the behaviour of national Canadian women's groups has been developed individually and tailored to their own specific constituencies and circumstances, rather than being borrowed from other social movements. Responses may also

indicate that ideas and actions of others quickly become assimilated as one's own; nevertheless, respondents were not consciously aware of mimicking behaviour.

27. Such analysis certainly exists, but it comes from individual socialist feminists and from academics , but not as official critique from national women's organizations.

28. There is an important alternative organization to R.E.A.L. Women which represents women as mothers. This group, Mothers are Women (MAW), is a member of the National Action Committee. It is not included in the study because it is not yet a national organization, but has developed chapters in Ontario and several other provinces.

CHAPTER 4

Action Systems of Social Movement Organizations

Social movements engage in struggles of connection by which they attempt to link people in order to forge a politicized consciousness or develop shared concerns about issues. In addition, movements create associations among related issues and link interests into a coherent set of values or arguments, such as a critique of capitalism or patriarchy. But, they also engage in struggles of specificity, such as the specific fight to prevent the logging of Lyell Island or the effort to achieve passage of legislation to regulate pornography (Magnusson and Walker, 1988, pp. 61-62). The unity that is vital to the struggle for connection is created by linkages among social movement organizations. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, national Canadian women's groups have achieved some measure of unity through interaction. In contrast, the struggles of specificity are the terrain of the individual organizations that collectively construct a social movement, but also create unique organizational identities and pursue particular interests of concern to their members.

Organizations are the basic units of a social movement, because it is primarily through organizations that the association among people is achieved and it is organizations, not the movement as a whole, that act to lobby governments, recruit new members or publicize their cause. Therefore, to

understand the nature and behaviour of a social movement, it is necessary to analyze and offer explanations for the conduct of individual social movement organizations. The overall intent of this work is to provide a more adequate explanation than currently exists of how social movement organizations operate as organizations, how they are linked together into a social movement and how they interact with the state. While the previous chapter focussed on the movement network as a unit of analysis, this chapter begins the study of the organizational level of the national Canadian women's movement by outlining an appropriate approach--that of action theory--and a methodology--Personal Projects Analysis--for the study of social movement organizations.

Action, rather than resources, decisions or incentives, provides the lens with which to view social movement organizations. Although there are many different uses and applications of the term "action" in this perspective, the concept is used in the sense of the "structuration" theory of Giddens (1979; 1984) and the interpretative approach to social science (Winter, 1960, p. 160; Harmon and Mayer, 1987, pp. 282-309; Schutz, 1963; Silverman, 1971). Action in this sense embodies meaning, purpose and context. An intrinsic element of the concept of action, as opposed to the notion of an act or behaviour, is "agency": that is, the actor, as agent, can give accounts of action and in any given situation could have acted otherwise (Giddens, 1987, pp. 2-3).¹ The advantage of action as an analytical lens is that it facilitates the study of the essential characteristics of the phenomenon in question without imposing upon it a model derived from the study of a different subject matter. It, therefore, is congruent with Herbert

Blumer's entreaty that social science "respect the nature of the empirical world (1969, p. 48; see also Dannefer, 1989, p. 3).

Because the intentionality inherent in action is not equated simply with the rational calculation of means-ends relationships, the action perspective can analytically encompass the range of activities in which SMOs engage. In contrast to theories of rational choice,

the personal projects that orient action are marked by a far more fluid relationship between ends and means, between deciding and doing. Although ends and goals may orient action, action itself may also reveal new and unanticipated meanings and goals. (Harmon and Mayer, 1986, p. 315)

In application to social movement organizations, the action perspective permits examination of expressive actions, such as "marching to the PM's office", without imputing goals of instrumentality as would the resource mobilization perspective. Action, thus, broadens the scope of investigation beyond its usual restricted use in interest group theory as those based on the intent of lobbying government. Finally, the study of action is important because it is action that produces and reproduces social and cultural relationships and institutions (Giddens, 1984). The environments that subsequently impinge upon people are "enacted" by them (Weick, 1979, p. 228).²

The action approach and method stands in contrast to the dominant perspective in organizational theory--the decision--and it is a departure from the prevailing organizational approaches to the study of voluntary associations which focus on either resources (Oberschall, 1973; Scholzman and Tierney, 1987;

McCarthy and Zald, 1977) or on individual incentives to participate (Clark and Wilson, 1961; Knoke and Adams, 1986; Olson, 1965). While action is by no means unrelated to decision-making processes, it can be argued to be a more suitable means of examining what organizations actually do and experience, rather than focussing on the process of choice or on the fit between selected courses of action and initial goals or objectives. Harmon, for example, asserts that the dominance of decision as the unit of analysis in organization theory has created an epistemological distinction between values and facts when in reality social processes are characterized by the fusion of value and fact; thought and action are mutually constitutive (1989, p. 146).³ Decision or choice, it is often argued by proponents of action theory, obscures the reality of action and in the extreme renders action irrelevant--not because it denies intentional action, but because decision theory celebrates it through being enraptured with rational processes and its dismissal of subjective frameworks (Dannefer, 1989, p. 10).

Choice . . . . carries with it an implication of intentional human action in what it connotes. Therefore, it is somewhat ironic that some of the most sophisticated and influential theoretical treatments of choice or decision making--rational choice theory and related approaches in economics and political science--deliberately bracket the subjectivity of the actor in making predictions about decisions and their expression in human activity. (Dannefer, 1989, p. 8)

The action perspective, in contrast to that of decision-making, is not simply a reflection of specific ends that have been rationally decided upon. Instead, the perspective necessarily embodies values, experience and social

relations. As Follett argued almost forty years ago and as has been revived in recent approaches to action theory, "activity always does more than embody purpose, it evolves it" (1951, p. 82). It, therefore, as Arendt (1958) states, must be evaluated on different criteria than decisions:

Action is not to be judged in terms of its conformity to ends. Rather, ends should be assessed in terms of their role in sustaining social relations that enable a vital public, as well as organizational, discourse. (quoted in Harmon, 1989, p. 149).

Through the lens of action applied to organizations, it is possible to look at the actual exercise of group choices and to impute motives on the basis of observed action, rather than beginning with presuppositions limited to instrumental action and rational choice. The meanings associated with different categories of group action serve as an important motivational resource for the exercise of influence in the policy process (Offe and Wiesensthal, 1985, p. 187). Social movement organizations engage in a number of essential tasks that embody very different intentions and that include, at the very least, maintaining a membership, acquiring financial resources, pressuring for their policy goals and administration of the organization.

This action method also has several distinct advantages over the resource or incentive perspectives on voluntary organizations. The resources approach tends to list the resources available to an organization including, among others, money, information, size, expertise and skills, personnel, cohesion and density of membership, an appealing cause (Scholzman and Tierney, 1986; Pross, 1986),

member commitment (Knoke and Wood, 1981) and sense of political efficacy of the director (Presthus, 1973). The implicit assumption is that organizations will deploy the available resources to the most efficient and "best" use. Thus, it is presumed that organizations with more money and a larger staff will be able to lobby government more frequently and more effectively than organizations with fewer resources.

In contrast to the utilitarian logic of the resource mobilization approach, action theorists, such as Giddens (1982, p. 186) argue that resources are the medium whereby power is employed in the routine course of social action, but they are at the same time structural elements of social systems and are reconstituted in social interaction. Action, as the product of a decision that was based on considerations of intended outcomes, resources and environmental conditions, embodies resources. Furthermore, action reflects the substitutability of resources--especially the interchange of personnel for money--that volunteer organizations continually face. In the present study resources will not be ignored, but will be treated as structural properties, measured as independent variables, that are activated and interchanged through the medium of action.

The other popular approach to the study of the behaviour of SMOs is centered on incentives (Clark and Wilson, 1961, pp. 134-5; Olson, 1965). The incentive approach purports to understand interest groups by focussing on three types of incentives for participation offered by groups: 1) material incentives or tangible benefits that can be translated into monetary value for the participant, 2) solidarity incentives which are intangible rewards derived from the

congeniality of being a member and, 3) purposive incentives which result from the pursuit of collective goals. In contrast to the incentive perspective which focusses on individuals, action theory allows us to view how organizations actually manage the provision or supply of incentives and permits investigation of activities that have little to do with attracting or keeping members.

Action is by no means a new term in the organizational literature, having been popularized by the structural-functionalist work of Talcott Parsons with his book, The Structure of Social Action, first published in 1937.⁴ As a way of bypassing the positivism of earlier theories, Parsons coined the term, "voluntaristic action", to refer to the importance of human will in shaping the course of action, to emphasize action which is non-instrumental and non-efficient and to highlight the significance of individual commitment to values and norms shared with other people (Parsons, 1937; Johnson, 1975, p. 15).⁵ However, in Parsons' struggle to meld action with order and action theory with systems theory, many critics assert that individual intentional actions became nullified by systemic order. For Parsons, cultural norms became deterministic of action and external constraints completely inhibited free will (Atkinson, 1972, p. 33; Heritage, 1987, p. 228).⁶ Giddens, for instance, asserts that the conformity of voluntaristic action to social norms makes actors "cultural dopes" (1979, p. 52) and Garfinkel argues that Parsonian actors are treated as "judgmental dopes" (1984, p. 68) because their understanding and reasoning in concrete situations is regarded as irrelevant.⁷

Moreover, Parsons' "theory of action" is often criticized as being an

inherently functionalist notion because the ultimate concern is less with action *per se* than it is with explaining how it may fulfill some wider purpose related to the stability of society as a social system (Silverman, 1970, p. 45). The ends of action, thereby, succeed in regulating and stipulating the means. As Habermas (1985) observes, Parsons was as much preoccupied with the constitution of social systems as with the nature of human action.

Although Parsons has had an enormous impact on the interest in and study of action, critics of his functionalism have tried to reinvest action with agency. Giddens, as one of the most vociferous critics of functionalism, advocates a position in which, "*The production and reproduction of society has to be treated as skilled performance on the part of its members, not as merely a mechanical series of processes* (1976, p. 143, emphasis in original). In spite of sharing the terminology, the present work takes a perspective closer to the notion of actor as agent developed by Giddens or Schutz than to the structural-functionalism of Parsons.

The significance of action as a basis for theory is also shared with the New Social Movement sociologists. However, this is not a theory of social action in their genre. While the New Social Movement perspective views action at the level of the social movement as a means of reproducing society, action in this study is defined in discrete, bounded units. Organizations (as represented by individuals) are deemed to be the actors.⁸ The purpose is to explain the behaviour of organizations as part of a social movement at a given point in time, not to examine the production and reproduction of civil society.

The Parameters of Action

There have been volumes of ink spilled on the subject of action theory by analytical philosophers and psychologists (see Anscombe, 1963; Gauld and Shotter, 1977; Giddens, 1976; Harré, 1978; Little, 1987; MacIntyre, 1981) and this chapter by no means intends to undertake a comprehensive review of this literature. It is sufficient for present purposes to identify the components of an "action". Melucci (1984) states that,

action has to be considered as an interplay of aims, resources and obstacles, as a purposive orientation which is set up within a system of opportunities and constraints. (p. 821).

This definition highlights three aspects of action as a unit of analysis: 1) intentionality, 2) ecological structure and, 3) systemic context. It converges with the propaedeutic criteria for measurement of action articulated by Little (1987, pp. 231-232) that the evaluation of action must be in units that are subject salient, ecologically sensitive and systemically reflective.

Intentionality is the property that differentiates action from behaviour and separates action theory from behaviourism. Intention is "the subjectively construed purpose for which action is taken" (Little, 1987, p. 231). As MacIntyre argues, "It is by way of their intentions that individuals express bodies of moral belief in their actions " (1981, p. 27). This feature permits the question of "why?" to be legitimately asked (Anscombe, 1983) and makes action "accountable", that is, makes it subject to the giving of accounts or supplying of reasons (Giddens,

1982, p. 170; Harré, 1978, p. 49). Quite different accounts of intentions, however, may be furnished for what ostensibly appears to be the same act. While the president of one organization may say, for example, that "attending the annual lobby with MPs" is done for the purpose of advocating their policy concerns, the representative of another group may claim that the lobby is a means of building member enthusiasm and commitment by politician bashing. However, this study argues that there is sufficient consistency across organizations and across actions that activities can be categorized in relatively distinct domains based on similarity of intention.

Intentionality, however, is not synonymous with rationality and as Harmon states, the meaning of action often emerges from its doing:

The fluid and dialectical relation between ends and means is in part an acknowledgment that we often learn what we *want* to do by experience, rather than through rational planning, and that ends are naturally modified continually by that experience. The fluidity of means and ends is a product, as well, of the necessity to act--to undertake projects--in the absence of perfect knowledge of consequences and that useful information for subsequent action is *created*, not just made discoverable, by action motivated as much by hunches, commitment, love, and so forth, as by rational calculation. (1981, p. 111, emphasis in original).

Action also occurs within an ecological context (Little, 1987) or as Tarrow (1983) says, a political opportunity structure, or in MacIntyre's (1981) terms, a historical milieu that supports and facilitates, controls and curtails its doing and accounting. Tarrow, for instance, argues that groups choose protest or other

action on the basis of the political opportunities offered by the availability and strategic positions of allies and support groups, the relative openness of political access and responsiveness to (or suppression of) protest and the stability of political alignments (1983, pp. 28-34). Tilly (1985; Tilly, Tilly and Tilly, 1975) illustrates that once protest begins, it spreads from centre to periphery as groups not used to such tactics begin to mimic the protest action of others. A change in political alignments, as McAdam (1982) has shown with the American civil rights movement or Piven and Cloward (1977) with poor people's movements, may trigger the creation of new opportunities for action; however, allies and support groups are almost always important for success of insurgency (Jenkins and Perrow, 1977; Jenkins, 1985). Groups choose particular styles of protest based on the ecological context of the social movement and alignment of other political players. Moreover, the social meaning of action may vary from one context to another. For example, the meaning of a student demonstration on Parliament Hill in Ottawa where it might attract camera clicking by a few curious tourists and culminate in a thirty second spot on the evening news is quite different from a similar action in El Salvador, Chile or China where tear gas, imprisonment and ultimately retaliatory terrorism may be the government response.

Resources are also an important part of the structural conditions of action. In contrast to the resource mobilization perspective which tends to view availability of resources as almost totally structuring choice of action, an action framework more properly views resources as "the structured properties of social

systems, drawn upon and reproduced by knowledgeable agents in the course of interaction" (Giddens, 1984, p. 15). Resources and structure, thus, are internal to action, rather than merely an external constraint upon it: in Giddens' perspective, structure is both the medium and the outcome of the human activities which it recursively organizes (1987, p. 61).

The third aspect of action is the systemic context. Social movement organizations do not engage in a single type of action such as lobbying government, but are coincidentally involved in a variety of projects and activities. For example, the executive of the Consumers Association of Canada might be at once involved in securing government funding, publishing the magazine, planning the next annual general meeting, writing a brief for presentation at a Parliamentary committee and responding to an inaccurate story in the media. Little (1987) argues that actions form a project system such that,

pressures and commitments in one part of the system have ramifications for others and that conflict, trade-offs, potentiation, subordination and other systemic properties come into play when interpreting and explaining any given action. (p. 232)

To comprehend why a group may not be forcefully lobbying on a particular issue, we cannot automatically assume that the group has no interest or position on the issue. Instead, we must examine its project system to see if perhaps the organization is already overcommitted on other fronts or absorbed in other projects such that it cannot liberate sufficient finances and personnel to

undertake yet another action. Because action takes place as part of a system of projects, it is possible to delineate types or domains of action categorized by the nature of intentionality and to differentiate among the domains on the basis of experienced meaning.

The type of action which is of interest to the study of SMOs is that undertaken by individual agents as projects which serve to organize intention within ecological and systemic contexts (Schutz, 1972; Harmon, 1981, p. 111). Projects are defined by Little as natural, subject-defined units of analysis that reflect adaptive responses to environment:

a personal project may be regarded as a set of interrelated acts extending over time, which is intended to maintain or attain a state of affairs foreseen by the individual. (Little, 1983, p. 276)

In order to operationalize action and assess organizational projects, the method, Personal Projects Analysis (Little, 1983), is adapted as a theory-compatible means of tapping a SMOs system of intentional, salient and ecologically-embedded actions and of rendering accounts of them according to theoretically interesting dimensions.

Projects Analysis as Method

Personal Projects Analysis was developed by Brian Little as an integrated assessment system for analyzing the activities--mundane and magnificent--that people engage in during the course of their daily lives.⁹ The method is inherently flexible and interdisciplinary such that the subject may be an interest

group representative describing group-level projects and meaning for the group as a whole. In the organizational context, each project may be considered to be the resultant of a decision (self-initiated or ecosystem-imposed) that embodies financial and human resources and that circumscribes relations with other organizations and government agencies. Personal Projects Analysis is respondent-driven, rather than methodologically rigid, so that it can encompass the totality of a group's projects independent of the intention, scale or locus of initiation of the action.

As Little (1989a) argues, project systems include both the trivial pursuits (fix the typewriter) and the magnificent obsessions (bring on the revolution). Because projects are not static, but pass through a sequential progression from inception and planning to doing and termination (although some may never terminate), they may be stated at differing stages of development. They may be one-shot events (make it through the fundraising dinner) or routinized activities (publish the newsletter--again this month). Furthermore, Projects Analysis is not restricted to those actions which are self-conceived and self-initiated (such as, march on Sussex Drive), but also can tap those which are thrust upon an organization by the exigencies of the political opportunity structure and demands of the policy process (for example, responding to the policy announcement by Health and Welfare).

The first stage of the method is to elicit the system or totality of current activities by asking the subject to write down the projects that her organization is doing or will be doing over the next three months or so. Instruction and

examples encourage the respondent to include projects at different stages of completion, the routine as well as crisis-oriented and the internal as well as publicly visible. She is also encouraged not to confine the listing of projects to those in which she personally is involved, but to include those which other group members may be doing. The mean number of projects normally provided by individuals is fifteen (Little, Pychyl and Gordon, 1986, p. 3). The second step asks the subject to select ten of the projects "that you think would be of interest to explore in more detail in order for us to better understand your group", to put these in matrix format as rows and to rate them (0 to 10) along meaning dimensions that appear as columns.¹⁰

The following 21 dimensions have been adapted for this study to investigate the "accounting" of a project and provide the basis of comparison of social meaning assigned to projects in each of the action domains:

- 1) Importance: how important each project is to the group at the present time
- 2) Difficulty: how difficult the group as a whole finds it to carry out each project.
- 3) Enjoyment: how much the group enjoys working on it.
- 4) Stress: how stressful it is for the group to carry out each project.
- 5) Visibility to membership: how visible a project is to most of the members of the group, that is how aware they are that the group is engaged in the project.
- 6) Public visibility: how visible a project is to the relevant people--policy-makers and interested publics--outside of the group.
- 7) Control: how much the respondent thinks the group controls the course of a project and its outcome.

- 8) Outcome: the extent to which the anticipated outcome of the project will be achieved.
- 9) Value congruency: the extent to which the project is consistent with the formal stated values of the group.
- 10) Typicality: how much a project reflects the essence or image (the organizational culture) of the group.
- 11) Progress: how successful the group has been in each project so far.
- 12) Commitment: to what extent the group is committed to doing a project.
- 13) Initiation: how much the group is perceived to be responsible for having initiated each project.
- 14) Challenge: to what extent each project is demanding and challenging to the members of the group.
- 15) Positive impact: how much doing the project helps doing other projects (the focus is on process, not outcome).
- 16) Negative impact: how much doing the project hinders doing other projects.
- 17) Competency: the degree of competency that the group representative feels the members, acting as a group, have to do a project successfully.
- 18) Adequacy of financial resources: the extent to which the amount of money a group has available to spend on a project is adequate for it.
- 19) Adequacy of human resources: the extent to which the number and type of people available to do a project is adequate.
- 20) Personal involvement: the degree to which the respondent is personally involved in actually doing the project.
- 21) Individual identification: the extent to which the project is identified with a particular individual in the group versus being identified with the group as a whole. The respondent is asked to imagine a continuum that at one end (0) describes a project that is entirely conceived, shaped and promoted by

an individual in the group. At the other end is a project that is completely a project of the group--defined and driven by the group as a whole.

The attraction of the action elicitation mode and project rating procedure created by Little is that it permits the researcher to compare projects within a single case and, thereby, focus on "problem" projects, or to compare projects in one action domain with those of another or, finally, to compare entire project systems across populations. Due to guarantees of anonymity given group representatives, the present study will not examine project systems internally on a case by case basis and, thus, expose the group to public scrutiny. Instead, it will classify projects by action domain and compare project ratings on the meaning dimensions across domains. Given its malleability, Projects Analysis can be readily applied to the study of organizational action, but this study is the first attempt to do so and, hence, constitutes a significant application and test of the methodology. Its utility as an assessment device which captures the ecological and systemic contexts of interest groups projects will be monitored closely .

From January to mid April 1988, representatives of 33 national women's groups were contacted and asked to participate in the study.¹¹ Of the 33 groups contacted, representatives from all groups participated to some extent and it was possible to have the Projects Analysis completed by representatives of 30 of the 33 groups--a response rate of 91 per cent.¹² Both the elected president and executive director (if there was one) were interviewed in separate interviews of approximately one and one-half hours in duration. This resulted in a total

number of 41 completed Projects Analysis matrices--16 from executive directors and 25 from senior elected representatives.¹³ Although examples are provided to encourage mention of as wide a range of activities as possible, the researcher did not constrict or pre-select the variety or type of actions listed. Supplemental questions on contacts with other organizations and perceived effectiveness of the group followed completion of the Projects Analysis.

In a study focussed on organizations, it is important not to reify the organization but to recognize that it is the individual, not the organization, that intends, act and experiences.¹⁴ The present approach does not reify or personify the organization, but it recognizes that its members act in the interests of the organization and are directed to some degree by its culture, history, norms and social practices.¹⁵ The responses analyzed in this study are individual accounts of group, rather than personal, projects. While it is only individuals that experience action, they nevertheless can conceive of and formulate projects on behalf of the group as a whole with the welfare of the group in mind and can assess the meaning and impact of projects for the organization, rather than for them personally. The individual representation of institutional reality finds considerable support in recent methodological debates. As Knorr-Cetina (1988, p. 27) argues, social action arises from an interlocking of intentionalities (in this case personal with group-level) in which motives are contingent upon the conduct of others. Social situations constitute a reality *sui generis* : individuals, therefore, should be able to reflect upon the social reality of the organization. For example, a group president undoubtedly has a sense of the competency of

other members, acting as a group, to conduct a certain lobbying project and, as part of her responsibilities as president, she routinely assesses the positive or negative impact that such a project would have on the organization.

It is acknowledged that one limitation of this study is that there is only one representative per group and, as a consequence, that the position, personal experience and beliefs of the respondent may constitute an idiosyncratic view of the organization. However, this is an issue of the reliability of the procedure, not of its face validity. To address the issue of reliability, the analysis tests for idiosyncrasy and bias created by position in the organization by searching for patterns and by examining differences in responses between the group presidents and those of the executive directors. The very fact that the individuals who speak for the groups are the most senior decision-making elite means that even if their perceptions and experience are not entirely representative of other members of the group, these responses will still have significance because the individuals are in positions to direct courses of action for their organizations.

Project Systems

The first step in analysis of organizational action is to delineate the system or domains of action each of which is differentiated in terms of intentionality. The second step is to ensure that the conceptualized system of action is empirically coherent and complete. Because the existing literature primarily deals with structural properties, such as resources, or with incentives,

there is no comprehensive explication of organizational action systems. Interest group literature outlines several categories of action while case studies and historical information on women's organizations fill in the remainder.¹⁶ In total, eight domains of action are developed from the literature which are common to all SMOs and which represent the complete range of intentional action undertaken by them. It is, thus, the argument of this study that these eight domains, in aggregate, are system-inclusive and, as individual categories, are conceptually discrete. The domains are: lobbying, membership service, image-building, fundraising, research and education, administration, strategic planning and community service.

Although the action categories are treated as discontinuous and discrete for purposes of conceptual clarity, most projects, in reality, fulfil more than one purpose and most experienced interest groups will undoubtedly attempt to choose and balance their projects so as simultaneously to achieve as many functions with a given activity as possible. A direct mail fundraising campaign, for instance, not only brings in money, but often recruits new members and provides publicity for the organization and its collective cause. While these complications are acknowledged, parsimony will prevail in this initial attempt to create an action theory of social movement organizations: any given action is treated as being representative of only one action domain. The particular mix of projects engaged in by a SMO at any given point in time will also depend on the collective purpose of the organization, nature of its membership, availability and sources of funds and the constraints placed or opportunities afforded by the

political agenda--that is, action depends, to some degree, on the ecological context and structural properties. The choice of projects will also depend, in part, on the experienced meaning and on the balancing of meaning throughout the system or totality of group action. The nature of each domain is outlined in detail below and subsequent chapters examine the relationship of action domain with meaning and structural variables.

1. Lobbying

By definition, social movement organizations apply pressure in order to achieve policy change that favours their collective interests. This first action domain is, thus, the most obvious one in the interest group literature and it is perhaps the one with the most divergent range of opinion on how to go about the process.¹⁷ Lobby or advocacy projects are actions directed toward the state in order to attain or change policies, programmes and procedures that are in the group's common interests. Pressure projects may include developing and working in coalitions, getting members to take individual action, and to an increasing degree in Canada may take the form of litigation. Although there may be systemic inequities in interest representation, from an action perspective human agency and empowerment can affect outcomes to some degree: the way in which an interest group lobbies and the experience of lobbying will shape the desirability of the activity for the group which, in turn, affects how it conducts itself in pressure politics.

The process of lobbying or advocating for a collective interest or against

an impinging one is not a unitary act. Lobbying is both a sequential proposition and one that, in a government system of bureaucratic pluralism, can be performed in a variety of ways. The first vital and necessary step is to have the interest recognized as legitimate, that is, to position the interest as a respectable and accepted part of the political/social system (Kwavnick, 1972; Presthus, 1973). Secondly, the group must decide on specific strategies--the choice of political arena (electoral, legislative, judicial, bureaucratic) for the contest--and on tactics--whether to engage in demonstrations or deliberations in backrooms. The possibilities for strategy may include: participation in the legislative process by consulting with Cabinet Ministers, Members of Parliament or public servants; intervention in the judicial system with litigation; involvement in the electoral process through funding or campaigning for or against candidates and use of the media through advocacy advertising. Tactics may range from the petition, so popular with first wave feminist groups, to personal meetings with MPs, attainment of a position on an advisory board, all the way to the extreme of violent demonstrations.

In terms of managing the process of lobbying, Gelb and Palley (1982) offer a recipe for successful influence for women's groups in the policy process. They argue that to be effective (and produce a sense of efficacy in lobbying), groups must be perceived as legitimate and in order to appear legitimate groups must focus on incremental issues, be willing to make compromises, emphasize the provision of information, create an image of broad-based support by mobilizing allies, be able to manipulate and use symbols and avoid confrontational protest

tactics. Similarly, Ash-Garner argues that all SMOs must make a series of choices: between single and multiple issues, between radical demands and those that do not attack the legitimacy of the present distributions of wealth and power, between influencing elites and attempting to replace them (1972, p. 230). Ash-Garner argues, as Gamson (1975) tries to show empirically, that "thinking small" is the best strategy for success. As analyzed in later sections, the ability and desire to lobby in this focussed, incremental and conciliatory fashion is often extremely difficult for social movement organizations.

2. Membership Service

The second action domain which is essential to social movement organizations is service to the existing members and provision of incentives to attract new recruits. The "invisible hand" principle of a voluntary association, as Mansbridge (1986) observes in practice with the ERA forces, ensures that if it does not find viable ways of attracting and holding participants, it will go out of business. There are two opposing views on the function that membership service plays in an interest group action system and the kind of incentives that must be offered to keep and attract members. These two perspectives are underpinned by incommensurate assumptions of the motives of human behaviour. The popularity of the theory of selective incentives based on the work of Mancur Olson (1965) has implicitly infused one branch of social movement thinking and most interest group literature, with a utilitarian logic, centered on the maximizing rationality of individual behaviour. Although a

completely adequate test of the applicability of the NSM view versus the Olsonian theory would require data on individual motivations and satisfaction derived from membership, considerable insight can be gained by examining the perspective of organization elites.

Mancur Olson asserts that "rational, self-interested individuals will not act to achieve their common interest" (1965, p. 2). He assumes that people are economically rational and self-interested individuals who attempt to maximize the benefits of participation in an interest group and have the advantage of perfect information. Because interest groups strive to attain public goods, the rational response on the part of individuals is to take a free-ride on the group because they will be able to enjoy the benefits of the public goods achieved by the group without incurring the costs of membership.¹⁸ Only a selective incentive in the form of a private good (one that can be packaged and offered to individuals for their exclusive consumption) will encourage a rational individual to act in a group-oriented way.¹⁹ In this view, lobbying is not the central act of interest groups, but is a by-product of an organization's ability to perform social sanctions or offer material rewards.

For the New Social Movement school, the concept of interest, the strategic logic of utilitarian rationality and the reliance on single actor models are insufficient and, indeed, inappropriate, for explaining collective action. In stark contrast to Olson, the New Social Movements school postulates that the function of a social movement is to expand and defend social spaces in which collective identities can form (Cohen, 1984; 1985). The value of democracy itself,

asserts Pizzorno (1985), is not the freedom of political choice, but the freedom of political identification. The primary function of social movements organizations is thus to construct and reinforce collective identities--both those which bind an organization to the movement as a whole and the specialized organizational identities that attract members to one SMO rather than another. Social movement organizations then politicize identity into a collective consciousness and build member solidarity as the collective advantage.

The significance of the identity formation process for collective action is that identities are not merely selected as "ready-to-wear" from a pre-existing discourse or set of interests; they are, instead, molded, invented, altered and ignored (Pizzorno, 1985). As both Pizzorno and Offe and Wiesensthal (1985) argue, direct participation in this process will be felt to be necessary because representation has thus far been excluded and trust in existing institutions is not well grounded. The formation of a collective consciousness is not a one-shot task, but is continually modified during the process of group action and interaction. Success in construction of a collective consciousness is not measured in material gains or losses, but according to whether or not the action has produced solidarity--"the capacity of actors to share [and act] on a collective identity." (Melucci, 1984, p. 822). Because the product of this process is non-negotiable and the actor is both the producer and consumer of a collective identity, a logic posited on exchange and negotiation is necessarily abolished.

3. Image-Building

In contrast to lobbying and membership service, the remaining domains of interest group action systems have received minimal scholarly attention. Image-building or mandate promotion is, nonetheless, an important action for any group which wishes to acquire or maintain access to government and to grow in membership size.²⁰ Indeed, Kwavnick argues that the demands for organizational recognition made upon government by interest group leaders may overshadow the demands for policy change (1970, p. 58). This domain involves building an image for the organization, rather than for the cause *per se*, and promoting the group as a recognized and accredited representative of the interest on behalf of which its leaders claim to speak (Kwavnick, 1973). To this end, image-building might take the form of paid advertising, networking with other groups, staging events to attract media and public attention, publishing an educational magazine available for a price to the public at large (as opposed to a member-only newsletter) and cultivating pro-active relations with individual journalists.²¹

The functions and rewards of organizational image-building are multivalent. By publicizing not only their message, but their identity to potential members, groups can potentially get as yet unpoliticized members to recognize that they are part of the identity set and attract them to join. As Dunleavy (1988, p. 39) argues, in order for people to join an interest group, they must have a sense of its viability--that is, the probability of success in mobilizing people, of maintaining itself as an organization and achieving its public policy

goals. Public affirmation of viability can also be positive for existing members as it reinforces the value of membership and builds enthusiasm for the organization, thereby avoiding defections.

The cultivation of relations with other organizations--even if this consists merely of sending promotional material to them--increases the visibility of an organization and makes other potentially cooperative and supportive groups aware of its availability for issue coalitions. Alternatively, by publicly capturing an interest territory or the attention of an identity set, a group may prevent the birth of rival organizations because a competitor would be regarded as suspiciously redundant and insufficiently viable. Via image-building, interest groups thus strive to reduce the uncertainty of and enhance the stability of their environment--a need that Cyert and March (1963) and Kwavnick (1972) argue is fundamental to all organizations. A final function of organizational promotion is to inform the targets of lobbying--politicians, public servants and regulators--of their legitimacy and broad basis of support in order to get themselves invited into a consultative position by the policy-makers. Image promotion, thus, has implications for both the objective of policy advocacy and that of membership maintenance and recruitment.

Although a very important component of image-building is cultivating relations with the media, social movement organizations may have a difficult time promoting themselves in this way for several reasons. From a SMO's perspective, the media may be viewed as too conservative and "establishment" to be completely trusted (Molotch, 1979).²² Secondly, as reporters themselves

have lamented, public interest groups, in general, and women's groups, in particular, do not sufficiently understand how the print or broadcast media work; they do not appreciate the nature of deadlines, the importance of a list of available contacts or the intricacies of a press release.²³ Thirdly, to get coverage by the news media, groups must offer "news". A paradox of the success of a social movement is that as it gains institutional access and legitimacy for its concerns, it is no longer newsworthy. It is, thus, difficult for a relatively successful social movement organization except by nonconventional, confrontational means to get the attention of the media as a means of mandate promotion.

4. Fundraising

Financial resources are vital to an interest group because they facilitate actions and can be converted into other resources such as personnel, knowledge and advertising. The significance of material resources motivates the resource mobilization perspective on social movements which posits that all organizations act to increase their access to monetary resources, but most organizations cannot generate the required resources on their own and, therefore, must interact with and depend upon other organizations to ensure resource availability.²⁴ To the extent possible, organizations will avoid being forced into a subordinate dependent relationship with a single institution or source of finances. The effectiveness of an organization in this view may be assessed by an organization's ability to maximize access to essential resources

(Yutchman and Seashore, 1967) and by its ability in the process to avoid compromising its capacity for autonomous action (Knoke, 1983, p. 1069). Both absolute levels of financial resources acquired and the sources of funding are, thus, of concern to the analysis. The amount of funds a group needs to generate will depend upon the type of lobbying it aspires to conduct, on the structure and dispersion of its membership and on its ability to substitute services in kind for money.

A SMO has four primary sources of funds that may be drawn upon in varying combinations depending upon the composition of its constituency and attractiveness of its cause (Pross, 1986, pp. 194-201): 1) membership, 2) friends, 3) sale of goods and services and 4) patrons, including government. Almost all SMOs have a membership fee even if it is a minimal amount and forms an insignificant portion of the overall revenues of the organization.²⁵ Donations by "friends"--whether spontaneous gifts by supportive individuals or solicited donations via direct mail--are often an important supplement to membership dues. "Friends", defined as individuals or organizations giving relatively small amounts of money on a non-accountable, often one-shot, basis are distinguished from "patrons", the large scale sustaining donors.²⁶ In recent years, solicitation of contributions to support a lobbying cause has been made popular among public interest groups by the computer-assisted technology of direct mail which has the advantage of bringing in new members as well as donations.²⁷ The third means of fundraising--the sale of goods and services--may range from the classic bakesale to purchase-of-service agreements for operation of community centres

to the elite \$200 a plate dinner.²⁸ In addition to up-front money to stage the event or produce the good, this means of fundraising normally requires some preexisting organizational visibility and reputation, specialization of knowledge or a strategic position in the community to produce a successful outcome on a large scale. Pross (1986, p. 201) argues that although the sale of goods and services may present an appropriate basis of diversification of sources, it runs the risk of completely consuming the attention of a group so that the fundamental functions of membership service and advocacy actions are attenuated.²⁹

The focus on the large sustaining donor, the "patron(ess)"-- whether an individual political entrepreneur, a private institution, professional social movement organization or government--has been the major innovation of the resource mobilization perspective.³⁰ The central issue associated with patron funding, especially in the Canadian context, is the potential for co-optation.³¹ Because the resource mobilization perspective was developed in the United States, it presumes an American political market composed primarily of wealthy philanthropists, private foundations and professional social movement organizations. It almost completely overlooks the potential role of the state as a major financial contributor to interest groups. In Canada, the federal government through the Secretary of State as well as through line departments has been a sustaining supporter of native, multicultural, minority language, disabled and women's groups.

5. Research and Education

One of the primary political roles of interest groups is to serve as a two-way vehicle of communication between citizens and state (Pross, 1984, pp. 223-224). In order to be effective in this role, groups need to acquire substantive knowledge about an issue to exchange in the political marketplace and knowledge about how to participate in the policy process. Information, in order to be of value to other actors, must be relevant, timely and trustworthy (Laumann and Knoke, 1987, p. 191). Groups, therefore, must both conduct research that adds a new dimension or insight into a policy area and must constantly monitor the policy process to know when and where to place their information.

If financial resources are available, the acquisition of substantive knowledge may be conducted by professional researchers hired by the organization and if funds are more limited may be done by expert members who volunteer their time.³² Most business associations and large public interest groups can afford to hire a permanent legislative assistant to track legislation through the policy process and pinpoint appropriate times for action. Special interest groups often attract leading experts in the policy area and can draw upon this indigenous expertise to conduct research on a volunteer basis. As a matter of routine, groups keep clipping files (or hire a company to do so) to monitor government response on issues of concern to them. Many groups have established information clearinghouses as part of their organizations to promote and communicate research.³³

Increasingly, pressure groups are also symbolically packaging and dispensing specialized information to the public at large in order to change public values and to build a broad base of support for their cause. For example, it has now become common for interest groups to commission Gallup surveys to test the waters of public opinion and use the results to demonstrate that their cause is in the mainstream of public opinion.³⁴ As a public education service, they may also hold seminars or produce pamphlets to inform and attempt to convince the non-affiliated public of their position by providing them with information.³⁵

The advantage of being seen by policy-makers as an organization that can provide expert and trustworthy information is that the group no longer simply needs to advocate its interest but may be invited to consult and negotiate, as it now has a valuable commodity to offer in the policy process. The reputation so generated subsequently enhances the perceived status of the group with members and the community, creates independence from both government and constituency and may shape policy outcomes favourable to the group. The provision of specialized knowledge is perhaps the surest route to institutionalization for an interest group.³⁶ In recent years the increased use by economic associations of public opinion polling and development of research capabilities--and their ability to hire professional in research--has placed greater pressure on public interest groups to engage in research and education projects.

6. Administration

All SMOs of whatever goals, kind of people, or size, require some structure and, hence, some degree of management or administration of tasks related to structure. The structure, argues Jo Freeman,

may be flexible, it may vary over time, it may evenly or unevenly distribute tasks, power and resources over the members of the group. But it will be formed regardless of the abilities, personalities or intentions of the people involved. (1972, p. 152)³⁷

The very essence of organization, thereby, necessitates the action of management of staff and office (if there is one), the coordination of volunteer and staff activities and the daily operations of "bureaucracy"--even if of a non-hierarchical, collectivist form. Specific tasks that form this action domain include making arrangements for executive meetings, tele-conferencing, holding elections, supervision of personnel, meeting regional and linguistic commitments, managing the information technology and conducting office duties.

The administrative operations are internal, often routinized or repetitive in nature and conducted, and thus controlled, by a relatively small number of people. Most established groups have a professional paid executive director whose job is to manage the staff and office. Administration, thus, is not spread across the leadership as are most other actions of the organization.³⁸ If managed successfully by the executive director, internal administration should go almost unnoticed by the membership (Pross, 1986, p. 203).

Administration in social movement organizations, however, is often considerably less simple and harmonious. At the core of administrative actions in volunteer organizations is the tension between bureaucracy and democracy: the dynamic between staff professionalization and specialization and that of member participation and control. Since the seminal work of Robert Michels in 1911 which theorized an "iron law of oligarchy" in social democratic political parties, it has been popularly predicted that in the bureaucratic-democratic dialectic, bureaucracy over time will surpass democracy as the fundamental basis of organizational life.³⁹

If administration activities are viewed by group representatives as the most important and those to which the organization is most deeply committed or if paid staff and elected executives differentially view the significance of these activities to the group as a whole, it could be argued that the SMO has become mired in organizational maintenance. To date, the literature has given insufficient attention to the nature of administration in volunteer associations and to the unique dynamic of bureaucracy and democracy that is central to a voluntary political organization.

7. Strategic Planning

The domain of strategic planning focusses on the action of decision-making. Strategy is normally defined as "the determination of the basic long-term goals and objectives of an enterprise, and the adoption of courses of action and the allocation of resources necessary for carrying out these

goals" (Chandler, 1962, p. 13). In social movement organizations, the domain includes not only the establishment of visions or long range goals, but also priority-setting among policy issues, decision-making about securing and allocation of financial and human resources over the long term, orienting the group toward other groups and the state and changing the structure of the organization itself. Strategic planning, thus, is a highly complex activity with far-reaching consequences because it is an attempt to create "coherence" (Greenwood and Hining, 1988, pp. 297-302) or "goodness of fit" (Child 1972, p. 14) between structure, values and environment.⁴⁰ Strategic planning is also a highly political process "in which constraints and opportunities are a function of the power exercised by decision-makers in the light of ideological values" (Child, 1972, p. 16).

In voluntary associations, strategic planning is likely to be even more onerous than in commercial firms or public service bureaucracies due to short-term electoral horizons, the value placed on internal democracy, fear of "dominant coalitions", limited financial resources and restrictions on volunteers' time.

8. Community Service

The last of the eight action domains is community service which comprises projects, such as housing services, shelters or language training, operated for the benefit of the community at large, rather than solely for members of the group. It is the only one of the eight domains which is entirely

optional, that is, which organizations may choose to do but which is not vital to their operation or survival as social movement organizations. Some organizations may avoid community service activities completely because they prefer to devote attention to lobbying governments. Because the interest group literature focusses on promotion of interests and social movement literature on identity formation, virtually no work has been done on analyzing the service aspect of social movement organizations. However, due to their roots in the social reform movement of the late 1800s, as noted in the historical analysis, direct social service has always been an important part of the orientation of national Canadian women's groups.

Testing for System Coherence

A preliminary step in analysis examined systematic biases that might arise due to the way in which elected and staff representatives rate their group's projects as a function of their role in the organization. A comparison of the content of the projects listed in the matrix by the staff member and the elected representative of the same group indicates that elicitation is not merely personally idiosyncratic or role specific. In no case were the projects listed by one representative entirely distinct from those given by the other representative of the same organization. Of the nine groups from which more than one person completed Projects Analysis, person A listed in the matrix an average of 40 per cent of the identical group projects as Person B. Because the projects chosen in the matrix are only a selected subset of those initially elicited in the

open-ended project list, this is a conservative indicator which may truncate the overlap of projects in the original elicitation procedure.

Although elicitation of an identical set of projects by representatives interviewed without consultation with each other is not expected, the degree of overlap suggests that there is a measure of consensus among representatives of the same group as to what actions constitute the group's projects. Hence, there is support for an intuitive notion of a project as derived by the Projects Analysis method. To be conservative in analyses, all statistical procedures were conducted using only one representative from the group and subsequently using all respondents; minimal differences were found.⁴¹ This similarity of results suggests that the executive director is well integrated with the elected executive in the activities of most women's groups and that no consistent bias is created as a result of a respondent's position in an organization. As an exploratory study that is focussed on the project level, the analyses will include all 41 respondents in order to make the procedure as robust as possible and the analyses as stable as possible by using the larger number of subjects.⁴² Because attention is centered on the variation in project meaning by domain of action, it is appropriate to use all the available data. No attempt is made using these data to generalize about SMOs *per se* or apply the results to particular organizations.

In the initial elicitation procedure of Projects Analysis, individual respondents did not classify their projects by domain but simply listed and rated them according to the meaning dimensions. The test of coherence of the

conceptual model of eight domains of intentionally similar projects comes with the ability of judges independently to classify group projects into categories in a reliable manner. The test of completeness and adequacy of the model is that all elicited projects can be categorized into one of the eight domains. Each of the 396 projects listed in the matrices were classified independently into the eight domains by two judges. Interjudge concordance in categorizing the projects proved to be a very acceptable 82.4 per cent.⁴³ This suggests that, in fact, the domains are relatively discrete, conceptually coherent and system complete.

The broad distribution of projects across all of the eight domains indicates that each of the action domains has saliency for a national women's group and that all actions from each domain are part of the activities done by the subject groups. As Table 4.1 shows, lobbying and membership service projects are the most frequently listed, but even community service projects--the least frequently mentioned type of project--represent approximately six per cent of the projects elicited. None of the theorized action domains is so minor a part of the regular activities of women's groups that it should be collapsed into another domain or deleted.

TABLE 4.1

Distribution of Projects by Domain

<u>Action Domain</u>	<u>Frequency</u> 1 Representative per Group N = 295 Projects	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Frequency</u> All Subjects N = 396 Projects	<u>Percentage</u>
1. Lobbying	83	28.1%	104	26.3%
2. Membership Service	64	21.7	82	20.7
3. Image Building	34	11.5	42	10.6
4. Fundraising	20	6.8	31	7.8
5. Research/Education	31	10.5	38	9.6
6. Administration	33	11.2	48	12.1
7. Strategic Planning	16	5.4	27	6.8
8. Community Service	14	4.7	24	6.1

Conclusions

Action is a useful approach for the study of social movement organizations because it allows a comprehensive analysis of SMOs as organizations, not as functions in a political system. Because there are no theoretically or methodologically predetermined limitations to the types of action canvassed, both expressive and instrumental action can be encompassed by the analysis. The emphasis on action, rather than resources, also captures the substitutability of human for financial resources and the allocation of resources across different types of projects. The present perspective regards organizations as imbued with agency even though action is embedded in and influenced by systemic and ecological contexts. Personal Projects Analysis is a theory-compatible method for analyzing SMOs as political actors because it does not impose *a priori* restrictions on categories of intention or types of action. In

interviews, the elected presidents and executive directors of 30 of 33 national women's organizations listed and rated the current projects of their groups in terms of project meaning and impact for the respondent's group as a whole. This procedure is argued to be legitimate because there is such an entity as a group-level project. Although it is individuals, not institutions, that perceive and experience, individuals can provide interpretations of group action.

A project system composed of eight domains of intentionally similar types of projects was developed from existing interest group and social movement literature. The action domains of social movement organizations are argued to be constituted by projects relating to: lobbying, membership service, image-building, fund-raising, research and education, administration, strategic planning and community service. High levels of interjudge agreement in classifying the projects into the eight domains indicates that the domains individually are conceptually clear and discrete and that they collectively represent a complete SMO action system. The task for the next chapter is to refine this analysis further by distinguishing differences between ratings of project meaning in each of the eight domains.

ENDNOTES

1. Action must be distinguished from behaviour and from a single act. In contrast to action, behaviour is a restrictive concept that is defined as the sensorial, observable and measurable movements of people, but it excludes the subjective world of experience (Harmon and Mayer, 1986, p. 294) Giddens separates action from an act. He argues that action occurs as a *durée*, that is, as a continuous flow of conduct. As a result: "action' is not a combination of 'acts' because acts are constituted only by a discursive moment of attention to the *durée* of lived-through experience." (1984, p. 3)
2. "Enacted" environment reflects Weick's idea that perception (a term he avoids because it is too passive) of the environment is a very active process and environment is as much an output of perception as a source of inputs (1979, p. 228).
3. For further recent work on action theory in organizational analysis see Catron and Harmon (1981), Harmon (1981), Reed (1988) and White (1987). Within the context of policy analysis Quattrone and Tversky (1988) discuss the failure of rationality in processes of human perception and judgment.
4. These ideas were continued in Parsons and Shils, Toward a General Theory of Action (1951).
5. The work of Parsons recently has been revived by the neo-functionalists. In contrast to the critics of Parsons, Scullion argues that the intent of Parsonian voluntarism was to emphasize that recognition of and adherence to norms is always contingent and, thus, temporary (1985, pp. 29-30).
6. An anti-voluntaristic position is particularly evident in Parsons' later work. The relationship between order and action is argued by Parsons and Shils: institutionalization itself must be regarded as the fundamental integrative mechanism of social systems (1951, p. 150). It is through internalization of common patterns of value orientation that a system of social interaction can be stabilized.
7. Similarly, Heritage argues that Parsons emphasized motivational issues virtually to the exclusion of any concern with an understanding of a socio-ecological context, such as which social actors coordinate and guide an individual's actions. "In this critical sense, Parsons had failed to construct a theory of action at all but had, instead, constructed only a theory of dispositions to act" (1987, p. 228).
8. Much of the NSM literature began as a reaction to structuralism which has itself been highly criticized. For example, beginning in the early 1970s, scholars such as Atkinson (1972) and Taylor (1979) claimed that Parsons' theory was not fundamentally different from that of Marx and that classical Marxism is itself highly structural. In part, the NSM perspective attempted to introduce and explain new, non-class actors and to circumvent the restrictions of structuralism by emphasizing the importance of action in evolving structure and society.
9. There are other methods in the psychology literature that assess goal-oriented action which

are similar in principle and method to Personal Projects Analysis (PPA). In recent years, Emmons has developed a unit termed "strivings" and he uses an elicitation and rating procedure that is virtually identical to that of PPA. Similarly, Cantor focusses on "life tasks" but these are likely to generate global tasks that are more akin to organizational needs or functions than intentional actions. Projects are preferred over these other units because "projects" conceptually and methodologically encompass a social ecological context and are less cognitively-oriented than are strivings: that is, the method easily elicits projects which are environment-imposed rather than actor-initiated. For a description and application of these other methods, see Buss and Cantor (1989).

10. A copy of the Projects form, as modified for this study, appears as Appendix B.

11. The study methodology first received approval by the Carleton University Ethics Committee on Research with Human Subjects. Group representatives were initially contacted by letter explaining the purpose of the research and asking for their participation in an interview. Each representative was then called personally by the researcher.

12. Only one executive director declined to participate at all (but information was obtained on interorganizational relations in an interview with an executive member); only three representatives declined to complete Projects Analysis, but provided other information.

13. If possible, both the president and executive director were interviewed. In some cases, presidents who live at a distance from Ottawa and were not travelling to the city during the study period, could not be reached; in these cases, the next most senior elected executive member was contacted. Among the 33 groups, 22 have executive directors and 16 of these completed the Project: Analysis. As noted in Chapter 5, a preliminary step in the analysis was to test for differences in project ratings which might be related to position in the organizations. There were no significant differences (using t-tests on project ratings) between the responses given by elected representatives and those of executive directors.

14. Reification is sometimes called the "fallacy of misplaced concreteness" and occurs when the analysis bestows on institutions an ontological status that treats them as existing of human activity and characteristics; organizations are, in fact, the product of human action and subjectivity, but not the equivalent. For a more detailed discussion of the problem of reification, see: P. L. Berger and T. Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality (New York: Anchor Books, 1967, pp. 89-91) and M. Harmon, Action Theory for Public Administration (New York: Longman, 1981, p. 131).

15. The opposite problem to reification of institutions is the assumption of methodological individualism which is the denial of group properities at all. On this point, see: J. Wisden, "Situational Individualism and the Emergent Group Properities" in R. Berger and F. Cioffi (eds.), Explanation in the Behavioural Sciences (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970, pp. 271-311). Knorr-Cetina (1988) provides a good recent overview on the debate about whether social analysis should be directed at the individual or collective level.

16. The categories of action are drawn from several primary sources as well as a wide sweep of other literature on interest groups and social movement organizations. A primary source is the overview provided by Pross. Although he presents these as types of resources, not actions, Pross outlines four pursuits of pressure groups in addition to the obvious and essential one of lobbying: 1) acquisition of knowledge, 2) mandate promotion, 3) fundraising and 4) management and administration (1986, pp. 185-205). In the American context, Scholzman and Tierney (1986) provide a similar list of resource types, the pursuit of which can be interpreted as project categories. The importance of membership service has been recognized by a variety of

scholars from different perspectives, including the public choice perspective of Olson (1965), the incentive approach of Clark and Wilson (1961) or Knoke and Adam (1986) and the collective identity emphasis of the NSM scholars (Melucci, 1988a). The vital action of obtaining financial resources is evident in the resource mobilization perspective; see, for instance, Zald and McCarthy (1987), Pichardo (1986), J. Freeman (1975) and Jenkins (1983). The significance of strategic planning is drawn from the management literature, such as Hickson et al. (1986) and Child (1972) because the interest group literature is almost silent on this activity. Finally, it is recognized that the importance of community service may be peculiar to the women's movement, as historical analysis shows, but may not be a feature of all SMOs.

17. Most interest group theorists recognize lobbying as an essential activity. See, for instance, Presthus (1973; 1974), Scholzman and Tierney (1986), Pross (1984; 1986), Paltiel (1982), and Stanbury (1986). Many case studies analyze the relative success of different tactics (Dawson, 1975; Faulkner, 1982; Gillies and Pigott, 1982; Berry, 1977; MacFarlane, 1976; 1984). An important contrast in different tactics of economic associations, as compared to public interest groups, is provided by Coleman (1988). One specialized form of pressure for policy change is litigation and it thus is included in this domain.

18. A "public good" is characterized by the properties of being non-divisible and unable to exclude potential users; anyone can partake of the good who so desires without paying the cost of the good.

19. Olson argues that these selective incentives may be either positive or negative, that is, either benefits that reward those who join the group or sanctions that can coerce into action those who fail to bear an allocated share of the costs of group action. Low-cost insurance schemes available on a member-only basis or a subscription to "Consumer Report" are classic examples of positive selective inducements. But, as Olson himself notes, pure lobby organizations have difficulty providing sanctions unless they can enforce a requirement of compulsory membership. The application of tangible selective incentives have been examined in great depth. Oliver (1980) explores in more depth the availability of benefits versus sanctions; Chamberlin (1974) examines the variable of group size in relation to incentives; Opp (1986) investigates the importance of personal efficacy in deciding how to participate in groups; Marwell and Ames (1984), Runge (1986) and Dawes et. al. (1986) look at the importance of conjoint expectations.

Some scholars, such as Manzer (1975), argue that collective benefits are selective incentives and that Olsons's concept should not be interpreted in strictly narrow terms. In contrast, Conover and Gray (1983) assert that an expansive interpretation of selective incentives and utilitarian logic would be stretching the fundamental concept to tautological limits. Fireman and Gamson argue that: "If an actor participates because he feels some solidarity group with which he identifies is threatened or because he feels responsibility to contribute his share to getting some collective good, no useful purpose is served and something of value is lost by forcing such considerations into a utilitarian mold." (1979, p. 21)

20. Image-building is not well recognized as a separate category in the literature. Most of this work is drawn from Kwavnick (1972) and from the work on group relations with the media (Molotch, 1979).

21. For example, in 1988 the YWCA ran full page advertisements in the Globe and Mail which said nothing more than, "YW, Watch us grow."

22. The hostile way in which women's groups were treated by the media in the early days of the movement still resides in collective memories although many major papers now employ sympathetic reporters—often female—and offer serious coverage to issues of primary concern to women. Jo Freeman (1975) recounts that in the early days of the movement, women were either treated as deviant or silly and their actions were reported as entertainment, not to be taken

has three for a membership of 48,000. In contrast, the American counterpart to CARAL--the National Abortion Rights Action League-- has a staff of 28 for a membership of 100,000. NOW represents 156,000 and has a staff of thirty (1985 figures quoted in Gelb and Palley, 1987, pp. 26-7, 33).

39. In the view of Michels and subsequent scholars (Cassinelli, 1953; Jenkins, 1977; Zald, 1970), the leadership of voluntary organizations gradually assumes greater control and becomes less representative of the membership and undergoes a goal transformation to become more conservative than its constituency. Other scholars, such as Cafferata (1982), Barnes (1987) and Chapin and Tsouderos (1979) argue that the direction of goal transformation is not predetermined, but is related to environment conditions such as degree of competition and growth.

40. See also Miller and Friesen (1984).

41. T-tests of raw scores on the project dimensions were analyzed by respondent role. Only one of the twenty-one dimensions--commitment-- showed a significant difference (using a two-tailed probability, $p = .012$) between executive and staff responses. The elected representatives had a significantly higher mean on commitment (mean = 8.51) than did the staff respondent (mean = 7.94). Because there is a significant difference on only one dimension, it can be safely assumed that there is no overall pattern of differential responses created by organizational position.

42. This procedure yields a total of 396 projects because some respondents rated fewer than ten projects.

43. The first judge was the researcher herself. The second was a former executive director of a women's organization who is also a graduate student in women's studies. The classification was done completely independently without communication between the judges. The level of agreement must be regarded as very strong when it is considered that the second judge had relatively short names of the projects without benefit of complete background or contextual detail on them.

A resolution test chart featuring various patterns of horizontal and vertical lines. The patterns are arranged in a grid-like fashion, with some patterns being larger and more prominent than others. Numerical values are placed next to the patterns, indicating the resolution or frequency of the lines. The values include 1.0, 1.1, 1.25, 1.4, 1.6, 1.8, 2.0, 2.2, 2.5, 2.8, 3.2, 3.6, 4.0, 4.5, 5.0, 5.6, 6.3, 7.1, 8.0, 9.0, 10.0, 11.2, 12.5, 14.0, 16.0, 18.0, 20.0, 22.5, 25.0, 28.0, 32.0, 36.0, 40.0, 45.0, 50.0, 56.0, 63.0, 71.0, 80.0, 90.0, 100.0, 112.0, 125.0, 140.0, 160.0, 180.0, 200.0, 225.0, 250.0, 280.0, 320.0, 360.0, 400.0, 450.0, 500.0, 560.0, 630.0, 710.0, 800.0, 900.0, 1000.0, 1120.0, 1250.0, 1400.0, 1600.0, 1800.0, 2000.0, 2250.0, 2500.0, 2800.0, 3200.0, 3600.0, 4000.0, 4500.0, 5000.0, 5600.0, 6300.0, 7100.0, 8000.0, 9000.0, 10000.0, 11200.0, 12500.0, 14000.0, 16000.0, 18000.0, 20000.0, 22500.0, 25000.0, 28000.0, 32000.0, 36000.0, 40000.0, 45000.0, 50000.0, 56000.0, 63000.0, 71000.0, 80000.0, 90000.0, 100000.0, 112000.0, 125000.0, 140000.0, 160000.0, 180000.0, 200000.0, 225000.0, 250000.0, 280000.0, 320000.0, 360000.0, 400000.0, 450000.0, 500000.0, 560000.0, 630000.0, 710000.0, 800000.0, 900000.0, 1000000.0, 1120000.0, 1250000.0, 1400000.0, 1600000.0, 1800000.0, 2000000.0, 2250000.0, 2500000.0, 2800000.0, 3200000.0, 3600000.0, 4000000.0, 4500000.0, 5000000.0, 5600000.0, 6300000.0, 7100000.0, 8000000.0, 9000000.0, 10000000.0, 11200000.0, 12500000.0, 14000000.0, 16000000.0, 18000000.0, 20000000.0, 22500000.0, 25000000.0, 28000000.0, 32000000.0, 36000000.0, 40000000.0, 45000000.0, 50000000.0, 56000000.0, 63000000.0, 71000000.0, 80000000.0, 90000000.0, 100000000.0, 112000000.0, 125000000.0, 140000000.0, 160000000.0, 180000000.0, 200000000.0, 225000000.0, 250000000.0, 280000000.0, 320000000.0, 360000000.0, 400000000.0, 450000000.0, 500000000.0, 560000000.0, 630000000.0, 710000000.0, 800000000.0, 900000000.0, 1000000000.0, 1120000000.0, 1250000000.0, 1400000000.0, 1600000000.0, 1800000000.0, 2000000000.0, 2250000000.0, 2500000000.0, 2800000000.0, 3200000000.0, 3600000000.0, 4000000000.0, 4500000000.0, 5000000000.0, 5600000000.0, 6300000000.0, 7100000000.0, 8000000000.0, 9000000000.0, 10000000000.0, 11200000000.0, 12500000000.0, 14000000000.0, 16000000000.0, 18000000000.0, 20000000000.0, 22500000000.0, 25000000000.0, 28000000000.0, 32000000000.0, 36000000000.0, 40000000000.0, 45000000000.0, 50000000000.0, 56000000000.0, 63000000000.0, 71000000000.0, 80000000000.0, 90000000000.0, 100000000000.0, 112000000000.0, 125000000000.0, 140000000000.0, 160000000000.0, 180000000000.0, 200000000000.0, 225000000000.0, 250000000000.0, 280000000000.0, 320000000000.0, 360000000000.0, 400000000000.0, 450000000000.0, 500000000000.0, 560000000000.0, 630000000000.0, 710000000000.0, 800000000000.0, 900000000000.0, 1000000000000.0, 1120000000000.0, 1250000000000.0, 1400000000000.0, 1600000000000.0, 1800000000000.0, 2000000000000.0, 2250000000000.0, 2500000000000.0, 2800000000000.0, 3200000000000.0, 3600000000000.0, 4000000000000.0, 4500000000000.0, 5000000000000.0, 5600000000000.0, 6300000000000.0, 7100000000000.0, 8000000000000.0, 9000000000000.0, 10000000000000.0, 11200000000000.0, 12500000000000.0, 14000000000000.0, 16000000000000.0, 18000000000000.0, 20000000000000.0, 22500000000000.0, 25000000000000.0, 28000000000000.0, 32000000000000.0, 36000000000000.0, 40000000000000.0, 45000000000000.0, 50000000000000.0, 56000000000000.0, 63000000000000.0, 71000000000000.0, 80000000000000.0, 90000000000000.0, 100000000000000.0, 112000000000000.0, 125000000000000.0, 140000000000000.0, 160000000000000.0, 180000000000000.0, 200000000000000.0, 225000000000000.0, 250000000000000.0, 280000000000000.0, 320000000000000.0, 360000000000000.0, 400000000000000.0, 450000000000000.0, 500000000000000.0, 560000000000000.0, 630000000000000.0, 710000000000000.0, 800000000000000.0, 900000000000000.0, 1000000000000000.0, 1120000000000000.0, 1250000000000000.0, 1400000000000000.0, 1600000000000000.0, 1800000000000000.0, 2000000000000000.0, 2250000000000000.0, 2500000000000000.0, 2800000000000000.0, 3200000000000000.0, 3600000000000000.0, 4000000000000000.0, 4500000000000000.0, 5000000000000000.0, 5600000000000000.0, 6300000000000000.0, 7100000000000000.0, 8000000000000000.0, 9000000000000000.0, 10000000000000000.0,

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
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STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

seriously. In addition, events were embellished, such as the infamous bra-burning incident (which never really happened) that was reported during the 1968 Miss America contest.

23. All three newspaper reporters who were interviewed for this study as part of the assessment of group effectiveness (presented in Chapter 7) commented spontaneously that the group leaders of national Canadian women's organizations were not highly skilled in their media relations. This perception persisted in spite of the fact that each of these reporters was well experienced in covering women's groups and was sympathetic to their interests.

24. The "resource dependence" approach to interorganizational relations is quite separate from the resource mobilization perspective on SMOs, but in a similar manner considers resource dependencies as the primary type of interorganizational relationship and stresses the importance of sources of financial support. Most of this literature discusses organizations in the abstract, rather than being based on the empirical study of SMOs. This tradition includes Aldrich and Pfeffer (1976), Benson (1982), Fenell et al. (1987), Pfeffer and Leong (1977) and Yutchman and Seashore (1967). Much of this work is published in the journal Administrative Science Quarterly.

25. Most SMOs keep their fees artificially low. For example, it costs a mere \$10 per year to join the CDCAA. Carden (1974, pp. 123-126) observes that women's groups have taken issue on ideological grounds over making money off their members; she notes that in the early years in the U.S.A. members of the National Organization of Women (NOW), a predominantly member-funded organization, objected to taking money from members, but this complaint subsided by the mid-1970s. Almost all national Canadian women's groups (with the exception of some of the groups for minority women) have a membership fee, although it is usually low.

An unaccounted source of revenue assistance is the personal expenditures that volunteers make on behalf of their SMO, such as paying for their own gas and telephone bills while on group business.

26. Few SMOs sustain themselves on member contributions alone. In order to attain donations—from friends or patrons—it is vital to obtain charitable status so that such donations are tax deductible for the giver. However, charitable status is not available to advocacy organizations, so many SMOs establish an educational trust to fund education projects, but the ability to use funds from the trust for other purposes is limited. Under Canadian tax law, charitable status is limited to organizations engaged in the relief of poverty (for example, food banks), the advancement of religion, advancement of education and other purposes beneficial to the community as a whole (which ranges from humane societies to low-cost housing). For detailed explication of the rules, see Revenue Canada Taxation, Information Circular, 80-10R, December 17, 1985 and Revenue Canada Taxation, Registering Your Charity, September 1985. The current controversy over the actions of Patricia Starr, a fundraiser with the Toronto chapter of the National Council of Jewish Women who used funds from the Council's charitable trust to make political contributions, has opened the question of government scrutiny over the activities of charitable organizations.

Minimal scholarly work exists on the effects of charitable status, but good critical analyses are part of the collection of essays in Rose-Ackerman (1986).

Many scholars note the critical importance of an infusion of start-up funds for a new SMO. Hansen (1985, p. 94) argues that financial subsidization is the *sine qua non* of organizational survival—and is even more important than the political market demand for the interest itself. Gelb and Palley (1987, p. 45) observe that while some private foundations, notably the Ford Foundation, have made major contributions to American women's groups, these foundations have given comparatively less to the women's movement than to the civil rights movement or other causes. From 1972 to 1974, evidence indicates that grants from foundations to improve the status of women were only one-fifth of one per cent of the value of all grants provided by these American foundations. Ironically, even among foundations that derive their assets from the sale of cosmetics to women, only 4.6 per cent of their grant awards went to women's groups and the only significant support came from the Helena Rubinstein Foundation.

27. Although the tactic of direct mail has the advantage of bringing in new memberships as well as donors, Godwin and Mitchell argue that individuals recruited by mail, rather than by social networks, tend to be interested in purposive incentives over solidarity incentives and are generally more fickle in their loyalties (1984). In a study of five environmental groups in the U.S.A., these authors found that direct mail recruits are no different in demographics than existing members and, therefore, the technique does not expand the base of membership among politically non-represented parts of the population. This is due to the limitations of the sources. Individuals who subscribe to the magazines and are members of the associations from which lists are compiled tend to be politically active already. Once recruited by direct mail, these individuals tend to have less personal attachment to the organization, shorter membership tenure, make slightly less financial contributions and are more likely to join other SMOs.

As Mansbridge (1986, p. 171) and Boles (1982, p. 596) observe with direct mail solicitation by NOW for the ERA, the approach does encourage development of a nation-wide presence and support in the absence of local chapters in small centres. The disadvantage of a direct mail campaign is that it is quite expensive; one respondent estimated that a one-shot national direct mailing would cost a minimum of \$3000. However, the popularity of the technique is illustrated by the fact that in the 1988 Yellow Pages for Ottawa-Hull there were twenty-two companies listed which specialize in direct mail.

28. For example, Kome (1985, p. 147) recounts the lunches with the leaders during the 1984 election campaign. Several respondents mentioned that their groups have experimented with "power" dinners. For example, LEAF sponsors an annual fundraiser, "Go to Court with LEAF" (literally as the event is held in the provincial court house) which costs \$50 for a wine and cheese reception. Gelb and Palley (1982, p. 41) note the popularity of the elite dinner among American groups as well as the tendency to obtain an increasing proportion of revenues from sales of T-shirts, posters and sale of advertising in group publications.

29. However, it is more likely to be the prerequisite reputation, time, energy and money necessary for event and commodity production than the danger of diversion that makes this tactic a relatively small proportion of the income of most SMOs.

30. McCarthy and Zald argue that the trend among American SMOs has been their professionalization such that the sources of funding, usually derived from entrepreneurs, are separated from the membership which often exists on paper only (1987, p. 307). As noted in Chapter 2, none of the national Canadian women's groups could be considered to be pure forms of professional SMOs.

31. While Pross (1986, pp. 198-201) argues that government funding makes SMOs vulnerable to cuts in funding and easily manipulated or co-opted by government, other scholars suggest that the potential for co-optation is more subtle, complex and insidious than explicit manipulation. With reference to the women's movement, Gelb and Palley (1987) and Dorothy Smith (1977) argue that funding may shape or redirect the focus of the organization by forcing the group to meet government-imposed deadlines for funding submissions or complying with government priority issues by adopting these as group priorities in order to be funded. Advocacy organizations, argue Smith (1977) and Ferree and Hess (1985, p. 126), can be distracted by the need to conform to government schedules and write reports. By imposing an employer-employee relationship and requiring conformance to bureaucratic regulations, women's groups may supplant a collectivist orientation with a more structured frame that centres on bureaucratic norms. The fact that most government support comes in the form of project rather than operational funding may fragment a SMO's priorities and hamper an integrated holistic approach to policy development. Due to the fixed amount of resources available, government

funding is argued to transform the relationships among SMOs into a zero-sum game, which thereby intensifies competition among groups with government playing the role of regulator of the players and umpire of the contest (McCarthy and Zald, 1980, p. 168). Over the long term, the real danger of social control by the state, according to Jenkins and Eckert (1986, p. 828), is not transformation of goals and tactics in exchange for legitimacy and organizational survival, but a general decline of the movement and reorganization around professional SMOs.

In spite of these concerns, many critics note that government funding may be necessary for the severely disadvantaged groups and that a moderated, professional social movement may be preferable to none (Jenkins and Eckert, 1986, p. 828; Pichardo, 1988, p. 101).

32. Mansbridge (1986) and Boles (1982), for instance, discuss the hiring of researchers to study existing laws by women's groups during the ERA ratification campaign in order to quash the rumours and misinformation about probable effects of the proposed amendment.

33. Establishment of a clearinghouse of information was a very popular project among women's organizations, for which many have received funding from WPSS. The Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women, for instance, has developed an extensive collection of materials on women and education and the history of the women's movement in general.

34. As Coleman (1988) observes, economic associations regularly contract public opinion polls. Gradually SMOs—to the extent that they can afford this tactic—are beginning to follow the lead of business. For instance, Planned Parenthood commissioned Gallup poll questions on sex education and birth control in 1986 to demonstrate public support for their position.

35. This type of activity is included in the research and education, rather than the lobbying, domain because it hinges on the provision of information, not on personal persuasion. These public education activities are, thus, inextricably tied to the task of knowledge acquisition.

36. In a study of the relative importance of organizational resources, Scholzman and Tierney found that a reputation for being credible and trustworthy was rated by 81 per cent of Washington lobbyists surveyed as the most important resource of a pressure organization (1986, p. 194). Control over technical information and expertise was scored as most important by 25 per cent of the respondents.

It is not enough, argues Pross (1986, p. 190), for the leaders of an organization to acquire policy and process knowledge. If not shared with the members, the executive, who through experience feels comfortable with and efficacious in the political process, tends to become isolated from the rank and file. The members, on the other hand, begin to worry about the co-optation of their leaders. Internal committees composed of executive and members-at-large delegated to study particular policy issues are one way of ensuring the internal transmission of knowledge and forestalling development of an information elite.

37. Freeman is commenting on the emphasis placed on the supposed leaderless, structureless groups of the women's movement. She argues that it is the degree of formality of the structure that distinguishes groups and that the danger of informal, implicit codes of conduct is that elites—groups of friends—arise as the powerbrokers and that the press, rather than democratic processes of the group, designates the "stars" or spokespeople.

38. Most national SMOs of any size have a paid staff. However, the size of staff employed by SMOs in Canada is tiny compared to counterpart groups in the U.S.A. Indeed, many of the subject groups have only one employee or none at all. But even the large Canadian groups are small in comparison to the American ones. The largest staff in the study (that of the YWCA) is twelve, while NAC had a staff of nine and Canadian Abortion Rights Action League (CARAL)

has three for a membership of 48,000. In contrast, the American counterpart to CARAL--the National Abortion Rights Action League-- has a staff of 28 for a membership of 100,000. NOW represents 156,000 and has a staff of thirty (1985 figures quoted in Gelb and Palley, 1987, pp. 26-7, 33).

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41. T-tests of raw scores on the project dimensions were analyzed by respondent role. Only one of the twenty-one dimensions--commitment-- showed a significant difference (using a two-tailed probability, $p = .012$) between executive and staff responses. The elected representatives had a significantly higher mean on commitment (mean = 8.51) than did the staff respondent (mean = 7.94). Because there is a significant difference on only one dimension, it can be safely assumed that there is no overall pattern of differential responses created by organizational position.

42. This procedure yields a total of 396 projects because some respondents rated fewer than ten projects.

43. The first judge was the researcher herself. The second was a former executive director of a women's organization who is also a graduate student in women's studies. The classification was done completely independently without communication between the judges. The level of agreement must be regarded as very strong when it is considered that the second judge had relatively short names of the projects without benefit of complete background or contextual detail on them.

CHAPTER 5

Analysis of Meaning in Project Systems of Social Movement Organizations

If analysis stopped with delineation of the domains of action, this study would have described what social movement organizations do, but would not have offered explanation of why they undertake certain patterns of projects and how they balance categories of action as a system. The explanation of choice among project domains is founded on the explication of meaning associated with action. The meaning of action is an important source of motivation for voluntary associations. In contrast to decision theory which presumes that actors first decide on the ends or values they want to achieve and then amass the facts to calculate the effective means for goal attainment, the focus on action emphasizes that values and purpose often are evolved during the course of action.¹ Actors, thus, make choices not just on the basis of desired ends or intentions, but on the values and meaning which they know from past experience to be associated with particular means--that is, with action itself. "Human meaning and purpose emerge from action; action itself is an end, rather than simply a means to an end" (Harmon and Mayer, 1986, p. 315).

The selection of projects, thus, is argued to be based as much on the meaning and rationalized experience of action as on the intended end results and rational decision processes. For example, group leaders who observe that a particular advocacy project gave their members a sense of solidarity, efficacy and

empowerment which, in turn, encouraged them to work hard as volunteers on the project, are likely to want to do a very similar project again in the future not just to achieve similar end states, but because the projects of the process--production of solidarity and sense of efficacy--are valued in their own right. In contrast, the types of projects that are known from experience to overextend the financial and human resources of the organization, which are dreaded by volunteers and provide a headache of management for the leaders, are likely to be avoided, in spite of the desirability of the ends, because the process has significant negative consequences for the organization.

The objective of this chapter is to associate meaning with action and to differentiate on the basis of experienced meaning among the eight domains of action which were outlined in the previous chapter. First, propositions relating to the ways in which the action domains are likely to be experienced by SMOs are developed from the literature. Secondly, the richness of the twenty-one meaning dimensions of Projects Analysis along which group projects initially were rated are distilled via factor analysis into a more manageable number of composite factors for use in testing. In the third step, the propositions are tested and differences examined in the rated meaning of the 396 projects as categorized into eight action domains.

Significant Aspects of Action Meaning

Action is produced from the nexus of the spheres of intentionality, systemic context of other group actions and the ecological environment which

includes structural conditions, resources and the alignment of other groups. All action is reflexively monitored or "rationalized with accounts of meaning" (Giddens, 1984, pp. 5-6). Through this filter of derived meaning, subsequent action is then selected and shaped in an effort to produce desired intentions, to mitigate systemic pressure or impact upon ecological contexts. The social meaning of action, thus, reproduces action as well as the structural conditions of action. Organizational coherence, argue many theorists, is a result of the relations between the provinces of meaning, structure and process (Greenwood and Hinings, 1988, p. 208; Ranson, Hinings and Greenwood, 1980).

As an exploratory attempt to explicate the meaning attached to group action and to understand the significance of particular types of projects in an organizational system, not all the relevant and potential dimensions of meaning can be calculated and used in hypotheses to predict what kinds of meaning are related to what types of SMO projects. Indeed, the first step in empirical analysis is to conduct a factor analysis of the twenty-one project dimensions in order to create a manageable number of meaning factors. There are, however, three aspects of meaning for which the impact on group choice of action is conceptually obvious and which are *prima facie* of theoretical interest. Moreover, these three constructs--importance, efficacy and stress--consistently have been detected as the basic factors underlying the structure of meaning in personal projects.² If these are fundamental aspects of project meaning, it is likely that they will appear in some form from the factor analysis of Project dimensions and, thus, are used at this point to develop propositions.

1. Importance

The first basic aspect of action meaning, importance, is an indication of which domains of action the leaders of SMOs regard as core to the very existence of their organizations. Group leaders and members are likely to remain committed to doing the project domains regarded as very important no matter how unpleasant, challenging or stressful is the actual conduct of these projects. Because SMOs are involved in both internal actions centered on building and servicing a membership and external actions directed toward lobbying government and educating civil society, there may be competition for commitment by group leaders between the needs of lobbying and those of membership service.

By the very focus of most interest group literature, especially case studies on interest groups as pressure organizations, it is often assumed that lobbying is the most central and highest priority activity for SMOs. Olson, however, insists that lobbying is a by-product of membership service. Using a very different logic and set of assumptions, the New Social Movement perspective has reached the same conclusion. The NSM school has de-centered the state and, as a consequence, has devalued the primacy of advocacy activity in favour of the premise that the construction of identities and solidarities is the most important function of social movements. Given these quite divergent challenges that emphasize attention to membership service and the enduring significance of SMOs as pressure groups, it is hypothesized that both membership service and lobbying are core to SMOs:

Proposition 12: Membership service and lobbying will be rated by group leaders as the most central projects of their organizations.

In contrast to lobbying and membership service, the domains of image building, research and education and administration are probably viewed by SMO elite as facilitating, rather than as fundamental projects. In spite of Kwavnick's (1972) argument that mandate promotion is essential to interest groups and in spite of the numerous positive cross impacts of these projects, it is the assertion of this study that women's groups have been extremely reluctant to engage in active self-promotion. This hesitation is in distinct contrast to corporations and business associations which frequently employ professionals or contract public relations firms to build and manage an image (Coleman, 1988; Pross, 1986; Sawatsky, 1987; Schoizman and Tierney, 1986).

There are several reasons why image-building is such a difficult task for SMOs, in general, and for women's groups in particular. First, the effects of image-building are not immediate and are not direct. Image-building is a facilitating action that is not valued for itself, as are lobbying or membership maintenance, but for its effects on these other action domains. Leadership must have the stereoscopic vision necessary to view the promotional task in context. Furthermore, the effects may take several years to be felt. In democratic organizations in which the leadership serves, on average, a term of two years, the disease of "annualitis" is often debilitating. The volunteer executives, by the time they have learned their jobs, are often too busy with daily operations to plan seriously for the long run beyond their own terms of office. Most SMOs

have few financial resources and a small number of staff who are themselves over worked and who frequently are not trusted sufficiently by the executive to undertake a task that is as publicly visible as image-building.³ The importation of public relations professionals to a social movement organization (if resources exist to hire such professionals, which is seldom the case) can often create tensions with the volunteers who view this as a personal threat and as antithetical to the cooperative spirit.⁴

In the domain of research, SMOs--unlike business associations--have tended to be more interested in the expressive action of telling governments and the public what they feel, rather than telling them what they know based on the strategic collection of data and expert information. Like image-building, the research and education domain is primarily a supporting, not a central, one for social movement organizations: it allows an organization to position itself in a strategic exchange relationship with government officials and provides information to society at large. Although groups strive to change the behaviour of the public and while education may influence such change, group leaders seldom immediately witness the impact of their research and education activities.

Finally, administration and community service projects are unlikely to be viewed as central in the action systems of SMOs because both domains normally are conducted by a few individuals, either paid staff or dedicated volunteers who act as managers. As a result these projects are out of the central purview of the organizational elite. However, as Michels theorized (1911), a critical issue for

democratic political associations is the potential for the "iron law of oligarchy". Under conditions of oligarchy, there is a transformation of organizational goals such that administration assumes primacy over collective purpose, the staff acquire considerable discretion over the affairs of the organization with the result that a non-elected perspective becomes dominant. Over time, the elected and administrative elite become more conservative in outlook than the rank and file of the organization. Bureaucracy comes to surpass democracy as the fundamental basis of organizational life. A finding that administration projects are viewed by group representatives as the most central ones to the organization would be a symptom of the existence of oligarchy.⁵ However, Vickers suggests that Canadian women's groups have managed successfully to bend the iron law through effective means of representation such that elected members have continued to reflect and respond to their constituencies. If these arguments are correct, it is probable that:

Proposition 13: From the perspective of the group elite, the action domains of image-building, research and education, administration and community service will not be regarded as central to the operation of their groups.

In general, it is likely to be more difficult to sustain commitment, build enthusiasm and provide leadership on those types of projects which are not given first priority for a SMO by its elected leaders.

2. Sense of Efficacy

Sense of efficacy or competency, the second basic dimension of project

meaning, is a strong positive motivating resource for the mobilization of political and social action. Perceived self-efficacy is often defined as:⁶

the feeling that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact upon the political process. . . the feeling that political and social change is possible, and that the individual citizen can play a part in bringing about this change. (Campbell, Gurin and Miller, 1954, p. 187)

However, sense of efficacy is not merely a generalized attitude about the relative power of citizen versus government, but is a self-judgment that affects both choice of action and level of performance. Bandura defines self efficacy as:

people's judgments of their capabilities to organize and execute courses of action required to attain designated types of performances. It is not concerned with the skills one has but with judgments of what one can do with whatever skills one possesses. (1984, p. 391)

The concept of efficacy is highly similar, if somewhat more restrictive, than Giddens' notion of "agency": "agency refers not to the intentions people have in doing things but to their capability of doing those things in the first place (which is why agency implies power . . .)" (1984, p. 9).

A sense of efficacy is vital to understanding collective action because this judgment of competence influences the standards of excellence established for performance, provides motivation to engage in action, assists the mobilization of members, encourages persistence in doing a challenging or long term task, affects actual performance and finally, provides resilience in order to withstand failures and mobilize again.⁷ Although self efficacy has been tested primarily

with unaffiliated individuals in mail-out questionnaires to demographic samples of society, it also applies to individuals acting collectively as a social movement organization.⁸ It is a basic methodological premise of this study that group leaders can, and regularly do, make judgments about how competent and efficacious members feel they are on particular projects when they work and act together as a group.

Self efficacy, thus, plays, an important part in project selection:

It is partly on the basis of self-beliefs of efficacy that people choose what challenges to undertake, how much effort to expend on the endeavour, how long to persevere in the face of difficulties. (Bandura, 1989, p. 29)

On one hand, a strong sense of efficacy as a collective is likely to mean that individual volunteers will expend considerable effort on a project because they feel the members of their group have the skills to succeed. A strong sense of efficacy is, thus, a strong positive motivator. On the other hand, when judgments of competency are consistently low for a particular type of activity, it can be anticipated that the organization's leaders may have a hard time convincing volunteers to take on a task that is demoralizing due to low expectations and, as a result, some action domains may be avoided or some projects done in a suboptimal manner.

Because people join social movement organizations, in part, to make a difference in the policy process, it is likely that the strongest sense of efficacy or competency--the feeling that one can make a difference--is likely to be felt in lobbying projects. The sense of "us" against "them" that advocacy action often

engenders probably further enhances the sense of empowerment in being a collective "us". It, therefore, is hypothesized that:

Proposition 14: The lobbying domain will be rated by group leaders as the one in which the members of the group have the strongest sense of efficacy.

Although two very different perspectives--that of Olson and the NSM school--both point to membership service as a central activity of social movement organizations, they would differ markedly on the question of whether membership projects provide a strong sense of efficacy for group members and leaders. From Olson's vantage point, membership service entails the provision of selective incentives as a means of overcoming the free-rider problem, but it does not have particular intrinsic value.⁹ Therefore, there are likely to be few membership projects other than the production of the private goods and the relevancy of a sense of efficacy to this domain is minimal. In the collective identity perspective, value is derived from the act of being part of the collectivity and assimilating the group consciousness. Group members are likely to have a strong desire to build a sense of solidarity and, because of concerted efforts to do so, will experience membership service projects as high in efficacy. If the domain of membership service in women's groups does not include selective inducements (at least in the conservative interpretation of Olson's theory) and if ratings of efficacy are discovered to be particularly high for these projects, interpretation must lean toward the significance of collective identities, rather than the utilitarian logic of Olson's public choice perspective. For purposes of testing these alternative views, the proposition is made that:

Proposition 15: Membership service will be viewed by elite representatives as producing a strong sense of efficacy for group members.

The projects which are likely to be lowest in sense of efficacy are those which are rare events and, therefore, cannot be judged based on past experience or, alternatively, are those projects which never seem to end, such that a comparison of accomplishment against expectation cannot be made easily. Strategic planning is the prototypical example of the first instance because it is an infrequent, highly complex and political action that usually involves serious long-term ramifications. Because long-range planning is normally done at irregular intervals, usually several years apart, the executive which remains in office for only one or two years has minimal experience with such exercises and, thus, will have a low sense of competency in its ability to manage the action successfully.

Fundraising is a prime example of the second instance due to the never-ending monetary needs of SMOs, the increased competition from other interest groups in soliciting donations or the sense of being at the mercy of a decision by the government funding body. It is hypothesized that:

Proposition 16: Strategic planning and fundraising will be the domains rated as lowest in sense of efficacy.

Action domains which are rated as low in efficacy may be done in a suboptimal manner because workers are less willing to expend effort or devise problem solving strategies if they doubt their capacity and have low expectations about the success of their efforts. Low efficacy projects, thus, require effort by

group leaders to motivate and monitor volunteers.

3. Stress

The third basic aspect of meaning that will be used consistently in posing hypotheses about SMO action systems is that of stress. Stress is defined as a relationship between agent and environment which is appraised by SMO leaders as taxing or exceeding organizational and personal resources or as endangering the well-being of the organization.¹⁰ Activities that generate high levels of stress for members of a SMO, that are experienced by individuals as very difficult and that impact negatively on other projects are likely to be deferred or delayed in order not to place strains on the resources or member solidarity of the organization. Alternatively, group leaders may attempt to militate against or contain the consequences of stress by routinizing the activity or "contracting out" the project, if possible, to a few individuals. Action domains which show consistently high levels of stress and difficulty are likely to represent problem projects because it is difficult to entice volunteer members or a volunteer executive to engage actively and enthusiastically in such tension-generating activities.

The projects which are likely to be experienced as most stressful for social movement organizations may be of two types. There are those in which the external environment--for, example, the government's political agenda or funding criteria of patron organizations--potentially drives the project, thereby reducing control by group members. These conditions aptly describe lobbying

and fundraising activities. Secondly, there are projects, such as strategic planning, which are highly complex with organization-wide consequences so that they cannot be contracted out to a few individuals to manage them. On this basis it is likely that,

Proposition 17: Group leaders will rate lobbying, fundraising and strategic planning as the project domains that are experienced as most stressful for their organizations.

Fundraising is likely to be particularly difficult and stressful for women's groups because they have traditionally been so overwhelmed with policy objectives that they have largely ignored fundraising (Carden, 1978, pp. 83). Competence and experience, thus, have not been accumulated by the leaders and Canadian women's groups, and public interest groups in general, have only recently begun to hire specialists in fundraising.

In contrast, projects such as administration and community service which can be delegated to a few paid staff or volunteer managers are likely to be least taxing of group resources and less tension producing for the organizations as a whole.

Proposition 18: The projects domains which are experienced to be least stressful for SMOs by their leaders will be administration and community service.

The challenge for social movement organizations is to balance the mix of projects such that there are some that create a strong sense of efficacy to provide motivation while not avoiding systematically the less agreeable activities and still attending to the important core projects.

Action theory is a way of asking new questions about the operation of

social movement organizations by focussing on action meaning and relating the implications of recounted meaning to the conduct of the groups. It is also a vehicle for addressing existing debates and, specifically, for accessing new perspectives from the structural literature. In analysis, the first step is to develop meaning factors from the wealth of information derived from Projects Analysis and secondly to test the above propositions.

Project Factors

Project Analysis asks respondents to take a subset of ten of their projects and rate them (from 0 to 10) on twenty-one meaning dimensions. The set of dimensions used in this study are: importance; difficulty; enjoyment; stress; visibility to membership; public visibility; control; expectancy of successful outcome; value congruency; typicality; progress; commitment; initiation; challenge; positive impact on other projects; negative impact; sense of competency; adequacy of financial resources; adequacy of human resources; personal involvement and breadth of identification across members of the group.¹¹

The purpose of the rating procedure is to examine the meaning, reflexive monitoring and rationalization--the giving of accounts--which, as Giddens argues, is how we experience action (Giddens, 1984, pp. 1-8). In data gathering, the aim was to obtain as much of the richness and detail of information as possible and it, thus, was useful to rate group projects along twenty-one dimensions. In data analysis, however, it is desirable to collapse these

dimensions into fewer, composite variables that represent structures or constructs of related meaning. In order to produce a more manageable number of dimensions, ratings on the project dimensions were factor analyzed using Principal Components Analysis.

The Principal Components analysis of the twenty-one dimensions (using 396 projects as subjects) reveals six readily interpreted factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.0 that have applicability to the organizational context.¹² As shown in Table 5.1, the first three factors relate to the basic dimensions outlined above--efficacy, stress and importance--and the overall factor pattern bears considerable resemblance to the factor structure of personal projects produced in the work of Little (1988, p. 16).¹³

The first factor is termed "competency" because it represents a dimension of variation related to a sense of agent efficacy or competency and perceived control over the external environment. The variables which load on this factor are expectancy of successful outcome, a sense of competency to do the project and progress to date on the project. The competency factor is also characterized by commitment, group initiation, sense of control over the action, congruency with the formal stated values and typicality of the culture of the group. The projects over which group leaders feel that their organizations have competency tend to be group initiated and directed, congruent with the core values and culture of the organization and are expected to be completed in terms defined as successful for the organization by its leaders. In this sense, the variables capture the notion

TABLE 5.1

Principal Components Analysis of 396 Group Projects
(Orthogonal Rotation to Varimax Solution)

FACTOR LOADINGS*

<u>FACTOR 1</u> <u>Competency</u>		<u>FACTOR 2</u> <u>Stress</u>		<u>FACTOR 3</u> <u>Centrality</u>	
control	.42	difficulty	.69	importance	.61
outcome	.55	stress	.75	commitment	.40
value congruency	.48	challenge	.58	positive impact	.78
typicality	.69	negative impact	.58	involvement	.58
progress	.45				
commitment	.65				
initiation	.72				
competency	.61				
<u>FACTOR 4</u> <u>Support</u>		<u>FACTOR 5</u> <u>Visibility</u>		<u>FACTOR 6</u> <u>Democracy</u>	
financial resources	.76	enjoyment	.43	control	-.62
human resources	.79	visibility to members	.76	breadth of identification	.62
		visibility to public	.83		

* values > .4

---

of "agency" as portrayed by Giddens (1984, p. 9).¹⁴ The factor is reflective of the very *raison d'être* of acting together as a group in the first place: members feel that collectively they can employ personal competencies in pursuit of the common values to which they are committed in order to bring about political and social change.

Factor 2 is unequivocally a stress factor defined by the dimensions of

difficulty, stress, challenge and negative impact of the project on other projects in which the group is engaged. Projects characterized by high loadings on the stress factor are likely to be a drain on group resources, a tax on the abilities of members to do them and are likely to have negative externalities on other projects in the system.

The third factor is termed "centrality" and relates to the importance of projects both for the group as a whole and for the individual rating them. High centrality scores would indicate that a project domain is important to the overall operation of the organization and that such projects have positive impacts on other activities; these projects are also central to the individual's role in the organization as measured by a high degree of personal involvement in the project.

The two dimensions relating to the supporting human and financial resources available to do a project define the fourth, "support", factor. Visibility of a project both to the membership and to relevant publics constitutes the fifth factor. Enjoyment has a positive relationship with visibility, suggesting that organizations associate enjoyment with visibly communal projects. The sixth factor is delineated by two variables: project control (negative) and breadth of the project across group members (that is, whether the project is identified with one or a few individuals versus being conceived of as an action by the group as a collective). This factor is termed "democracy" because it captures the essence of the notion of span of control in a democratic organization: the greater the breadth of participation in a project, the less the sense of control over it and, conversely, the more restricted the number of people involved in a project, the greater the control that can be exercised over it.

The utility of the six factor structure for the present research is that it suggests

the dimensions of variation in how group representatives give accounts of the actions of their organizations. More central to the task of establishing the eight theorized action domains as a complete model which represents the action systems of interest groups, these composite factors can be used in analysis of variance (ANOVA) to distinguish the conceptual distinctiveness of projects in each of the domains.

Domain Distinctiveness

The twenty-one meaning dimensions along which projects were originally rated have now been condensed into six composite factors. In order to serve as a basis for explaining the conduct of SMOs in project selection, it is necessary to characterize and differentiate action domains according to experienced meaning. Therefore, the next step is to determine if the eight action domains differ significantly on these meaning factors. Can the domain of lobbying projects, for example, be distinguished in terms of their experienced meaning in ways postulated above from the membership service or fundraising domains? To test the ability of the domain classification scheme to discriminate among projects, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) of projects as classified by domain and as rated on meaning by factor scores on each of the above six factors was performed.¹⁵ That is, the "groups" are designated to be the eight domains of projects and the dependent discriminating variables are the factor scores (at the project level) on each of the six factors derived from the previous step.

The results of ANOVA demonstrate the strength of the domain classification

scheme in differentiating between projects on the basis of their meaning. As Table 5.2 illustrates, the analysis of variance for each of the six factors produced a strong discrimination between domains which is significant to at least the .01 level. This level of discrimination between domains shows that projects in any one of the eight domains differ significantly in ascribed meaning from projects in the other domains. Moreover, this analysis provides strong support for the descriptive ability of the eight domain schema.

TABLE 5.2
Significance Levels of
ANOVA of Project Domains and Meaning Factors

<u>Factor</u>	<u>Probability</u>	<u>Estimate of between Component Variance</u>
1. Competency	.0001	.550
2. Stress	.0001	.683
3. Centrality	.01	.229
4. Support	.005	.269
5. Visibility	.0001	.949
6. Democracy	.0001	.902

Table 5.3 presents the mean factor scores for each of the project domains and Table 5.4 shows the significant differences between domains in order to present in further detail the strength of the method in differentiating among types of group projects. In Table 5.5 the levels of factor scores (high, medium and low) for the eight domains are summarized.

TABLE 5.3

**Mean Factor Scores on Six Meaning Factors by
Project Domain from ANOVA**

(range = -1.0 to +1.0)

<u>Domain</u>	<u>Competency</u>	<u>Mean Scores on the Meaning Factors</u>				
		<u>Stress</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>Support</u>	<u>Visibility</u>	<u>Democ</u>
Lobbying	-.124	.038	.098	-.068	.306	.482
Membership	.35	-.185	.047	.036	.148	-.003
Image-Building	-.003	-.481	.149	-.048	.286	-.35
Fundraising	-.488	.659	-.121	-.321	-.238	-.143
Research/Educ	.398	-.064	-.376	-.36	.032	.044
Administration	-.254	.024	.071	.311	-.771	-.591
Strategic Plan	-.367	.671	.293	.485	-.52	-.321
Community Serv	.265	-.24	-.561	.07	.048	.187

In general, the six meaning factors provide relatively good discrimination among the project domains and, overall, the pattern of differentiation follows the propositions drawn from the literature. This analysis, thus, provides further support for the coherence and distinctiveness of the eight action domains as conceptual categories.

TABLE 5.4

**Significant Differences Between Action Domains
on Six Meaning Factors Using ANOVA**

Table 5.4.1

FACTOR: COMPETENCY

<u>Domain</u> (mean score)	<u>Domains</u> <u>Absolute Mean Differences</u>					
	Lobby	Members	Image	Fund	Research	Admin Strategic Community
Lobbying (-.124) --	.474				.522	
Member (.35)	--			.838		.604 .716
Image (-.003)		--		.485		
Fund (-.488)			--		.887	
Research (.398)				--		.753
Admin (-.254)					.652	.765
Strategic (-.367)					--	
Community (.265)						.519 .632 --

Grand mean = -.028, std dev. = .338

Note: Mean differences are given only if there are significant differences (at .05) between domains on the factor scores. The absolute mean differences shown in the cells are differences between factor scores for pairs of domains, rather than being differences from a grand mean. For example the mean difference of .474 between lobbying and membership in Table 5.4.1 is the mean on lobbying (-.124) minus the mean on membership (.35). This shows the magnitude of difference between two domains, not relationship to a grand mean.

Table 5.4.2

FACTOR: STRESS

<u>Domain</u> (mean score)	<u>Domains</u> <u>Absolute Mean Differences</u>					
	Lobby	Members	Image	Fund	Research	Admin Strategic Community
Lobbying (.038) --			.519	.621		.633
Members (-.185)	--			.844		.857
Image (-.481)		--		1.14		.505 1.152
Fund (.659)			--		.724 .635	.899
Research (-.064)				--		.736
Admin (.024)					--	.647
Strategic (.671)						--
Community (-.24)						.911 --

Grand mean = .053; std dev.= .413

Table 5.4.3
FACTOR: CENTRALITY

<u>Domain</u> (mean score)	<u>Domains</u> <u>Absolute Mean Differences</u>						
	Lobby	Members	Image	Fund	Research	Admin	Strategic Community
Lobbying (.098) --					.474		.658
Members (.047) --					.423		.607
Image (.149) --					.525		.709
Fund (-.21) --							
Research (-.376)					--	.447	.669
Admin (.071)						--	.631
Strategic (.293)							--
Community (-.561)							--

Grand mean = -.061; std dev. = .292

Table 5.5.4
FACTOR: SUPPORT

<u>Domain</u> (mean score)	<u>Domains</u> <u>Absolute Mean Differences</u>						
	Lobby	Members	Image	Fund	Research	Admin	Strategic Community
Lobbying (-.068) --						.379	.553
Members (.036) --					.396		.449
Image (-.048) --							.533
Fund (-.321) --						.633	.807
Research (-.36)					--	.671	.845
Admin (.311)						--	
Strategic (.485)							--
Community (.07)							--

Grand Mean = .013; std dev. = .287

Table 5.4.5
FACTOR: VISIBILITY

<u>Domain</u> (mean score)	<u>Domains</u> <u>Absolute Mean Differences</u>						
	Lobby	Members	Image	Fund	Research	Admin	Strategic Community
Lobbying (.306)	--			.544		1.078	.876
Members (.148)		--				.919	.668
Image (.286)			--	.524		1.058	.806
Fund (-.238)				--		.533	
Research (.032)					--	.804	.552
Admin (-.771)						--	.819
Strategic (-.52)							-- .567
Community (.048)							--

Grand Mean = -.089; std dev. = .389

Table 5.4.6
FACTOR: DEMOCRACY

<u>Domain</u> (mean score)	<u>Domains</u> <u>Absolute Mean Differences</u>						
	Lobby	Members	Image	Fund	Research	Admin	Strategic Community
Lobbying (.482)	--	.485	.832	.625	.438	1.073	.803
Members (-.003)		--				.588	
Image (-.35)			--				.537
Fund (-.143)				--		.448	
Research (.044)					--	.635	
Admin (-.591)						--	.778
Strategic (-.321)							--
Community (.187)							--

Grand Mean = -.087; std dev. = .339

TABLE 5.5

Summary of Domain Scores on Six Meaning Factors

<u>Strength of Factor Score</u>	<u>Meaning Factors</u>				
Competency	Stress	Centrality	Support	Visibility	Democracy
HIGH	Member Service	Strategic Planning	Strategic Planning	Lobbying	Lobbying
	Research Community Service	Fund Raising	Admin- stration	Image- Building	
MODERATE	Image- Building	Lobbying	Image- Building	Lobbying	Member Service
	Lobbying	Admini- stration	Member Service	Member Service	Research
	Research	Lobbying	Image- Building	Community Service	Member Service
	Member Service	Admini- stration Fund Raising	Community Service		Fund Raising
LOW	Fund Raising	Community Service	Research	Fund Raising	Image- Building
	Strategic Planning	Image- Building	Community Service	Research	Strategic Planning
	Admini- stration			Admini- stration	Admini- stration

1. Domain Differences on the Centrality Factor

On the meaning factor of centrality, it was hypothesized that membership service and lobbying would be rated by group leaders as the most important types of projects. In fact, mean factor scores show that, while both membership service (mean = .047) and lobbying (mean = .098) projects are rated as moderately high on centrality, they are not the most important types of actions for women's groups. Rather, it is strategic planning that is perceived by group leaders to be the most central domain. Although the strategic planning domain has the highest scores on the centrality factor, it is not significantly different from the lobbying or membership service domains.

In part the attention given to strategic planning may be a reflection of the fact that many of the subject groups were at the time of study actively engaged in organizational review and long range planning. Results show a low, but surprising frequency of strategic planning projects: 6.8 per cent (27 of 396) of the total number of projects involved long term planning. Given that few representatives mentioned more than one strategic planning project in their selection of ten projects, this number indicates that a majority of the groups studied are engaged in some kind of long term planning exercise.¹⁶ This frequency may be a direct result of the encouragement and funding offered by Secretary of State Women's Program to conduct organizational reviews. Although strategic planning was at the time of study very important for the groups, the lack of significant differences among domains indicates that there is no one domain that is definitively more central and core to the operation of

social movement organizations than any other.

There are, however, two domains which are viewed by group leaders to be clearly more peripheral than others in the project systems of their organizations. As predicted, the domains which are rated as least important are research and education (mean = $-.376$) and community service (mean = $-.561$). These two domains have significantly lower scores on the centrality factor than all the other project domains except fundraising. It is not surprising that community service projects are rated as low in centrality because not all women's groups engage in this type of project. In reality, there is a distinct pattern of specialization among the groups. Only 6.1 per cent of all projects are community service ones and of these, 75 per cent are conducted by the first wave, "non-feminist" women's organizations.¹⁷ It appears that the operation of these first wave groups are today still influenced by their roots in social reform and service to the less fortunate that characterized the progressive movement at the turn of the century. In contrast, the second wave feminist organizations primarily have chosen to devote their constituency service efforts to lobbying the state to get policy change, rather than providing services directly, but even they are engaged in some social service activities. Research and education also appears to be a type of action whose importance is not valued by women's organizations. It, therefore, is probable that the time spent on research and education activities is quite minimal or that task specialization occurs such that these activities are organized by only a few members of the organization.

Furthermore, as predicted, results show no signs of oligarchy in the

project systems of the subject groups. In general accordance with the proposition, administration projects were rated as moderately low in importance (mean = .071). This result along with the finding that administrative projects represent only 12.1 per cent of all of the 396 projects shows that organizational administration does not overwhelm the time and attention of group leaders. Therefore, this pattern holds no substantiation for the oligarchy thesis in which organization maintenance and administration become political projects in themselves which consume the interest, attention and resources of a democratic association.

The differentiation among project domains provided by the centrality factor demonstrates that there is no one domain which is most important and core to SMOs. In particular, the analysis suggests that we need to revise the conventional wisdom of the interest group literature that social movement organizations exist primarily to lobby governments. On the other hand, they also do not see themselves as existing solely to build an identity and service a membership. Rather, there is a balance between attention to and estimated importance of internal and external actions. The compilation of expert research and the conduct of community service, however, are seen to be peripheral activities. It is the diminution of research and education that, on one hand, distinguishes SMOs from traditional interest groups and the peripheral status of community service that, on the other hand, separates them from "service" groups such as Kiwanis clubs.

2. Domain Differences on the Competency Factor

Given the hypothesized centrality of lobbying and membership service, it was also predicted that these domains would be rated as highest in sense of competency. Although membership service has very high scores on the competency factor (mean = .35), it is surpassed by the domain of research and education (mean = .398). However, lobbying, in contradiction of the proposition, is significantly lower (mean = -.124) in sense of competency than is membership service. The higher scores on competency for membership service may indicate that these projects are more value congruent, have a greater degree of group initiation and control and are more compatible with the actual abilities of individual members to carry out these projects.¹⁸ It is also possible that the sense of efficacy and expectancy of outcome derived from lobbying is relatively low because lobbying projects tend to have low levels of perceived resource support (as measured by factor scores on the "support" factor). These are also the actions most easily frustrated by actions of the state and other organizations.

The fact that membership projects show such high scores on competency indicates that the reinforcement of being part of the organization--and its identity--is a primary source of empowerment and efficacy for women's groups. This indicates that the action domain of membership service supports the collective identity notion that the purpose of a social movement organization is to forge and reinforce identities more than the Olsonian notion that membership service consists primarily of providing tangible private benefits to individuals. Further detracting from Olson's theory is found in the content

analysis of membership projects. Not one private good, in the conservative sense of the term, was mentioned by respondents, even among the expansive list of projects elicited in the first step. By far the most consistently mentioned types of membership service projects are newsletters and general meetings; none of the group representatives listed insurance schemes, travel plans or other purely private goods. Some scholars have argued that these informational and networking benefits should be considered to be selective incentives because one must belong to the organization in order to receive them and their value or benefit accrues to individuals as well as the SMO (Manzer, 1969). However, unlike trade information circulated to a corporation that is a member of a business association, receipt of "Feminist Action" (NAC's newsletter) is relatively meaningless and of minimal value unless the individual already adheres to the particular identity of the organization and the collective identity of the social movement. That is, the communication benefits are a support for and a byproduct of the identity and are unlikely to entice people who do not share the identity to join simply in order to receive them. They are valued as commodities only after one recognizes the identity and joins the group. Solidarities as incentives can be found in many different types of organizations, but identities are relatively specific and in some cases unique.

Although results indicate that the domain of research and education has the highest factor scores on competency, interpretation of this finding also has to consider its pattern of scores on the other factors. The research and education domain is rated as very low in perceived adequacy of financial and human

resources and as low in centrality. It, therefore, appears that the time spent on research by group members in general is quite minimal and that task specialization occurs such that these activities are conducted by only a few members, perhaps a few volunteers with substantive expertise.

As hypothesized, by far the lowest domains on competency are fundraising (mean = $-.488$) and strategic planning (mean = $-.367$). It is also significant to note that fundraising projects, in contrast to strategic planning actions, are also very low on the factors of resource support (fundraising = $-.321$; strategic planning = $.485$) and centrality (mean on fundraising = $-.21$; strategic planning = $.293$). Although group leaders do not feel that the members of their organizations have a strong sense of competency to do or have control over strategic planning exercises--these are actions which shake a voluntary association to its core--they are also highly committed to these projects and are willing to allocate adequate resources to them. Thus, the probability of a successful outcome is enhanced. However, the elite perceptions of group attitudes to fundraising show that similar commitment and resource support is not provided to fundraising projects.

3. Domain Differences on Stress

The portrait of fundraising as a problem project domain for social movement organizations is further developed by analysis of scores on the stress factor. In accordance with the proposition that fundraising, strategic planning and lobbying would be rated as most stressful, results show that fundraising

(mean = .659) and strategic planning (mean = .671) projects are experienced as exceedingly stressful and difficult. Given the patterns of scores discussed above, it appears that the stress associated with strategic planning derives from the complexity of the task while fundraising places onerous demands on organizational resources as well as individual abilities. Lobbying has the third highest scores on stress, but these scores are significantly lower than those on either fundraising or strategic planning.

At the low end of the stress scale, it was predicted that those domains which can be delegated to a few managers, notably administration and community service, would have the lowest scores. As demonstrated in Table 5.4.2, the proposition is generally supported: community service is very low on stress (mean = -.24) and administration is also moderately low (mean = .024). The domain which is lowest on stress, however, is image-building (mean = -.481). These are also projects which have low scores on perceived support and on democracy; that is, they are projects which are promoted and conducted by a few individuals, rather than being shared amongst a broad spectrum of members. Content analysis reveals that most of the image-building actions take the form of networking with other groups. This interpersonal form may account for the low stress scores because they involve social skills which depend on the social competency of the individuals to whom they are assigned and are not heavily dependent on organizational resources. Although the group representatives rated image-building actions as relatively important ones to which they are committed and which have a positive impact on other projects,

they also experienced these projects as producing a minimal sense of competency, low expectations of successful outcomes, low control and initiation. This means that group members may be somewhat hesitant to engage in vigorous image-building unless long-run returns can be envisaged concretely. Overall the pattern of data reveals that stress is reduced across volunteer organizations by delegating projects to a few individuals.

Conclusions

Meaning experienced from action, as tempered by the ecological and systemic contexts of action, form the basis of project selection. Analysis of group projects by the leaders of women's organizations indicates that there are several basic and stable dimensions of meaning which can be used to interpret and organize action in both personal and organizational project systems. Factor analysis of the ratings of 396 projects produced three factors--competency, stress and centrality--that represent respectively the efficacy of the agent, the relationship between agent abilities and environmental demands, and the importance of group projects. In addition three factors are revealed--resource support, visibility and democracy--which relate specifically to the organizational dimensions of these projects. These six factors provide strong and logical discrimination among the eight project domains on the ways in which the meaning of action is experienced. The fact that adequacy of financial and human resources appear as an isolated meaning factor, distinct from competency or centrality, indicates that while resources are very important, they do not drive

the action systems of interest groups as is argued by resource mobilization theory.

It is evident from the analysis that there is no single action domain that is highly central and is the predominant source of efficacy for a social movement organization. Rather, the domains appear to be balanced as an organizational project system that gives almost equal emphasis to internally and externally focussed actions. In contrast to most case studies of interest groups which, as analyses of particular lobbying events, give paramount attention to lobbying, this work as a comparative study of organizations finds that lobbying is not considered to be the single core action of SMOs. In one sense, this supports Olson's innovative idea that lobbying is a byproduct of membership service. However, there is no corroborating evidence to support the Olsonian concept of membership service as an exchange relationship--private goods for the act of joining. In women's organizations, the membership is serviced primarily through communication benefits such as newsletters and general meetings, which may provide an incentive to stay in the group, but not to join it in the first place: that decision was more likely related to the attraction of partaking in the collective identity. SMOs are important organizers of identities and that role should not be lost. To stretch Olson's notion of a private selective inducement to include identities is to denude it of its conceptual coherence and its utility for explaining the behaviour of some types of interest groups.

A useful explication of the findings is provided by the convincing argument of Offe and Wiesensthal that there are two logics of collective action

determined by the political and economic power structure.¹⁹ The relatively powerless organizations, such as labour, and in this case, social movement organizations, require the development of collective identities to overcome the inequities of class relations. If members of a SMO acted as individuals, they would be quite powerless and, therefore, they need to act together to aggregate resources. The role of the SMO leaders is to provide motivation both to get individuals to incur the costs of membership and to get them to act as a cohesive unit. Communication benefits and concentration on democracy which facilitates direct membership participation is vital to SMOs. In contrast, organizations which consist of individually powerful members, such as the corporate members of business associations, have less need of collective action and leadership depends only on the willingness of members to pay, not their willingness to act.

Perhaps the most obvious result of the analysis of variance of factor scores is that fundraising is a distinctly troublesome type of project for women's groups. The activities of raising revenues are the lowest of all in competency, they generate very high levels of stress, are not supported by adequate levels of financial or human resources and are not given high priority and commitment by group decision-makers. They also tend to be low in visibility and democracy, that is, they are conducted by a few rather than shared by the many. This isolation, stress, lack of support and low sense of competency suggests that women's groups have minimal enthusiasm for and may find every reason to avoid engaging in fundraising. Because this action domain is vital to

organizational survival, however, these projects need to be prompted and driven by a dedicated individual or executive because they will not flow spontaneously and enthusiastically from the members.

Given the changing styles and the political environment of lobbying in the Canadian political system, the peripheral position of the research and education domain in the project system poses another potentially serious problem for women's organizations. Due to the competition from special interest groups and business associations which have the resources and expertise to amass and strategically communicate technical information and due to the reform of Parliamentary committees which now virtually requires presentation of a written brief based on expert information to be seen to have a legitimate stake in an interest, the need to conduct research has greatly escalated in recent years. In SMOs, the need to develop expertise and act as a traditional interest group may dampen the enthusiasm and spontaneity of action and is incongruent with their anti-institutional bent. Unless women's groups can give greater priority to research projects without losing their passion and sacrificing their organizational identity, they will be at a serious disadvantage in the competitive sphere of lobbying and will not long remain as legitimate voices for their interests.

The next section examines the impact that resources and structural properties have on action domains by analyzing the differences in project meaning among different types of women's groups.

ENDNOTES

1. Some critical decision theorists would go even further to assert that the intent or goals of action are discernable only after the fact; that all intention is rationalized action. See Schutz (1967), Winter, (1966), Hummel (1982) and Harmon (1981).
2. In personal projects, Little theorizes and finds empirical evidence of five factors which underlie the seventeen dimensions he uses to assess personal projects. The consistently evident factors of personal projects are: 1) project meaning (the perception that one's projects are worthwhile, rewarding and valuable); 2) structure (the judgment that one's projects are under control and are manageable); 3) community (social support and visibility of one's projects to others); 4) efficacy (belief that one is able to carry out one's undertakings effectively) and, 5) stress (the sense that one's projects are difficult and straining the resources available). See Little (1988).
3. Pross (1986, pp. 203-204) argues that in most public interest groups, the elected leadership tends not to have a strong trust in the staff, especially for the conduct of publicly-visible activities that establish a "corporate" image for the group. Appelle (1986) asserts this is particularly true for English Canadian women's groups.
4. Such tensions are observed by Goldstein (1979) in the Consumers' Association of Canada.
5. It is acknowledged that ratings of administration as core to a SMO would not constitute a complete and adequate test of oligarchy, but they would represent one important symptom. High ratings on centrality, however, would indicate a goal transformation to give greatest attention to organizational maintainance and would suggest the establishment of a non-elected perspective reflected even by the elected leadership.
6. The term, "sense of efficacy" is often used interchangeably with the term, "sense of competency." It is distinguished, however, from "expectancy" which refers to the expectation that things will turn out in a particular way (Bandura, 1984; White, 1959). The term, "agency", has acquired greater usage in the feminist literature and includes not only sense of efficacy (the idea that the internal resources to accomplish a task are available), but empowerment (the recognition of those capabilities).
7. If capability is over-estimated, needless failure may result and if under-estimated, action may be self-limiting. Bandura, thus, suggests: "The efficacy judgments that are the most functional are probably those that slightly exceed what one can do at any given time. Such self-appraisals lead people to undertake realistically challenging tasks and provide motivation for progressive self-development of their capabilities. Accurate self-appraisal is supported by promoting choice of actions with high likelihood of success." (1986, p. 394).
 Bandura also argues that sense of efficacy determines not only the level of effort expended, but how productively that effort is deployed; "People who have a strong sense of efficacy follow more efficient analytic strategies to discover the optimal rules of performance than do the self-doubters." (1989, p. 31). In the social movement literature, see Klandermans (1984).

8. Most of the political science literature on efficacy (Madsen, 1987; Lambert et al., 1986; Finkel, 1985, 1987) examines sense of efficacy as a general attitude. By the manner in which it is assessed, efficacy is often confused with trust. The four questions used to tap efficacy have become standardized and assume individuals will act alone. See Lambert and associates (1986) for presentation and application of these questions in the Canadian context. In contrast to this literature, the present work argues that people who really want to make a difference recognize the value of collective over individual action and, therefore, the study of efficacy in political science needs to develop more sophisticated methods. This study makes a first attempt by assessing leaders' perceptions of the sense of efficacy of individuals engaged in collective action. Moreover, with a projects perspective, efficacy can be related to types of action.

9. Although solidarity and collective purpose are sometimes argued by followers of Olson to be one form of selective inducements (Manzer, 1969), other scholars argue this is tautological and stretches the notion of private good beyond the parameters of public choice theory (Fireman and Gamson, 1979). Even if solidarity and collective purpose are allowed to stand as selective inducements, the utilitarian logic of Olson remains the same: membership service is fundamentally an exchange relationship and would not be viewed as an end in itself by group leaders, but as a means of providing a good so people will join. For the NSM scholars, the issue is more basic than whether solidarity is a selective inducement; rather, they wish to avoid construing member participation in cost-benefit terms.

10. This is the common definition used for defining stress as experienced by individuals (Folkman, 1984, p. 840). The same definition is applicable to organizations because groups leaders can assess the level of resources (financial and human) of the group and have a concept of what conditions would entail "well-being" for the organization as a whole. Note that the concept of stress is conceptually orthogonal to that of efficacy; it is not merely the condition of a low sense of efficacy.

In the literature on stress, much attention has been given to the relationship between control and assessment of stress. It often has been argued that the belief that one can control outcomes is stress-reducing, while the belief that one has no control over outcomes is stress-inducing. In more recent work, Folkman (1984, pp. 842-845) maintains that the relationship between perceived control and stress is more complex. Similarly, Antonovsky (1979) asserts that a sense of "coherence" is more important to stress reduction than a sense of control. The examination of relationships between these variables in SMOs is not central to the present thesis, but remains an intriguing issue for future research.

11. See Appendix B for a full description of each dimension.

12. Principal Components Analysis (using rotation to an orthogonal varimax solution) is used to generate as distinct factors as possible. The procedure uses all the variance and includes low as well as high loadings in determining factors. Factors are interpreted by examination of the highest loadings with variables being interpreted only on the highest factor on which it loads (with the exception of the variable of control).

13. The comparison between the factor structure of SMO with personal projects is strikingly similar. In the table below, the factors consistently found to structure personal projects are shown on the left and those found in SMO projects are presented on the right:

Factors in Personal Projects

efficacy
stress
meaning

Factors in SMO Projects

competency **
stress **
centrality **

community
structure

visibility **
democracy *
resource support *

* no equivalent dimensions on PPA

** highly similar in variables that define the factor

The efficacy (competency), stress and community (visibility) factors are almost identical. The SMO "centrality" factor is based more on importance, commitment and positive impact, while the "meaning" factor of PPA usually includes variables of value congruency. The structure factor is not replicated, but this is likely to be a result of changes to dimensions to fit the organizational context. However, the variables of breadth of participation and control that define "democracy" and the resource variables that define "support" are conceptually similar to the notion of "structure" in PPA.

14. The factor is named competency rather than agency so as not to confuse this empirically-derived dimension with the general concept of actor agency as discussed in the presentation of action theory in Chapter 4.

15. Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) is used here instead of regression analysis because the groups (domains) are categorical, not continuous, data and, therefore, no information is lost. Because ANOVA provides a score for each group, it in fact provides greater clarity than would regression in the interpretation and presentation of results.

16. Indeed, during the study period the National Action Committee was in internal crisis over the future direction of its organizational review process. Personal observation of the 1988 annual general meeting. See also Gray (1988, p. 232).

17. Of the 24 community service projects listed, only two of those named by different representatives of the same organization were identical. Correcting for this redundancy, 73 per cent of all community service projects are done by non-feminist groups. Most of these are also first wave groups; two groups were self-described as non-feminist but have their origins in the 1960s. This means that 64 per cent of all community service (as corrected for project redundancy) were projects of first wave groups. Community service projects were done by ten groups—seven non-feminist and three feminist organizations.

18. An important issue in PPA is the level at which a project is phrased as a variable in itself. There is, argues Bandura (1986, p. 390-396), an optimal level at which we conceive of our actions in order to generate the most productive sense of efficacy and use our capabilities in the best manner. The high scores of competency on membership service may be a result of the tendency to phrase or frame these projects at an optimal level (neither as mega projects nor as trivial pursuits) which facilitate appropriate analytic strategies. For example, membership service projects tend to be listed as "publish the newsletter" or "organize the AGM" while lobbying projects tend to be phrased at levels such as "advocacy on pornography" or "childcare lobbying". Thus, it could be argued that competency is lower on lobbying projects because they are phrased at too grand a scale. But, the causal relationship may be in the reverse direction. Bandura also argues that people with a high sense of efficacy tend to develop functional analytical strategies and as a result may phrase projects at an optimal level. Group leaders may have a high sense of competency over their creation of a membership and, thus, have learned to undertake manageable projects in this domain. Several scholars, notably Gamson (1975), Gelb and Palley (1982) and Weick (1984) discuss the importance of a small wins strategy for social movement organizations. The issue of project phrasing in SMOs is an important topic for future research.

19. In the argument of Offe and Wiesenhal, class relations determine power, but it is not necessary to confine their discussion to organizations of labour and capital. For example, their analysis of the internal operation of unions (as compared to economic associations) and discussion of the reasons that unions are powerless unless they can get individuals to act together, could well apply to social movement organizations without necessitating a purely class analysis.

CHAPTER 6

Relationship of Action Meaning to Structural Conditions

One of the most persistent problems in social theory revolves around the relationship between structure and action.¹ In the preceding chapter, the patterns of meaning associated with each of the eight action domains were distinguished. The purpose of this chapter is to assess the impact of organization and movement structure on action. The conceptual approach of this study is premised on the notion that action occurs as a result of the convergence of intentionality, systemic characteristics and ecological context. While the first part of this analysis examined the meaning associated with action in its systemic context, this step explores the implications of the organizational and movement conditions which are part of the ecological setting for action.

Specifically, analysis of differences based on group characteristics will try to determine whether action meaning is dependent primarily upon the structural characteristics of organizations and the movement itself or whether meaning is relatively consistent across structurally different types of groups. For example, is lobbying constrained or facilitated and, thus, meaning shaped by structural conditions such as availability of resources, organizational structure or ideological orientation of a group? Or, is the meaning derived from the experience of lobbying more or less the same for all women's groups? Does an organization's position in the social movement network, as mapped in

Chapter 3, affect the meaning experienced in its projects?

Because the analysis of meaning, presented in the previous section, was conducted at an aggregate level of all projects within each domain, it may have masked differences in meaning created by characteristics of groups and these potential differences need to be dissected by more detailed investigation.

However, it is not anticipated that action is entirely determined by structure because, as argued in Chapter 4, intentionality, meaning and system balance are also vital determinants of action.

The advantage of action as the lens through which to view social movement organizations is that it not only provides new insight into the behaviour of groups, but it also allows us to investigate debates from the existing literature on interest groups and social movements. In this chapter it is possible to incorporate hypotheses from the structural literature into the action system approach by exploring differences on meaning factors across different types of groups. It is, indeed, logical to anticipate that there would be differences in how projects are experienced and recounted based on such structural properties as resource availability, nature of membership or ideology.

There are several structural conditions of social movement organizations which are of primary theoretical importance in differentiating SMOs and which have been used in existing literature to examine variations in SMO mobilization, success or protest styles. In the present work, five structural properties are used to classify national women's groups: 1) resources (size of budget, staff and membership), 2) source of funding, 3) structure of the

organization (for example, federated versus individual membership structures), 4) ideology (feminist versus non-feminist) and 5) position in the social movement network. Information was gathered on the structural properties of each of the women's groups through secondary sources such as group brochures and annual reports and was confirmed or completed when necessary in interviews. For each structural property, propositions are developed from the literature to guide empirical testing. Next, the effects of these structural conditions are examined by using them as independent variables in regression analysis with scores on each of the six meaning factors developed in the last chapter as dependent variables. The measures of structure are not perceived or internalized resources and structures, with the exception of the measure of feminist ideology, but absolute measures. Although decisions by group leaders to act are made on the basis of perceptions of structural conditions, from the perspective of the observer of SMOs the interest is with the impact of structures and resources that we, as outsiders, can see and measure. It is beyond the scope of this study, with the exception of the resource factor derived from Projects Analysis, to examine in detail how structures are internalized by SMOs. The relationships between the structural conditions and action are examined separately for each property.

Group Resources and Project Meaning

The significance of resources in shaping SMO decision-making about when and how to act is key in the resource mobilization perspective and evident

in the most of the interest group literature. There appears to be a strong indication that resources allow SMOs to operate in the mainstream of conventional politics, while lack of resources may keep groups operating on the fringe of legitimacy using confrontational tactics.² In the resource mobilization perspective, decision-making is treated as a rational process such that the amount of activity directed toward lobbying, for instance, would be crudely a positive function of the level of resources controlled by the organization (McCarthy and Zald, 1977, p. 1220). In an action framework, it can be anticipated that resources also will influence the conduct and meaning experienced from action.

Given that stress is defined, in one important aspect, as the tension created by the inadequacy of resources relative to the demands of a project, it is logical to argue that the greater the level of financial and human resources available to a group, the lower the levels of stress experienced in all of its project domains. A fundamental characteristic of resources is that, to some degree, they are interchangeable. For example, money can purchase expert research (rather than relying on people within the organization to generate research) or when financial resources are unavailable to hire a professional lobbyist, volunteers may be substituted to meet Members of Parliament on a one-to-one basis. Greater resources, therefore, permit greater flexibility of substitution and should enhance the sense of competency that group members have to accomplish the projects of the organization.

As developed in the last chapter, the meaning factor of "competency"

encompasses sense of competency, expectancy of successful outcome, belief in group control over and initiation of a project and a feeling that the project is congruent with core group values. In general, there is likely to be a positive relationship between the level of resources possessed by a SMO and the sense of competency that members have to conduct group projects. Conversely, there should be a negative relationship between resources and stress experienced in group action:

Proposition 19: The greater the resources available to a SMO, the greater the sense of competency held by members to do group projects in all eight domains.

Proposition 20: The greater the resources, the less the stress experienced in doing group projects.

The third basic meaning dimension, centrality, captures the priority given to particular types of projects and as such reflects organizational values and intentions; scores on the centrality factor, therefore, should not be significantly affected by level of resources.³

The independent variable of resources is operationalized through three measures which reflect the three most important types of resources possessed by SMOs. The first vital category of resources is financial and is measured as the size of budget (for 1987-88 fiscal year). Availability of human resources is indicated by the number of staff positions (including part time, in 1987) and by the membership size (counted as individuals, not as member organizations). Table 6.1 shows how the subject groups compare on each of these measures.

TABLE 6.1

Comparison of Groups on the Resource Measures

N = 30 groups which completed Projects Analysis

	<u>Size</u>	<u>Budget</u>	<u>Staff</u>
Mean	150,000	\$ 319,690	3.2
Minimum	150	\$ 5,090	0
Maximum	3,000,000	\$1,190,719	12.0
Std. Deviation	532,673	\$ 263,208	2.9

Analysis is conducted at the project level in order to consider the intentionality or domain of action. It is assumed that the group representative has rated each project in consideration of the manner in which the structural properties of her organization affect the doing of each project.

The results of regression analysis do not offer support for the proposition that the level of resources would be negatively associated with stress and provide relatively strong contradictory evidence that resources are positively associated with a sense of competency. As Table 6.2 shows, the correlations between stress and size of budget, staff and membership are low (ranging from .006 to .107) and, as Table 6.3 illustrates, none of the simple regression equations (using resource measures as the independent variables in three separate equations and project scores on the stress factor as the dependent variable) are significant. However, competency, as the same tables demonstrate, has a relatively strong negative relationship with the resource measures. For

instance, across all 396 projects, scores on the competency factor correlate at $-.406$ with size of membership.⁴ All of the simple regressions of resource measures on the competency factor are significant, but in a contrary direction to the hypothesis.⁵

TABLE 6.2

Correlations of the Meaning Factors with the
Resource Measures

Name	Budget	Staff	Membership
Budget	1.000		
Staff	.920	1.000	
Membership	.473	.390	1.000
Competency	-.270	-.258	-.406
Stress	.010	.006	.107
Centrality	-.102	-.160	-.096
Support	-.023	.015	.017
Visibility	-.104	-.115	.015
Democracy	-.133	-.174	-.075

correlations among the six factors are not shown because the factors are orthogonal.

TABLE 6.3

**Regression Analysis of Resources Measures on
Project Competency and Stress⁶**

Y = Competency Factor

Y = Stress Factor

Membership Size

R² = .164; adj R² = .162
std error = .915
beta = -.406***

Membership Size

R² = .011; adj R² = .009
std error = .996
beta = .107*

Budget Size

R² = .073; adj R² = .071
std error = .964
beta = -.27***

Budget Size

R² = 1.0E-4; adj R² = -.002
std error = 1.0
beta = .01

Staff Size

R² = .066; adj R² = .064
std error = .967
beta = -.258***

Staff Size

R² = .066; adj R² = .064
std error = 1.0
beta = .006

* significant at .05

*** significant at .0001

When analyzed at the project domain level, that is when the same regressions are conducted for lobbying projects only and then for membership projects only and so forth, the general pattern of a negative relationship between level of resources and sense of competency remains evident. In particular, domain-specific analysis reveals that for the membership service and administration domains all three resource measures are significant predictors of sense of competency (at $p < 0.5$ and in a negative relationship); for the lobbying domain, there is a significant (at $p < .05$) negative relationship between group

size and sense of competency. The finding that the absolute level of money or personnel available to a SMO does not ease perceived stress or enhance the sense of efficacy in doing a group project emphasizes Giddens' perspective on the structural properties of action. Resources are not external constraints, the impact of which is assessed in relation to absolute levels, but they are internalized constraints. The effect of resources depends on whether they are perceived by the agents to be adequate or limited, facilitating or constraining action, not on the objective levels of resources available.

These surprising results offer two insights into the behaviour of SMOs one of which demonstrates a source of motivation in SMOs that is different from other types of public and private sector organizations and the second affirms Olson's argument of the effect of group size on its internal operation. First, the implications of these findings are that in SMOs there is considerable substitution of labour for capital and that the commitment, enthusiasm and hard work generated by a few volunteers and staff operating in an "understaffed" environment (Wicker, 1973; Wicker, McGrath and Armstrong, 1972) may compensate for a lack of dollars or adequate number of people.⁷ The studies conducted by Barker (1968; Barker and Barker, 1964) and by Wicker and colleagues show that individuals respond differently to an understaffed setting--one in which the number of available persons is barely sufficient so that the tasks can be performed only with increased effort--than to an optimal or overstaffed environment in which resources are adequate or in excess of needs (Wicker et al. 1972, p. 510).⁸ In order to compensate for the limitations on

human and financial resources, people undertake harder work and longer hours, involvement in more challenging tasks, participation in a greater diversity of tasks and assumption of greater personal responsibility for the action setting. Moreover, in an understaffed setting, people develop enhanced commitment to the organization (Barker, 1968). The fact that stress is often lower and sense of competency greater in less resource plentiful groups suggests that the volunteers and staff are reacting positively to the conditions of understaffing. In social movement organizations, therefore, limitations on personnel and money may serve as an important motivating force—at least in the short term. Over the longer run, the negative consequences of a chronically understaffed environment are burnout of the hardworking, committed activists and rapid staff turnover.

Secondly, the strength of the relationship between sense of competency and group size, particularly for membership service projects, provides strong support for Olson's thesis that it is always more difficult to mobilize and to get members to act collectively in large groups in which there is minimal person to person contact than in small groups in which people can see the value of their individual contributions.⁹ Membership service projects, therefore, are more stressful in large SMOs because bonds of solidarity are not created through direct member participation. Reanalysis of the same data using a one-way ANOVA to facilitate examination of differences among groups of varying resource strength and to investigate possible non-linear relationships (groups = categories based on membership size; dependent variable = factor scores) indicates that the

group size for which the sense of competency is highest and stress lowest is 1,000 to 10,000 members.¹⁰ The threshold level beyond which membership projects become a problem is a group size of 100,000.

TABLE 6.4

**Meaning in Membership Projects differentiated by
Membership Size of Group: Results of ANOVA**

**Mean Factor Scores in Four Groups
differentiated by Size of Membership**

<u>Factors</u>	<u>Level 1</u> <1,000	<u>Level 2</u> 1,000-10,000	<u>Level 3</u> 10,000-100,000	<u>Level 4</u> >100,000
Competency	.545 (13)	.46 (16)	.506 (33)	-.123 (20)
Stress	-.474	.13	-.09	.408
Centrality	-.176	.38	-.032	.055

Number in parentheses indicates number of projects in cell

The findings also strongly support the argument of Offe and Wiesenathal (1985) that there are two logics of collective action: business associations depend on the willingness of their members to pay while unions (and social movement organizations) rely on the willingness of their members to act. Resources allow SMOs to accumulate power, but not necessarily to exercise it through collective action. Although group size and financial resources increase the mobilization potential for SMOs, they also permit and require greater bureaucracy to administer these resources. This presents a risk that a bureaucratic relationship will develop between the leadership and the rank and file which reduces

member participation in the operation of the organization. Because it is through direct participation that member commitment and the willingness to act is achieved, bureaucratization can be detrimental to a social movement organization. In contrast to business associations, such groups should strive to optimize, not maximize, resources and size:

For the sake of their power unions [and SMOs] are forced to maintain a precarious balance between mobilization of resources and mobilization of activity, between size and collective identity, and between bureaucracy (which allows them to accumulate power) and internal democracy (which allows them to exercise power. (1985, p. 187)

While Offe and Wiesenenthal would agree with Olson that the diminished sense of competency in large groups is a problem for them, the solution would be enhanced democracy and opportunities for participation, rather than concentration on the provision of selective inducements.

In conclusion, there is no evidence that resources enhance the sense of competency or diminish the stress associated with action. Strong support is provided for the interest group theory advanced by Olson and by Offe and Wiesenenthal (a similar notion is portrayed in the social psychology literature as "understaffing" theory) that beyond a certain level, the bureaucracy needed to administer people and resources may have detrimental effects for the requisite participatory basis of social movement organizations. In these smaller understaffed groups (approximately 1,000 to 10,000 individual members), the inadequacy of resources is in fact a source of motivation that encourages positive

responses of harder work and the assumption of more challenging tasks and greater responsibility. It is through the substitution of volunteer labour for money that under-resourced SMOs can accomplish as much as they do. The next section examines whether source--rather than level--of resources significantly affects project meaning.

Source of Funding and Project Meaning

A major concern which arises in the interest group literature and from government practice is whether the acceptance of state funding is positive for the daily operation and long-term health of SMOs. It is argued by Pross (1986), for instance, that reliance on state financial support makes interest groups pudgy because they tend to overextend themselves by taking on new projects, hiring extra staff and occupying unnecessarily large offices. This indulgence makes SMOs vulnerable to cuts in funding and open to manipulation in their advocacy goals. Government money may also encourage social movement organizations to devalue the importance of their membership because it is not vital to the financial life of the organization. The popular perception is that it is relatively easy to get grants from government, but that such funding may have a negative impact on other activities of the group. If this notion is well founded, it can be expected that:

Proposition 21: Groups which obtain most of their budget from the federal government are likely to experience less stress, but also a lowered sense of competency in their lobbying, fundraising and membership domains.

It is also expected that perceived adequacy of support for projects will be lower in all domains for government funded groups. This is argued to be a result of the fact that their budgets are not controlled primarily by the hard work or donations of their members, but are determined externally by the funding agency. The persistent possibility of cuts in funding may produce a sense of vulnerability and insecurity of supply. The centrality of fund-raising should be greater for member-funded groups because they continually have to canvas their membership and the public at large for donations or have to stage fund-raising events, while government-funded groups can rely on annual grant applications for support.

The variable source of funding is measured by the percentage of a group's total budget (in 1987-88) that was obtained as grants from the federal government, including operational and project funding.¹¹ Of the 30 groups for which Projects Analysis was completed, 37.9 per cent (11 groups) received less than 25 percent of their budget from the federal government; 18.8 per cent (4 groups) obtained 25 to 50 percent and 48.3 (14 groups) were 75 to 100 per cent government financed.¹²

The results of regression analysis do not confirm the hypothesis that government funding tends to reduce stress and sense of competency in the project systems of SMOs. Source of funding is neither a significant predictor of sense of competency nor of stress when analyzed across all projects; further, there are no significant relationships between source of funding and the

TABLE 6.5

Regression Analysis of Source of Funding on
Project Meaning Variables

Y = Competency	Y = Stress
<u>All Project Domains</u> (N = 386)	
R ² = .007; adj R ² = .004 p > .05 beta = -.082	R ² = .001; adj R ² = -.001 p > .05 beta = .034
<u>Lobbying Projects</u> (N = 98)	
R ² = .01; adj R ² = 1.8E-4 p > .05 beta = .102	R ² = .006; adj R ² = -.004 p > .05 beta = .079
<u>Fundraising Projects</u> (N = 31)	
R ² = .002; adj R ² = -.032 p > .05 beta = -.048	R ² = .072; adj R ² = -.04 p > .05 beta = -.269

dependent variables when analyzed for the domains of lobbying and fundraising. However, government financing significantly increases the stress associated with membership service projects. ($p = .024$; $R^2 = .063$; $\beta = .251$). There is also a strong relationship--in a negative direction--between the amount of government financial support and perceptions of adequacy of resource support (as indicated by scores on the meaning factor of "resource support"). The leaders of groups that are primarily state-financed perceive that they have less adequacy and security of financial and human resources to support their projects (on the support factor, $p = .0001$; $R^2 = .089$; $\beta = .299$) than do member-

funded groups.

While the task of writing a grant proposal to a government agency tends to be restricted to participation by a few executive and staff members, fundraising from the membership and public normally involves an array of executive, staff and members. It is evident from these data that a non-government base of revenue has spillover effects for membership projects. Due to the greater span of participation in fundraising activities, the membership has probably experienced greater face-to-face contact and as a result, has a greater sense of organizational community. Hence, the activities of membership service are less stressful and more efficacious for member financed groups than state supported ones.

Except for membership projects, it appears that neither the internal operation nor the lobbying strategies of SMOs are greatly affected by the source of their funding. Reliance on government funding evidently does not increase internal stress or decrease the sense of competency in lobbying due to fear of being manipulated. Analysis provides evidence that the membership domain is experienced as significantly less stressful and is perceived to be supported with greater human and financial resources by member-funded groups. For both government- and membership-funded organizations, however, fundraising projects in comparison to other project domains are very low on sense of

competency, high on stress and have relatively low levels of perceived support. The greater number of fundraising projects listed by primarily government supported groups (24 versus 7 for member funded) suggests that these groups are not merely lackadaisically waiting for their next government grant payment; rather, they are actively fundraising and attempting to diversify their sources of revenues.

The qualitative information obtained from interviews supports this quantitative analysis. While most of the representatives interviewed said that acceptance of government funding made them feel vulnerable to budget cuts and absorbed enormous time in filling out grant forms, none said that government financial support made them dilute or change their advocacy goals or caused them to feel manipulated.¹³ Almost all of the representatives interviewed said that their organizations were attempting to diversify funding sources, especially through corporate sponsorship and direct mail. While women's groups generally have been slow to undertake aggressive and diversified revenue raising, they now generally regard it as a priority. The expectations of success for corporate donations are low due to the perceived antithesis between policy goals of women and those of business. All groups noted the importance of obtaining charitable status for an educational trust under income tax law so that donations may be tax deductible for contributors.

One explanation for the lack of differences based on source of funding may be "annualitis": the short term, annual budget and planning horizons which are a feature of most SMOs, regardless of source of revenues.

Representatives of government-funded women's groups stressed the need for longer term budget periods so that they had some constancy; they strongly supported the move already begun by Secretary of State Women's Program to initiate core funding over two and three year periods. In conclusion, obtaining sufficient and consistent funding is a major problem for all groups in the study and the associated vulnerability and loss of agency does not appear to be detectably worse in consistent ways for government-dependent than for member-supported organizations.

Structure of Organization and Project Meaning

Resources are filtered through organizational structures. The structures of SMOs may constrain or accommodate the effective allocation of financial and human resources, influence choices among project domains and affect meaning experienced from action in several important ways. The diversity of special interests or multiple constituencies inherent in the composition of the membership of a SMO may determine the breadth of issues undertaken and the subsequent rivalries among subgroups. For example, in their now classic

analysis of organizational structures in social movements, Zald and Ash (1966) show that groups which attempt to combine diverse , and sometimes incongruent, elements may face strategic dilemmas. Strains are created by attempting to set priorities among and to forge a narrow focus out of multiple interests and competing constituencies in order to deploy a "small wins" incremental strategy.¹⁴ In addition, the more socially isolated or "exclusive" organizations tend to face less pressures of membership service because their homogeneity and tight internal (but limited external) bonds remove them from the ebb and flow of sentiments in society.

Although there is minimal research on the influence of organizational structure on the behaviour of social movement organizations, there are some relationships that can be projected from interest group and organizational behaviour literature. For present purposes, analysis will focus on four significant characteristics of women's groups that pertain, respectively, to organizational structure, membership base, interest breadth and longevity. These variables are: 1) organizational structure (whether a federated or unitary structure); 2) type of membership (whether an exogenous identity set or endogenous interest); 3) breadth of issue focus and, 4) age of the organization.

The first characteristic--structure of the organization-- distinguishes three types of organizations: those which have a membership composed of

individuals, those which are a federation or umbrella of organizations, and the "professional" social movement organizations which do not have memberships at all. In general, umbrella organizations embody greater diversity of identities, interests and social groups than do SMOs with individuals as direct members. In contrast, professional SMOs have no need to be democratic, responsive or accountable to the members. Because the subject groups are national organizations, seventy per cent of the groups in the study are umbrella groups composed of other organizations. The fact that few of the organizations have a non-membership structure--a feature of a "professional" SMO--shows that there is little support in the Canadian context for the argument posed by McCarthy and Zald (1987) that professional, non-membership groups are the way of the future in social movements.¹⁵

TABLE 6.6

Distribution of Groups and Projects
by Organizational Structure

<u>Group Structure</u>	<u>Groups</u>		<u>Projects</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
1. Umbrella Groups (Members=Groups)	21	70	295	75
2. Individual Members	7	23	66	17
3. No Members	2	7	35	9

Umbrella structures have been recognized as relatively successful adaptations for the accommodation of diversity (Vickers, 1989, p. 23; McAdam, 1983), but they are also more open to dissent and less able to prevent the growth of factions. This is a consequence of the fact that umbrella groups are composed of organized units which individually have their own organizational identity, member loyalty and advocacy interests.¹⁶ It can be expected, as McCarthy and Zald (1977, p. 1231) argue, that there are likely to be high levels of tension and difficulty in maintaining cohesiveness and agreement on action priorities. Further, it is a more onerous task to build a collective identity and forge member solidarity in umbrella organizations because there are second order allegiances, and individual member organizations have created their own organizational cultures and identities. Therefore, the threat of exit by an organizational member of an umbrella SMO is a more powerful lever for influencing behaviour of the leadership than is the threat of exit by an individual person from an organization composed of 300,000 or so other individuals.¹⁷ It is hypothesized that:

Proposition 22: The leaders of umbrella organizations will experience greater stress and less sense of competency in all project domains than the leadership of groups with individual members.

The second indicator of organizational structure reflects the composition

of the membership and is based on Dunleavy's notion of exogenous (external identity set) versus endogenous (restricted to internal advocacy interest) groups.

The defining character of an exogenous group is that the potential membership, termed an "identity set", is delimited by the number and distribution of people in that particular social category: for instance, the potential members of an SMO of native women is fixed by the number of native women. Endogenous groups, in contrast, represent simply the coming together of like-minded people with similar preferences, and therefore may attract any and all who wish to be part of that interest collectivity. Dunleavy argues that the levels of information and acceptance conditions necessary for an individual to make the decision to become an active member of an exogenous group are considerably greater than for an endogenous one, but that these requirements serve to enmesh an individual's interest and identity more completely with that of the group.¹⁸

Because an endogenous group based only on shared interests is not underpinned by an observable identity set that is distinct from the membership, however, there is a higher recognition threshold of the group itself for an endogenous group to surmount.

Given the differential nature of and attachment to underlying identity sets, Dunleavy asserts that, after controlling for group size, exogenous groups are always easier to organize and maintain than endogenous groups. It is also more

likely that endogenous groups will be underorganized due to the diffuse scope and relative invisibility of their potential membership. Therefore, it is proposed that:

Proposition 23: The leaders of endogenous groups will observe all action domains, but particularly membership service, to have a lower sense of competency and greater stress than will leaders of exogenous groups.

It can also be anticipated that membership service will be higher in centrality for endogenous organizations because they do not have the advantage of an identity set to provide the cement for cohesiveness. In the present study, the dichotomy is operationalized on the basis of whether anyone may join the organization who shares and wishes to promote its common interest (an endogenous group) or whether there is another criterion for membership such as being native or Jewish or being required to hold a university degree (an exogenous group).¹⁹ There is an even split between endogenous and exogenous memberships for those groups which completed the Projects Analysis.

TABLE 6.7

Distribution of Groups and Projects by Membership Base

<u>Membership Base</u>	<u>Groups</u>		<u>Projects</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
1. Endogenous	15	50	211	53
2. Exogenous	15	50	185	47

Breadth of issue focus is a related, but conceptually different, means of distinguishing special interest groups from the multi-issue, widely-focussed groups. In general a multiplicity of issues adds information costs, produces tensions within the organization among special interest constituencies and dilutes resources across several advocacy actions. A single issue group, in contrast, has a membership captured by the core interest, thereby reducing the complexities of priority setting and, as a result, it is more likely to be able to position itself as the legitimate voice for the interest and amass expertise to conduct high quality research.²⁰ The proposition will be tested that:

Proposition 24: The leaders of more focussed groups will experience a greater sense of competency and less stress in their projects, particularly in the lobbying, membership, image-building and research/ education domains than will leaders of multiple issue/multiple constituency groups.

The subject organizations are categorized into three types based on the

spectrum of interests in which they tend to become involved: 1) unlimited focus, that is, the group is involved in a multitude of issues of interest to a wide range of women and society at large; 2) many issues/ special population, which includes groups involved in a range of issues, but targeted primarily at a specific segment of women such as francophone women outside Quebec or Inuit women, and 3) special interest groups which limit their advocacy activity to one issue (or closely related set of issues) such as advocacy on childcare policy or pro-choice on abortion.²¹ As Table 6.8 illustrates, the 30 groups for which Project data are available are almost evenly divided according to focus.

TABLE 6.8

Distribution of Groups and Projects by Breadth of Issue Focus

<u>Breadth of Focus</u>	<u>Groups</u>		<u>Projects</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
1. Unlimited Focus	10	33	172	43
2. Many Issues/Special Population	11	37	125	37
3. Special Interests	9	30	99	25

Finally, age is included as a characteristic of organizational structure because it is an indicator of viability and institutionalization. As McCarthy and Zald (1977, p. 1232) assert, older organizations can more easily withstand changes in environmental conditions. In the now classic typology of interest groups developed by Pross (1975), groups that have achieved longevity in general would be considered to be "institutionalized" with established sources of resources, diversified interests, public credibility and institutionalized access to government officials. Thus, it is argued that,

Proposition 25: Leaders of older organizations will experience less stress and a greater sense of competency across all project domains.

It is recognized, however, that there may be a threshold age beyond which the advantages of viability stabilize and organizational calcification occurs such that organizations outlive the saliency of their issue in the political environment or their attractiveness to constituencies.²² In SMOs that with age have become rigid in their action repertoires and processes, some projects, particularly lobbying and image-building, may be experienced as very difficult and inefficacious. Table 6.9 shows the age distribution of national women's organizations.

TABLE 6.9

Distribution of Groups and Projects by Age of Group

<u>Age of Group</u>	<u>Groups</u>		<u>Projects</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
1. Young (<5 years)	5	17	65	16
2. Adolescent (5-15 yrs)	12	40	146	37
3. Mature (15-50 yrs.)	6	20	96	24
4. Senior (>50 years)	7	23	89	23

For the four measures of structural conditions, regression and analysis of variance produce results that are less definitive than predicted .²³ Differences based on structure between women's groups appear to be fewer than the theoretical literature suggests. The characteristic of membership type--exogenous or endogenous--provides the greatest discrimination between projects on the meaning factors, while the variable of organizational structure (umbrella versus individual membership) contributes the least to differentiation of action meaning.

There were no significant differences on the dependent variables of sense of competency and stress between umbrella, individual member and

non-member groups when analyzed across all action domains. Analysis of variance using projects in the lobbying domain alone ($p < .05$), however, supports the hypothesis that leaders of organizations with individual memberships have a higher sense of competency on their lobbying projects than do leaders of umbrella organizations.²⁴ It is noteworthy that professional organizations with no memberships have an even stronger sense of competency in lobbying.²⁵

The proposition that umbrella groups would experience significantly greater degrees of stress in their projects is not supported. This suggests that umbrella groups are not as fractious and tension-ridden due to divided loyalties as McCarthy and Zald have hypothesized. The fact that the umbrella

TABLE 6.10

**Factor Scores on Competency for Lobbying Projects
by Structure of Organization using ANOVA**

<u>Structure Type</u>	<u>Factor Scores on Competency</u>
1. Umbrella	-.26
2. Individual members	-.285

Scores for projects from groups 1 and 2 are significantly different at $p < .05$

groups are engaged in a comparable proportion of membership projects as are groups with individual members (15 out of 66--23 per cent--for umbrella groups compared to 64 out of 295--22 per cent-- for groups with individual members) indicates that the executive of the umbrella groups do not neglect the memberships because they consist of organizations rather than individuals. The distinction between exogenous and endogenous groups made by Dunleavy (1987) appears to be a useful one, but again results are not as clear as anticipated. Findings show that, as proposed, the leadership of exogenous groups expressed a greater sense of competency across all domains (significant at $p < .01$) and, in particular, in the lobbying and membership domains. In addition, exogenous groups have significantly higher scores on centrality in lobbying. But, contrary to the notion that groups without an identity set would have to give greater importance to membership projects, it is, in fact, exogenous groups that have higher (but not significantly different) scores on membership projects. Further, the hypothesis that endogenous groups would have higher scores on the stress factor is not substantiated.

Fundraising projects for groups with an exogenous identity set appear to be particularly difficult. This may be due to the fact that while members of the identity set may have an affinity with the group, individuals of that set may also

be economically disadvantaged and the set itself may be small in number.

Individuals outside the identity set may have no disposition to donate to the group and, thus, fund-raising has a more restricted base for exogenous memberships than for endogenous groups. While the exogenous group may be at a distinct disadvantage in fundraising due to the restrictions of its identity set, the endogenous group merely needs to increase the size of the market for its interest by active image-building.

The results indicate the importance for endogenous groups of making their lobbying and membership projects visible. This accords with Dunleavy's thesis that endogenous groups have to surmount a higher recognition threshold as groups in order to attract members. It thus makes good sense for the leadership of endogenous groups to increase the visibility of their projects. In sum, exogenous identity sets may make such groups easier to organize, as Dunleavy suggests, but the relatively inelastic identity set also produces problems in their ability to raise revenues.

The propositions made in relation to the characteristics of issue focus presume that the ability of an organization to set priorities among its advocacy activities and the ease of conduct in membership, image-building and research projects will be a direct function of the number of interests and constituencies it represents. There is some support for the hypothesis that the more restricted the

TABLE 6.11

Factor Scores on Project Domains by Membership Structure

	<u>Endogenous</u>	<u>Exogenous</u>
<u>Lobbying</u>		
Competency	-.4 (52)	.153** (52)
Stress	-.046	.122
Centrality	-.155	.35 *
Visibility	.533	.08 *
Democracy	.237	.727 *
<u>Membership</u>		
Competency	.244 (44)	.472 (38)
Stress	-.21	-.157
Centrality	-.057	.167
Visibility	.341	-.075 **
<u>Image-Building</u>		
Competency	.05 (20)	-.052 (22)
Stress	-.421	-.537
Centrality	.098	.194
<u>Fund-Raising</u>		
Competency	-.435 (14)	-.532 (17)
Stress	.226	1.016
Centrality	.057	-.268

* significant at .05

** significant at .005

Number in parentheses indicates the number of projects in cell

focus of the organization, the greater the ease with which it can undertake its advocacy efforts and, thus, the greater sense of competency it would experience in the lobbying domain. Mean factor scores for competency in lobbying are: -.499 for the groups with unlimited focus; .171 for the multiple issue/single constituency and .181 for the special interest groups ($p < .01$). As expected, the sense of competency for groups with a multiplicity of issues and constituencies is significantly lower than for the other two types, but there are no significant differences on the stress factor. In the fundraising domain, however, stress scores add further evidence to the phenomenon noted above for exogenous groups. Fundraising activities are more stressful for groups with multiple issues/special populations (mean factor score=1.165) than for groups with multiple issues/multiple constituencies (score=.466; $p = .295$).

It does appear that groups with unlimited focus have a lower sense of competency in their advocacy projects, but the differences based on focus for the other domains and factors do not constitute a clear and easily interpreted pattern.

TABLE 6.12

Factor Scores on Project Domains by Breadth of Issue Focus

<u>Domains/Factors</u>	<u>Breadth of Issue Focus</u>		
	<u>Multiple/ Multiple</u>	<u>Multiple/ Special</u>	<u>Special Interest</u>
<u>Lobbying</u>			
Competency	-.499 (46)	.171 (40)	.181** (18)
Centrality	-.075	.439	-.222*
Support	.495	-.478	-.596**
<u>Membership</u>			
Support	.363 (40)	-.438 (32)	-.078** (19)
Democracy	.236	.111	-.643**
<u>Research/Education</u>			
Centrality	-.768 (13)	.137 (14)	-.568** (11)
Visibility	-.21 (13)	.643	-.459**
<u>Administration</u>			
Competency	-.874 (19)	.322 (11)	.049* (18)
Stress	.623	-.079	-.544**
Visibility	-.293	-.761	-1.281*

(only significant results are shown)

* significant at .05

** significant at .005

Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of projects in cell

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Experience acquired through longevity should produce consistent and reliable sources of resources, established points of contact with government, a

well known and recognized image and knowledge of how to run a volunteer association effectively. It is, thus, hypothesized that older groups will have less stress and a greater sense of competency in all categories of action. The results, however, only partially support the proposition. In contradiction to the hypothesis, results from regression analysis indicate that age is not a significant predictor of factor scores on either competency or stress. However, age of the organization is a significant determinant of the stress it experiences in its lobbying projects and, as proposed, the stress involved in lobbying is diminished in older organizations, perhaps due to assimilation of realistic expectations about the process (in regression, $p = .012$; $\beta = .247$).

The explanation for lack of support for an obvious relationship between age and sense of competency in project meaning in part may be a function of the value of democracy in these volunteer organizations. Few of these groups are creations of a single individual and few, if any, have charismatic leaders who have been allowed to remain as president year after year. Rather, there is a high value placed on democratic elections and replenishing the executive, with the result that it is rare for a president to hold office for more than three or four years. Although the organization may be differentiated by age, there is no equivalent longevity of leadership. Hence, organization memories may be relatively short and cumulative experience curtailed so that there is minimal

difference in organizational behaviour between young and senior groups.

In summary, structural characteristics of SMOs do not affect action meaning in clear and consistent ways. The minimal differences on meaning between umbrella groups and organizations of individuals support Vickers' (1989) thesis that federations of women's groups have been functional responses to diversity and that they are not as fractious as some writers have suggested (Zald and Ash, 1966; McCarthy and Zald, 1977). The distinction made by Dunleavy between exogenous and endogenous groups appears to contribute useful insights into the actions of women's groups. The existence of an external identity set increases sense of competency in the collective actions of lobbying and membership service because it preemptively binds members together by an identity from which it is difficult to exit. However, the restriction on the number of potential adherents and, thus financial supporters, imposed by an identity set may serve to make fundraising a more difficult and stressful task.

Finally, age is found to be a relatively poor discriminating structural characteristic of action. Although interest groups may become institutionalized over time, as Pross describes (1975; 1986), democratic processes create a relatively rapid turnover of leaders who are not necessarily institutionalized in the ways of the organization. The experience and memory of the leadership in a group that is only five years old and one that is fifty years old may still be only two or three

years. It appears that age does not calcify action, but does generate realistic expectations about what resources are necessary for the politics of pressure.

Feminism and Project Meaning

Although this study focusses on women's organizations that form a single social movement (as discerned in Chapter 3), there are considerable differences in ideology among the groups. Ideology is an important aspect for analysis because it affects to some degree the acceptance of the organization's goals by state and society. Ash-Garner (1972, p. 12) posits that groups which seriously challenge the existing distribution of wealth and power and upset the traditional norms and values of the *status quo* will be met with greater opposition from the state and other groups than will less radical SMOs. It could be expected that groups which promote an ideology that is discordant with the *status quo* will experience greater difficulties and challenges in lobbying for their ideologically-based interests and in building organizational images because they will encounter greater resistance from outside forces. If they continually meet with opposition, ideological groups will have a sense of frustration in their lobbying actions, and over time lower expectations that they can actually change things. On the other hand, ideology can be viewed as one way of making a group more exclusive by screening out those who are not true believers.

Because ideological groups represent less diversity and have the advantage of a consistent set of shared values to mold the collective identity, the ideology should serve as a cohesive foundation to facilitate membership service. As a result one would expect ideological groups to be less subject to internal tensions among subgroups. To the extent that individual contributions remain significant to SMO finance, groups with an ideological base will have a more or less fixed base of interested individuals and, thus, potential contributors.

In the present study, women's groups can be differentiated on the basis of whether they define themselves ideologically as feminist organizations or not. Feminism in this context is simply defined as "an ideology whose basic goal is to remove the discrimination and degradation of women and to break down the male dominance of society" (Dahlerup, 1986, p. 6). Thus, feminism necessarily involves goals that require gender role equity and those that require gender role change (Boneparth, 1982; Burt, 1986; Carden, 1978; Gelb and Palley, 1987). To test the influence of feminist ideology on action meaning, the proposition is made that:

Proposition 25: The leaders of feminist groups will perceive that their members feel a lower sense of competency and greater stress in the project domains of lobbying, image-building and fundraising than do leaders of non-feminist groups.

The feminist stance of the groups was determined by asking each

respondent: "Does your group consider itself to be a feminist group?"²⁶ It is important to note that the point is whether there is an organizational identity of being feminist, not whether the respondent personally identifies herself as a feminist. Furthermore, the respondent is allowed to define "feminism" for herself. Because the comparison is made with non-feminist women's groups, no attempt is made at this stage to divide the feminist identity into the categories of liberal, socialist or radical feminism.²⁷ Table 6.13 show that the 30 groups are almost evenly classified as feminist and non-feminist.

TABLE 6.13

Distribution of Groups and Projects by Feminist Ideology

<u>Ideology</u>	<u>Groups</u>		<u>Projects</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%
Non-Feminist	16	53	195	49
Feminist	14	47	201	51

Results from two-way analysis of variance (across all domains) confirm the hypothesized differences on the competency factor: leaders of feminist organizations recounted significantly lower scores on sense of competency than

did non-feminist organizations ($p=.0001$). In particular, the feminist organizations, as predicted, had lower scores on sense of competency for membership, image-building, fund-raising and administration projects.

Although there were no significant overall differences on stress, the scores were considerably higher on lobbying and administration for feminist organizations.

In contradiction of the proposition, however, feminist organizations had lower scores on competency for membership projects than did non-feminist ones.

This reaffirms that there are significant variations in feminist thought, which may be more significant for committed feminists and the internal operation of women's groups than they are for relationships among feminist and

non-feminist groups. Perhaps as a result of the complexities of internal ideological differences, the agency derived from membership service is reduced in feminist groups. The following table shows there are also differences in activity specialization: feminist groups do few community service projects and non-feminist groups undertake few research and education projects.²⁸

The low rating on the competency and centrality factors given by leaders of feminist organizations in the domains of lobbying and image-building may be indicative of the internal struggle that has been observed in women's groups (Adamson et al., 1988, chap. 5; Mansbridge, 1986, chap. 10): the tension between disengagement based on a process of critique and confrontation versus

TABLE 6.14

Factor Scores on Project Domains by Feminist Ideology
Using ANOVA

<u>Domain</u>	<u>Factors</u>	<u>Non-Feminist</u>	<u>Feminist</u>
<u>Lobbying</u>	Competency	-.82 (56)	-.172 (48)
	Stress	-.095	.192
	Centrality	.504	-.376**
<u>Membership</u>	Competency	.476 (47)	.181 (35)
	Stress	-.283	-.054
	Centrality	.242	-.216*
<u>Image-Building</u>	Competency	.209 (25)	-.315* (17)
	Stress	-.534	-.404
	Centrality	.489	-.352*
<u>Fund-Raising</u>	Competency	-.043 (12)	-.769 (19)
	Stress	.758	.597
	Centrality	.573	-.56*
<u>Research and Education</u>	Competency	.328 (5)	.409 (33)
	Stress	-.787	.045
	Centrality	-.339	-.382
<u>Administration</u>	Competency	.36 (21)	-.731* (27)
	Stress	-.334	.303*
	Centrality	.293	-.102
<u>Strategic Planning</u>	Competency	-.133 (11)	-.527 (16)
	Stress	.921	.499
	Centrality	.863	-.099
<u>Community Service</u>	Competency	.428 (18)	-.222 (6)
	Stress	-.08	-.721
	Centrality	-.434	.941

* significant at .05 ** significant at .001

mainstreaming with the ultimate goal of becoming institutionalized. Leaders of feminist organizations may have a more difficult time deciding amongst themselves the priority that should be given to policy advocacy, building an organizational identity and actively soliciting members. For non-feminist organizations, it is unlikely that there will be an ideological reason for remaining out of the mainstream and, therefore, internal tensions over action fields and priorities are reduced. The lower scores on sense of competency for feminist groups may also be reflective of the higher levels of individual "burnout" which are reported among highly committed members of ideologically based organizations.²⁹

Goals that require fundamental change by society or the state are likely to meet with resistance by institutions and individuals who do not share these goals and, hence, the perceived ability to achieve a feminist agenda becomes diminished unless extensive change is forthcoming in the values of civil society. This produces a reduced sense of agency and greater potential burnout of committed ideological activists than for activists seeking less radical political and social change.

Network Position and Project Meaning

The relationships of action to structure analyzed so far are all part of the

structural properties of SMOs as individual organizations. However, another important aspect of the ecological context of action is the structure imposed by the relationships among organizations--that is, by the social movement. There is rich evidence from case studies about the positive effects on lobbying success that result from the formation of alliances with other SMOs and interest groups (Tarrow, 1989, pp. 86-89); this effect will be explored further in the following chapter. In contrast, there is very little research on the impact of the opportunity structure of the movement on the conduct and operation of SMOs in terms other than their enhanced effectiveness in lobbying the state. A group which has supportive ties with many other SMOs is likely to be at an advantage in doing other projects as well as lobbying. For example, knowledge of support by other organizations may compensate for the anti-institutionalism and enhance the sense of efficacy that as part of a broader collectivity of shared concern they can make a difference in the policy process and in changing values of civil society. The ability to borrow expert information from allies alleviates the pressure to produce it internally, and thereby reduces the stress of research and education projects. The effect of the ecological context of the social movement is likely to be:

Proposition 26: The greater the number of ties a group has with other SMOs and the more central it is in the social movement network, the greater the sense of competency and

less the stress that group leaders will perceive in all project domains. This relationship will be strongest in the domains of lobbying and research/education.

Two indicators of position in the interorganizational environment are calculated based on data reported in Chapter 3. The first measure, network prestige indicates the number of direct linkages with other organizations.³⁰ The second indicator, relative centrality, is a measure of an organization's overall pattern of direct and indirect ties in the network and is an indicator of its relative position not merely its number of ties.³¹

- 1) network prestige is defined as the number of times group i is nominated by other groups as being associated with them in either ongoing (strong) or project-based (weak) relationships divided by the total number of groups minus one.⁷ This measure includes asymmetrical as well as symmetrical ties.⁸ As the number of in-ties, prestige indicates which groups are leaders and are perceived by others to have influence within an interorganizational network.
- 2) relative centrality is the number of ties in the network that involve actor i divided by $N-1$ ties. All ties are counted, including asymmetrical ones, and centrality indicates the degree of connectedness of an organization to other organizations.

In simple regression equations, both of these indicators of network position are used separately to predict the dependent variables of factor scores on competency, stress, centrality and resource support. First, regression analysis is conducted across all projects and then is examined by specific project domain.

When analyzed across all projects, the results of the regressions

demonstrate a strong effect of network position (for both measures) on competency and stress, but the relationships are in the opposite direction from those hypothesized. As presented in Table 6.15, the greater the number of direct ties with other groups and the more central the position of a SMO in the movement, the lower the scores on sense of competency and higher scores on stress (for all projects) reported by group representatives. The same significant relationship holds for competency on lobbying projects only (for example, using relative centrality as the predictor, $b = -.289$; $p = .003$; error = .96), but the relationship with stress is not significant. Centrality of network position also tends to reduce the importance of the lobbying domain ($b = -.451$; $p = .0001$; error = .874) and significantly increases the perception of availability of resource support. In contrast to the proposition that network centrality would facilitate research and education projects through information exchange, results show no significant effect.

Although the findings are contrary to the hypothesis, they nevertheless provide useful insight into the nature of the experience of agency in SMOs. Perhaps the best explanation for the finding that network centrality decreases the sense of competency among group leaders lies in the organization-based idiosyncratic ascription of agency. The leaders of those groups which are tightly embedded in a supportive framework of other actors may attribute their

TABLE 6.15

**Results of Regression Analysis of Measures of
Network Position on the Competency and Stress Factors**

Y = Competency

PrestigeR² = .135; adj. R² = .133

std error = .931

beta = -.368***

Y = Stress

PrestigeR² = .025; adj. R² = .022

std error = .989

beta = .157*

Relative CentralityR² = .128; adj. R² = .126

std error = .935

beta = -.358***

Relative CentralityR² = .029; adj. R² = .026

std error = .987

beta = .169*

* significant at .01

*** significant at .0001

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group's sense of efficacy to lobby, for instance, to the movement as a whole, rather than to their own organizations as units. Therefore, the leaders of centrally located SMOs recount a reduced sense of agency that their SMOs individually have the competency to conduct their projects successfully to achieve desired outcomes. It is probable, although not testable with these data, that these same leaders would have a greater sense of agency for the movement collectively than for their own groups individually. In contrast, peripheral organizations must generate an organization-specific sense of competency because they lack the support network. The interdependence of sense of agency

and contingency of action are additional ways--and perhaps are even more powerful ties than collective identity--by which social movement organizations are bonded together.

The inverse relationship between network centrality and sense of competency may also be reflective of the fact that more central SMOs in this network tend to be the larger organizations of the subject population. As was discovered in regression analysis of resource measures on competency and stress, resource-plentiful groups, especially those with over 100,000 members, tend to experience a reduced sense of competency and greater stress in their projects. While the measure of network centrality does not precisely mirror organizational size, it appears that there are significant advantages for moderate scale of operation. While it is not desirable for an SMO to be isolated within the movement network, there also are disadvantages in terms of motivational resources of action meaning in being highly central. Both scale of operation and network position need to be optimized rather than maximized.

Conclusions

This chapter examined the impact of the primary structural conditions of women's groups on the construction of action meaning. Interpretation of existing debates through the lens of action provides empirical support for some

important issues in the literature. Although structural conditions do influence project meaning, in many cases the relationships between structure and action were not as strong or were not in the direction hypothesized. The statistical insignificance of relationships, however, must be viewed as instructive because it was never anticipated that all action would be driven and meaning determined solely by structure. On the contrary, it is important to recognize that some actions, most notably fundraising projects, are consistently troublesome and highly stressful activities which remain so in spite of the availability of resources, source of funding, organizational characteristics or group ideology. The meaning related to the domains of lobbying, membership service and image-building, on the other hand, are considerably more responsive to structural factors.

Perhaps the most significant finding of this chapter is the evidence that plentiful resources may not be an unequivocal blessing for SMOs. Indeed, this analysis points out distinct advantages of a moderate scale over a large scale operation. The strong negative relationship between resource level and sense of competency suggests that in understaffed environments (probably less than 10,000 members with a budget of less than \$100,000), there is considerable substitution of labour for capital, that members and staff work harder and develop greater bonds of commitment to the organization. Analysis also shows

that the stress of project management rises with external demands created by being centrally positioned in a social movement network. There is undoubtedly a certain camaraderie created by being a David in competition with a variety of Goliaths. The sense of competency is likely to be enhanced further if understaffed SMOs can establish a "small wins" advocacy strategy of incremental steps that are more likely to be accomplished in the near future than would strategies of all-or-nothing total victory. Over the long run, however, the negative consequences of a chronically understaffed organization may be activist burnout and high staff turnover.

The results provide strong support for Olson's thesis that large groups are more difficult to maintain than smaller ones. The perceptions held by SMO leaders of the sense of competency generated in group members for all types of projects are significantly lower in organizations over 100,000 than in smaller groups. In large organizations which do not require, and perhaps cannot accommodate, direct participation by a large segment of the membership and in which there is considerable physical (and perceptual) distance between the elected executive and the rank and file, the need for democracy to countermand bureaucracy is vital.

In contrast to conservative interpretations of Olson's theory, there was no indication that pure private goods are provided to members of women's groups

as an incentive to participate. Rather the incentives appear to be those of networking or communication that reinforces an identity. The importance of expressive incentives does not necessitate a theory which assumes the purely rational utilitarian logic of Olson, but may indicate, as Dunleavy (1987) theorizes, that individuals try on identities in an experimental fashion. Consequently, reinforcement of identity through solidarity and expressive incentives is essential to maintaining their continued participation.

The use of umbrella structures to draw together a diversity of interests and to minimize the distance between elite and the rank and file is a very successful adaptation to operation at a national level. Such federated structures historically have been extremely popular among national Canadian women's groups and remain so today. In contrast, "professional" SMOs that have a paper membership and professional organizers as leaders are almost nonexistent. Even the few subject groups which were created as cadre organizations without formal membership structures are evolving at their own initiative into more democratic and participatory groups. It appears to be relatively unimportant for the experience of action by leaders whether the official members are individuals or organizations. In umbrella structures, as in groups with individual members, there is opportunity for individuals (not just organizational presidents) to participate at the annual general meeting and at special lobbying events.

Anyone who has ever attended a NAC annual meeting knows just how lively individual participation can be.

The inclusion of umbrella organizations in the same study as groups with individual memberships, however, raises an important measurement issue.

Although the size of umbrella groups was measured in terms of the number of people they represent, which usually is how they publicly portray themselves, in analysis this procedure may inflate the pressures of internal management. On one hand, the administrative costs of maintaining a membership of six hundred organizations in a federation that collectively represents three million people may be considerably less than managing three million members as individuals. On the other hand, the management and negotiating skills required to keep those organizations, each with its own identity and interests, in federation may be dramatically more onerous. In future studies of SMOs, better means of assessing and comparing the operation of different organizational forms are required.

In contradiction of conventional wisdom, reliance on government funding does not make the task of fundraising significantly more pleasant or efficacious than it is for groups which obtain their revenues mainly from their members or the public. However, fundraising from individuals has spillover effects on membership service projects that are positive for the organization.

Although government funding does not appear to generate a sense of being overtly manipulated in advocacy projects, it does appear to produce distance and reduce contact between the leadership and the membership. While the long term positive effects of government funding may be more professional management, this must be weighed against the negative effects of limited membership recruitment and diminished effectiveness of leadership, because contact with members and the leaders of other groups is less frequent, less direct and less community-oriented (Savas 1987, pp. 393-398). Although the present study cannot examine the long-run implications of dependency on government funding, it is obvious that the effects are more internal and more subtle than direct coercion in the advocacy process.

Finally, feminist organizations appear to experience greater internal turmoil over action fields, advocacy strategies and membership recruitment than do non-feminist groups. In contrast to earlier literature (Ash-Garner, 1962; McCarthy and Zald, 1968) which postulates that ideology has the effect of making SMOs more homogeneous and exclusive, this analysis suggests that the differences become more obvious and priorities more difficult to set among ideologically-committed feminists than among members of non-ideological organizations.

In conclusion, the adaptation of Personal Projects Analysis to

organizational analysis has proved to be a very useful method of discerning meaning in group action, for comparing action in different types of SMOs and relating group projects to the structural conditions for action. The objective of the analysis developed in Chapters 4 through 6 has been to view the projects and pressures of SMOs from an intraorganizational perspective and, thereby, explain their behaviour as it is constrained and facilitated by organizational and movement contexts. Because SMOs by their very nature are engaged in attempts to achieve policy change, their actions to a large extent are driven by the desire to be effective in the role of political agent. This part of their operation necessarily involves some relationship with the state. The intent of the next chapter is to examine perceptions of the effectiveness of national Canadian women's groups, as rated by a subset of federal public officials and by group leaders themselves, and to investigate which of three variables--position in the movement, availability of resources or project meaning is the better determinant of advocacy effectiveness.

ENDNOTES

1. See Giddens (1979) for a general discussion of the relationship between action and structure. The agent-structure debate from an action perspective has been examined in numerous contexts. See Harmon (1981) and Harmon and Mayer (1986) for a discussion of the debate in the context of public administration; Dessler (1989) and Wendt (1987) in international relations and Dannefer (1988) in social psychology.
2. Pross (1975) develops a typology of interest groups placed on a continuum of degree of institutionalization: groups may range from issue-oriented to institutionalized. Issue-oriented ones frequently resort to demonstrations and protest, in part, because they do not have the resources or the contacts to lobby via methods of elite accommodation. Gamson (1975, p. 50-51) also shows that resources (particularly number of members) facilitates getting acceptance as a valid voice for a legitimate set of interests, although larger groups are not any more likely to actually win new policy advantages.
3. Only the scores on the first three factors--competency, stress and centrality--are used as dependent variables; analysis of the factors of support, visibility, support and democracy are not included. As an exploratory study, the first step is to consider patterns of relations with the most theoretically interesting and stable variables before detail and complexity are added. The stability of the factor structure (particularly for the factors with smaller eigenvalues) should be examined in other studies before relationships with the other three factors are tested.
4. Size of group is multiplied by .001 in order to avoid the problem of correlating a set of very large numbers (size) with a set of very small numbers (project ratings). The strength of the correlation between sense of competency and membership size disappears when NAC--by far the largest organization when counted as individuals--is removed from the analysis.
5. In order to be conservative, the level of confidence is raised beyond 95 per cent. Due simply to the number of regression equations calculated, there is an increased possibility of finding significance on the basis of chance alone. Therefore, following the Bonferri approach, a level of significance is determined by dividing .05 by the number of regression equations.
6. When NAC--by far the largest group is deleted the betas are reduced and the significance of results on the stress factor disappears. The results with NAC omitted are as follows:

Y = Competency Factor

Membership Size

$R^2 = .065$; adj $R^2 = .002$

$p \Rightarrow .05$

beta = .196

Budget Size

$R^2 = .018$; adj $R^2 = .016$

$p = .01$

beta = -.136

Staff Size

$R^2 = .023$; adj $R^2 = .0621$

$p = .004$

beta = -.153

Y = Stress Factor

Membership Size

$R^2 = .008$; adj $R^2 = .003$

$p > .05$

beta = -.008

Budget Size

$R^2 = .002$; adj $R^2 = -.001$

$p > .05$

beta = -.044

Staff Size

$R^2 = .001$; adj $R^2 = .001$

$p > .05$

beta = -.038

7. When first developed, this notion was called "undermanning" theory--an unfortunate term, particularly in the study of women's groups. Wicker (1974) has since replaced the term "undermanning" with the gender-neutral term, "understaffing". However, the concept still refers to the number of people in a behaviour setting relative to the demands of that setting. It is not limited to staff, but in this application would include volunteer leaders and members as well as staff.

8. The notion of understaffing has been applied primarily in the context of public schools and churches. Barker and Barker (1964), for instance, observe that the frequency and style of interactions of students in high school settings differs depending on the size of the school: students in small schools participate in a wider range of behaviour settings and assume more positions of responsibility and power than do students in large schools (see also Gump and Freisen, 1964). Similarly, a number of studies have found negative correlations between number of members in church congregations and participation in church activities such as church school attendance (Barker, 1960) and church women's organizations (Vicker, 1969a). Barker (1960) also reported an inverse relationship between the number of members of Rotary clubs and attendance at club

16. It is not impossible, however, to have an umbrella structure which pursues a single special interest. The Canadian Day Care Advocacy Association is an excellent example of such a federated structure that includes unions as well as provincial chapters.

17. As discussed in the historical overview presented in Chapter 2, during the constitutional crises in 1982 and 1987-88, the threat of withdrawal by one major organization, the FFQ, significantly shaped the behaviour of the parent organization NAC. Undoubtedly the same threat by other member groups would have been treated seriously, but not in the same critical manner as the threat of FFQ because it is vital to making NAC a national organization with bases in Quebec as well as English Canada.

18. In a group with an externally defined identity set, a potential recruit must first perceive that the identity set exists and that she falls within that set before evaluating the representativeness and viability of the group. There is no reason, according to Dunleavy, to assume that inclusion in a given identity set will be obvious to all because such a recognition must compete with multiple social identifications. Once the identity set is recognized, however, the organizing task for the group is relatively easy. There is also the advantage that the identity set of an exogenous group is often concentrated spatially or socio-economically which means that the potential membership may be more readily reached and mobilized. Because the potential members of an endogenous group are self-selected on the basis of ideas, they can exit completely, and may even develop rival groups competing for the same interest and members.

19. Because the comparison is among women's groups, no group is classified as being exogenous of women, that is, as attempting to represent all women. However, this is how NAC might be described in relation to other types of social movement organizations.

20. When viewed in terms of interests, not potential membership, some endogenous groups may have single interests (eg. Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women in Sport or Canadian Abortion Rights Action League) or may have multiple interests (eg. YWCA, NAC FFQ). Most groups classified as exogenous have either multiple interests for a special constituency (eg., Inuit Womens' Association or FNFCF) or multiple interests and multiple constituencies (these tend to be exogenous groups based on profession rather than race or language, eg. National Association of Women and the Law). The relationship between groups classified on the basis of membership versus on the breadth of interest is:

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

meetings. An explanation for the increased responsibility and cooperation in understaffed settings is provided by Wicker who argues that people in such settings tend to perceive themselves and others in functional, rather than evaluative, terms (1969b, p. 203).

9. Olson did not specify at what actual number of members a group would be designated as a "large" group in which some of the problems of membership coherence would apply.

10. For use in ANOVA membership projects ($N = 396$) were classified into four categories (on each of the three resource measures). These categories or levels of resource availability are:

Level 1:	budget	< \$20,000
	staff	none
	membership	< 1,000
Level 2:	budget	\$20,000-\$100,000
	staff	1-2
	membership	1,000-10,000
Level 3:	budget	\$100,000-\$500,000
	staff	3-7
	membership	10,000-100,000
Level 4:	budget	>\$500,000
	staff	>7
	size	>100,000

Category limits were established on the basis of means and standard deviations, although they are not divided precisely according to these measures.

Results of ANOVA confirm that the relationship between resources and the factors of competency or stress is not a linear one. Scores on competency are highest and scores on stress lowest for Levels 2 and 3. The probability of significant differences among groups of differing resource strength is at least .005 for competency on all three measures (size of budget, staff and membership) and .05 for centrality, but there are no significant differences between groups on stress or the other meaning factors. There are no significant interaction effects between domains and groups.

11. For national Canadian women's groups, government support is obtained primarily through the Women's Program of Secretary of State, but other sources are included such as the Multicultural Program of Secretary of State and project funding from departments such as Health and Welfare.

12. Breakdown of sources in absolute amounts for the 1987-88 fiscal year was obtained from the budgets of the groups (as reported in annual reports or as volunteered by group leaders). The revenues from government and non-government sources were calculated as a percentage of the total budget. Non-government sources includes membership dues, private donations, interest on investments and revenue from fundraising events. In two cases, precise figures were not available and estimates were made based on figures publicly available from Secretary of State as to the amount of grants given to the groups.

13. It is recognized that there often is a natural tendency for group leaders to say that they are not directly manipulated. In fact, subtle forms of manipulation, such as the need to meet government timetables and conform with regulations regarding grants (Smith, 1977) may be as significant, but less obvious than overt manipulation.

It is argued by Pross (1986) that government funding also tends to make groups flabby: that they tend to spend money on excessive amounts of office space and expensive office furniture. Observation of group offices (most representatives were interviewed in the organization's head office, if it has one) turned up no rosewood desks, plush carpet or expansive boardrooms. Indeed the headquarters of these groups are excessively modest and small and out of the high rent office towers. Most occupy older low storey buildings and usually share boardrooms with other organizations. Many women interviewed said that they would actively shun the trappings of power, such as plush offices, even if they could be afforded because such things represent an aspect of patriarchy and inequity against which they were struggling.

14. For a discussion of a "small wins" strategy see Weick (1984), Gelb and Palley (1982) and Gamson (1975).

15. One of the two non-member groups is presently in the process of becoming a membership structure with individual members organized into local chapters. The other group classified as "non-membership" represents women who are very dispersed geographically in the north with poor communication links among them. Although this group appears to have close ties with its constituency, the factors of geography and socio-economic structure forced it to create an alternative structure.

16. It is not impossible, however, to have an umbrella structure which pursues a single special interest. The Canadian Day Care Advocacy Association is an excellent example of such a federated structure that includes unions as well as provincial chapters.

17. As discussed in the historical overview presented in Chapter 2, during the constitutional crises in 1982 and 1987-88, the threat of withdrawal by one major organization, the FFQ, significantly shaped the behaviour of the parent organization NAC. Undoubtedly the same threat by other member groups would have been treated seriously, but not in the same critical manner as the threat of FFQ because it is vital to making NAC a national organization with bases in Quebec as well as English Canada.

18. In a group with an externally defined identity set, a potential recruit must first perceive that the identity set exists and that she falls within that set before evaluating the representativeness and viability of the group. There is no reason, according to Dunleavy, to assume that inclusion in a given identity set will be obvious to all because such a recognition must compete with multiple social identifications. Once the identity set is recognized, however, the organizing task for the group is relatively easy. There is also the advantage that the identity set of an exogenous group is often concentrated spatially or socio-economically which means that the potential membership may be more readily reached and mobilized. Because the potential members of an endogenous group are self-selected on the basis of ideas, they can exit completely, and may even develop rival groups competing for the same interest and members.

19. Because the comparison is among women's groups, no group is classified as being exogenous of women, that is, as attempting to represent all women. However, this is how NAC might be described in relation to other types of social movement organizations.

20. When viewed in terms of interests, not potential membership, some endogenous groups may have single interests (eg. Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women in Sport or Canadian Abortion Rights Action League) or may have multiple interests (eg. YWCA, NAC FFQ). Most groups classified as exogenous have either multiple interests for a special constituency (eg., Inuit Womens' Association or FNFCF) or multiple interests and multiple constituencies (these tend to be exogenous groups based on profession rather than race or language, eg. National Association of Women and the Law). The relationship between groups classified on the basis of membership versus on the breadth of interest is:

		Special Interest Group	Special Constituency	Multiple Interests /Constituencies
N = 30	Endogenous Group	7	1	7
	Exogenous Group	0	10	5

21. The range of interests is determined by interviews. Specifically respondents were asked to name the most important issue(s) for their group in the future. This information was supplemented by information on involvement in policy issues from group brochures, annual reports and policy handbooks if available.

22. The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) is one example of a group whose issue has not changed, but the political environment has changed around it and the organization has not responded appropriately. While it has expanded its view on temperance to include other drugs as well as alcohol, there is a strong debate within the WCTU whether it should assist by providing services for the addicted (personal interview). As a result the group has suffered constant and major decreases in membership over the years (Mitchinson, 1979).

23. Regression is used for all variables at an interval level of measurement because it has the advantage of using all the data; ANOVA is used with variables that are measured at a nominal level and as a secondary technique to examine possible non-linearity of relationships.

24. There is also the very logical finding that factor scores on visibility for membership projects are significantly different across groups. As expected, professional SMOs have few membership service projects (3 of 82), with very low scores on visibility.

25. Due to the very low number of non-member groups (only two), these groups are not included in the analysis of variance.

26. Confirmation of the respondents' categorization of her group as feminist/non-feminist was obtained by examination of newsletters, magazines and other official publications of the group to

determine if and how the term feminism was used in describing the group. There were no discrepancies between official, printed descriptions of the group and self-reports: that is, in no instance did a respondent describe the group as feminist when the group literature made no mention of it and vice versa.

27. For a detailed discussion of the differences between liberal, socialist and radical feminism, see Adamson et al. (1988), Ferree and Hess (1985) and Boneparth (1982).

28. As Table 6.15 shows, leaders of non-feminist groups listed five research and education projects, while leaders of feminist groups listed thirty-three.

29. There is minimal work on activist burnout. Mansbridge (1986) touches on this point in her analysis of the ERA, but does not explore it in depth. Using anecdotal material on former FLQ radicals, Piotte (1987) discusses their disillusionment.

30. A related measure of "supportiveness" was also calculated. Supportiveness is the reverse asymmetrical measure to prestige. It represents the number of other groups mentioned by group i divided by $N-1$ groups. This measure of out-ties indicates the supportiveness of a group toward others in the network. Regression analysis shows very similar results using supportiveness as the independent variable as with prestige. The results using prestige rather than supportiveness are reported because the regression beta weights are somewhat higher.

31. In order to examine the robustness of difference network measures, the indicator of network "closeness" was also calculated. Closeness is based on network isolation rather than centrality and assesses the distances from i to all other actors in the network. It is calculated as the sum of the path distances for actor i divided by $N-1$ groups. This measure produces an identical pattern of results in regression as centrality, but the betas are marginally higher using centrality.

CHAPTER 7

Assessing Effectiveness and Relationships with the State

As political agents interested in social, cultural and institutional change, social movements necessarily have a relationship with the state. Although because of the inherent anti-institutional nature of a social movement, this relationship may be intermittent and considerably more adversarial than the one sought by business associations and traditional interest groups, nevertheless the national Canadian women's movement has had an ongoing interest in influencing the policy-making process. A complete analysis of the actions of a social movement thus requires an assessment of the nature and effectiveness of its relations with the state. The social movement literature, however, gives minimal attention to the movement-state relationship and there have been few attempts to develop predictive models of the effectiveness of social movement organizations. Although Canadian interest group scholars have tried to investigate systematically how national interest groups lobby the federal state and, thereby impute effectiveness to their lobbying actions, this type of analysis has been attempted only with a random sample of diverse kinds of interest groups. It has not been applied to a comparative analysis of the organizations that comprise a single social movement in order to examine the effect of the movement itself on the actions of constituent groups. Moreover, existing studies of the preferred targets of advocacy in the Canadian government are now

outdated due to recent changes in the policy-making process that have greatly altered the political environment of interest group lobbying in Canada. These changes include restructuring of the Parliamentary committee system, addition of a partisan bureaucracy of advisors in ministers offices and a change in the political stripe of the federal government with the election of the Conservative government in 1984 after twenty years (with a brief interruption) of Liberal reign in federal power.

The purpose of this chapter is to assess the determinants of effectiveness of social movement organizations and to examine the nature of the contact that the subject groups have with various parts of the federal government. As theorized throughout this work, a social movement in its relationship with the state is not a unitary actor, but the individual social movement organizations act to influence the state. The financial and human resources available to a SMO are likely to influence how intensively and how extensively it is able to lobby public officials and in part will determine what kind of tactics it is able to use. Motivational resources, such as sense of competency, or motivational impediments, such as level of organizational stress, are also likely to affect its advocacy activities. The lobbying strategies, reputation and influence, however, also are influenced by the movement milieu in which a SMO is situated. It can be anticipated that the effectiveness of a social movement organization in its relationships with the state will depend on both the group's position in the movement, especially the degree to which it is supported in advocacy by other groups, and by characteristics of the organization itself such as resource

endowment and the social meaning experienced in its project domains. This chapter first examines predictors of effectiveness of the thirty-three subject groups and, secondly, in a more descriptive fashion analyzes the targets for their advocacy activities with the federal government. Because respondents, both group representatives and public officials, were given guarantees of anonymity in the attribution of effectiveness, data are analyzed at a summary level so as not to reveal organizational or personal identities.

Measuring Effectiveness

Ideally, effectiveness of SMOs in the policy process would be measured by accurate assessment of the degree to which action by a particular SMO affected the outcomes of the policy process. Such measures would be extraordinarily difficult to obtain, however, because a SMO is seldom the only influence for policy change. As a result, it is very difficult to attribute accurately a cause-effect relationship, that is, to ascertain that a given legislative or procedural changes was the direct result of the actions of a particular organization (Keim and Baysinger, 1988). In addition to the simultaneous action of several protagonists and counter forces, the attainment of policy change may be confounded or facilitated by a plethora of economic, social and political factors beyond the control of pressure groups. Etzioni asserts that assessment of successful goal attainment of SMOs should be measured by "the degree to which an organization realizes its goals under a given set of conditions" (1973, p. 135), but in practice, it is almost impossible to impose such parameter controls. The

problems of measurement of substantive policy effectiveness would also rise exponentially with thirty-three subject groups, not all of which have been active lobbyists on the same issues. While it would be desirable to perfect means of attributing with precision policy outcomes to particular SMOs, such a task is beyond the resources and time frame of this study.

This analysis uses measures of process rather than outcomes as indicators of effectiveness. Specifically, perceptions of effectiveness and measures of frequency and intensity of contact with a selection of government officials who are in positions of influence for the concerns of the subject groups are used as criterion variables.¹ Not only are perceptions of effectiveness more easily obtained on a group-specific basis through interviews, they are also intrinsically meaningful. Perceptions of group effectiveness--whether or not they are completely accurate--affect the extent to which key government players in the policy process will choose to listen to and create means for participation by a given SMO. If a group is believed to be effective, politicians and public servants will feel that they should at least hear their views because they might fear the consequences of lobbying campaigns that such groups have a reputation to be able to conduct. Perceptions also reflect interpretations of the reality of past personal experience with or reputational knowledge of an organization. Although such perceptions may not be objectively accurate, it is the subjective reality of the perception that affects the behaviour of policy makers. Group leaders themselves argue that "if the policy-makers believe we are effective and have power, then we do."²

In addition, the related indicator of frequency and type of contact is important because it reflects recounted levels of actual interaction. Contact with politicians and public servants may be institutionalized and formal, such as attendance at an annual "lobby" or appearances before Parliamentary committees, or may be informal such as personal meetings with group leaders. As Pross notes, contact is a function of both attributes of groups and acceptance by policy makers:

Access to key decision-makers denotes more than recognition--it is an acknowledgment of power in the community, of the possession of vital information and/or the ability to persuade others to support or abandon a cause. Above all, however, it is an acknowledgment of the group's familiarity with the policy process (1986, p. 134).

Contact thus reflects both the efforts by groups to gain access and their preexisting reputation and is constrained by the nature of the issue and the "unequal structure of representation" (Mahon, 1977) that grants better access to some types of groups than others.³

Perceived effectiveness may be highly correlated with the behavioural measure of level of contact. Although we would expect perceptions of effectiveness to be enhanced by increased contact, it is also possible to perceive an organization as being effective based on reputation alone, rather than any form of direct interaction.

In interviews, public officials rated frequency and type of contact and perceptions of effectiveness of each of the thirty-three subject groups. The choice of officials was not random, but was made with a view to incorporating the

parliamentary, partisan and public service levels as points of access and covering the gamut of policy areas of potential interest to women's groups. Interviews were conducted with forty-four public officials including: 1) Members of Parliament who sat on two important parliamentary committees related to women's interests⁴; 2) Chairs and Vice-Chairs of standing committees of the House of Commons that regularly dealt with issues of concern to women; 3) exempt staff of Ministers with portfolios related to the status of women⁵; 4) partisan policy advisors and administrative leaders of the women's caucus in each of the three major political parties; 5) career public servants in a broad spectrum of policy areas⁶ and 6) three journalists from the print media who covered "women's issues". Based on these interviews, effectiveness was measured in several intercorrelated ways that tap both perceptions of effectiveness (independent of degree of interaction) and frequency of contact:

- 1) Spontaneous mention of the groups was obtained in response to the question, "What women's groups do you have the most contact with?" This can be considered a measure of the awareness or reputation of the groups.
- 2) Each group was named by the interviewer and the public official was asked to indicate the degree of contact.⁷ Frequency of contact was measured as no contact (0); infrequent contact (1); moderate (2) and high frequency of contact (3).
- 3) The respondent named the type of contact which was subsequently scaled.⁸ Intensity of contact was scaled as the nature of the form of interaction (from 0 to 10) ranging from "never heard of" (0) to "heard the group at formal meetings or committee hearings" (6) to "sometimes acts as an agent for the group" (10).

- 4) Finally, as the name of each group was read, the respondent was asked to indicate the degree of its effectiveness in policy advocacy compared to other types of groups with which he or she has had experience. The responses were then categorized from 0 (not at all effective/does not know enough about the group) to 3 (very effective). This measure of perceived effectiveness is conceptually independent of infrequency or personal contact with the group or support for its cause.

The responses for all forty-four public officials are aggregated for each group such that there is one additive score for each of the thirty-three subject groups on each of the above four measures.⁹

Another important perspective on the effectiveness of SMOs is that of group leaders themselves. Indeed, there may be no better expert to assess the performance of the organization than group leaders. The interest in self-rated assessment is becoming increasingly popular in the organizational behaviour literature (see Cameron and Whetten, 1981). For example, in a broad sample of local voluntary associations, Knoke and Wood (1981, chaps. 7 and 9) compare leaders' self-ratings of their groups with perceptions of neutral community experts. The moderate correlation (.53) between the two measures suggests that they do in fact tap the same construct, but that they capture variations based on experience and expectations. The finding that influence reputation (as rated by outsiders) is best predicted by network position and financial resources indicates that outsiders judge voluntary associations on their ability to achieve goals outside the organizational boundaries, whereas members view their effectiveness in terms of a broader mix of goals, including internal goals. In

particular, membership commitment and tolerance of others (people with differing views to those of the respondent) within the organization were important determinants of self-rated effectiveness.

The advantage of self-rated effectiveness as a complementary measure to other-rated effectiveness is that it not only examines performance from an internal perspective, but that it gives more refined sub-measures which roughly map onto the eight domains of action. As part of the interviews with group representatives each person was asked to give a global or overall rating of the effectiveness of her organization (from 0, not at all effective, to 10, highly effective) and to evaluate it in a number of domains that correspond to the project domains. In addition, respondents speculated on how effective they expected the organization to be in the future, in one year and five years from the interview. These aspects of self-rated organizational effectiveness are:

- 1) Advocating policy goals (advocacy domain)
- 2) Fundraising (fundraising)
- 3) Generating and disseminating information useful to policy makers (research and education)
- 4) Maintaining a strong image and position relative to other women's groups (image-building)
- 5) Effectiveness of the decision making structure in assisting the group to accomplish its goals and activities (administration)
- 6) Leadership in representing views of the members (administration)
- 7) Attracting new members (membership service)
- 8) Keeping existing members (membership service)
- 9) Nurturing and encouraging members to learn or apply abilities (membership service)
- 10) Overall effectiveness considering all the activities that the group does
- 11) Overall effectiveness three years ago
- 12) Anticipated effectiveness in one year
- 13) Anticipated effectiveness in five years

In contrast to the aggregation technique used to obtain group scores based on ratings by public officials, self-ratings are not aggregated but each group representative has a raw score (from 0 to 10) on these dimensions.

Predictors of Effectiveness

Given the conceptual framework of this study which views social movements as a set of organizations each of which is engaged in a project system of action influenced by structural conditions and embedded in a network of ties with other organizations, we expect that three categories of independent variables will influence the criterion measures of self and other-rated effectiveness. First, the experienced meaning, especially the sense of competency and level of stress associated with the project system, provide important motivational resources that lead groups to act in more or less optimal ways. Specifically, it is proposed that,

Proposition 27: The project meaning dimensions of stress and competency will be significant predictors of other- and self-rated effectiveness. The greater the overall mean level of stress in a group's project system, the less the perceived effectiveness; the greater the overall mean sense of competency, the greater the perceived effectiveness.

To the extent that groups are experiencing high levels of stress in their project system, they are less likely to be able to devote full attention to lobbying in a comprehensive manner because they will be occupied with putting out fires in other types of projects. To the extent that groups feel a low sense of efficacy, they may ask, "why does it matter how, or if, we lobby on this issue?" To assess

project meaning, one marker variable is chosen from each of the six meaning factors created in Chapter 4. These markers are the group mean scores (across all projects) on the dimensions of 1) competency (representing the competency factor), 2) stress (stress factor), 3) positive impact (centrality factor), 4) perceived level of human resources (support factor), 5) visibility of projects to the public (visibility factor) and 6) control (from the democracy factor).¹⁰ Because project meaning is internal to the functioning of the group and is seldom visible to outside observers (especially to public officials because group leaders attempt to portray a cohesive and motivated organization that lacks internal strife), it is not anticipated that project meaning will be as strong a predictor of the perceptions of effectiveness held by public officials as of self-rated effectiveness.

Secondly, as resource mobilization theorists predict, the level of resources available to a group should serve as a signal of the potential for mobilizing money and people in support of an advocacy interest. Moreover, resources support project; they allow organizations to hire staff, buy advertising, pay telephone bills and so on. Previous work by Knoke and Wood (1981, p. 146-149), Gamson (1975) and Presthus (1974, p. 105) have found a strong relationship between resources, and in particular, size of budget, and effectiveness. It is logical to expect that:

Proposition 28: Financial and human resources will be a significant predictor of perceived effectiveness: the greater the budget, membership size and number of staff, the greater the perceived effectiveness as rated by both group leaders and public officials.

Resource variables are measured as: 1) dollar value of budget in 1987 ($\times .001$),

2) number of full-time staff positions in 1987 and, 3) number of individual members in 1987 ($\times .01$).

Finally, as noted in the previous section, the supportiveness of the interorganizational environment has been found in other studies to be an important determinant of success of a social movement organization (Boles, 1982; Gamson, 1975; Jenkins and Perrow, 1977; Knoke and Wood, 1981; Steedley and Foley, 1979).

Proposition 29: Network position will be a significant predictor of perceived effectiveness: the greater the number of ties and greater centrality among other groups in the social movement network, the greater the self- and other-rated perceived effectiveness.

The measures of network position were developed on the basis of the network analysis reported in Chapter 3 and were used in the previous chapter to examine the impact of the movement context on the experience of action meaning.

These measures are: 1) network prestige, which is the number of times group i is nominated as being associated with them in joint advocacy relationships, divided by $N-1$ group, and 2) relative centrality, which is the number of ties in the network that involve actor i , divided by $N-1$ ties. While the first measure, prestige, indicates only direct ties held by a group, the second considers the overall pattern and number of ties in the network. In multiple regression analyses, these sets of independent variables--project meaning variables, resource measures and network position-- are used as predictors of perceived effectiveness as rated first by public officials and secondly in separate analyses of ratings by group leaders.

There are several advantages of examining the perceived effectiveness of organizations in the same social movement, rather than a broad cross-section of interest groups, as is done by Presthus (1973; 1974) or by Knoke and Wood (1981). First, the impact of organizational action system and network variables can be related to the criterion measure of effectiveness; in cross-sectional analysis this task would be excessively onerous. Secondly, it is possible to examine the influence of organizations rather than interests because all groups, as part of the same movement, share the same set of core values and interests. Finally, because the study focusses on one period of time and a single social movement, some of the variables are equal and common to all the groups in the study and may be considered to be held constant. The two most important constant factors are the "political opportunity structure" (Eisinger, 1973; Tarrow, 1983) and the stage in the cycle of protest by the movement (Tilly, 1978).

There is no compelling reason to believe that the measures of self and target-rated effectiveness will be highly correlated because the basis of comparison used by the two sets of judges is conceptually distinct. Public officials deal with all kinds of interest groups ranging from the Canadian Manufacturers Association to the Canadian Labour Congress to Greenpeace. Therefore, their comparison set will be the other interest groups, public and private, with which they have contact or familiarity. The concern of group leaders, in contrast, is likely to be how well they could be doing with the resources available and this measure is, thus, relatively independent of direct comparison with the actions of other groups. While public officials can see only

the output of group action, resources and alliances in their assessment of an organization's advocacy effectiveness and tend to see only the outcome of lobbying actions, group leaders can measure success in both input and output terms and can consider effectiveness in domains other than lobbying (Cameron and Whetten, 1981, p. 526). By exploring discrepancies in perceptions, we can ask and begin to evaluate why the differences exist in the first place. Although strong correlations among other and self-rated effectiveness are not anticipated, large and consistent discrepancies will indicate misperception by one group or another or both. If group leaders perceive their organizations to be highly successful as policy advocates, while public officials view these groups as not at all successful, the group leaders would seem to be dangerously out of touch with external realities. Therefore, it is probable that:

Proposition 30: There will be moderate correlations between ratings of effectiveness made by public officials and those made by group leaders.

Analysis of Other-Rated Perceived Effectiveness

The strength of the three sets of independent variables (project meaning, organizational characteristics and network position) in predicting perceived effectiveness rated by public officials was tested using regression analysis. The relative predictive value of each set is first tested in multiple regressions using only one set of variables (that is, the six meaning variables, then the three resource measures, and thirdly, a network measure).¹¹ This procedure allows comparative assessment of variables within each set so that the variables may be

trimmed (due to the small N to variable ratio) for the next step. Subsequently, in multiple regression, selected representative variables (one variable from each set chosen on the basis of the strongest predictive value determined in the first step) were used collectively to predict, in turn, each of the criterion measures: spontaneity of mention, frequency of contact, intensity of contact and perceived effectiveness. Results show that the only consistently significant variable in contributing to the variance in other-rated effectiveness is network position.

The project dimensions (using one marker variable from each of the six meaning factors) are the weak variables in explaining the variance in other-rated effectiveness or frequency of contact (see the correlation table presented as Table 7.1). Table 7.2 shows that none of the project meaning variables are significant in predicting other-rated effectiveness, frequency or intensity of contact.

It is not surprising that project dimensions are weak predictors of outside views of effectiveness because these are global measures of effectiveness based primarily on views of advocacy activities and, as argued in Chapter 5, the levels of stress and sense of competency vary considerably across project domains within a group's action system. These internal meaning attributes are apparently relatively invisible to the targets of lobbying activities.

TABLE 7.1

Pearson R Correlations of Project, Resource and Network Variables with the Criterion Measures

	Comptcy	Stress	Posimp	HumRes	Pub vis	Ctrl	Budget	Size								
Comptcy	1															
Stress	-.162	1														
Posimp	-.158	.011	1													
HumRes	.724	-.271	-.087	1												
Pub vis	.278	-.1	-.221	.249	1											
Ctrl	.123	-.073	-.488	.21	.252	1										
Budget	-.186	.162	-.279	-.165	-.328	-.102	1									
Size	-.122	.148	-.229	-.118	-.293	-.024	.379	1	Staff	Netpres	RelCent	Spont	Frequency	Intensity	Perc eff	
Staff	-.13	.103	-.332	-.11	-.386	.003	.883	.292	1							
Netpres	-.023	.122	-.299	-.153	-.242	.106	.419	.816	.39	1						
RelCent	.022	.17	-.405	-.084	-.34	.124	.555	.684	.568	.887	1					
Spont	-.009	.09	-.233	-.049	-.275	.082	.311	.859	.301	.92	.75	1				
Frequency	.092	.1	-.115	-.044	-.234	.094	.277	.661	.27	.905	.789	.894	1			
Intensity	.132	.121	-.075	-.012	-.279	.024	.329	.616	.314	.844	.773	.856	.968	1		
Perc eff	.079	.063	-.225	-.001	-.206	.203	.223	.577	.254	.834	.692	.882	.908	.874	1	

Note: 3 cases deleted with missing values

TABLE 7.2

**Multiple Regression Analysis:
Project Dimensions on Other-Rated Effectiveness**

Equation A

Y = Spontaneity of Mention

R² = .173 (Adj = -.042)

p = .577

Intercept = 22.046

Variable   Beta

competency	.070
stress	.064
pos impact	-.287
human res	-.026
public vis	-.354
control	.033

Equation B

Y = Frequency of Contact

R² = .142 (Adj = -.081)

p = .70

Intercept = 18.566

Variable   Beta

competency	.311
stress	.074
pos impact	-.085
human res	-.208
public vis	-.317
control	.143

TABLE 7.2 cont'd

Equation C		Equation D	
Y = Intensity of Contact		Y = Perceived Effectiveness	
p = .594		p = .609	
R ² = .169 (Adj = -.048)		R ² = .165 (Adj = -.052)	
Intercept = 90.81		Intercept = 21.11	
Variable	Beta	Variable	Beta
competency	.351	competency	.206
stress	.102	stress	.050
pos impact	-.077	pos impact	-.177
human res	-.172	human res	-.114
public vis	-.361	public vis	-.319
control	.078	control	.199

3 missing cases; degrees of freedom = 29

In contrast to project meaning variables, resources are more visible to outside observers. Indeed, groups themselves often like to publicize the number of members and size of budget in order to demonstrate the basis of support for their interest and voting strength of their constituency. It is anticipated, therefore, that financial and human resources would enable greater frequency and more intense types of contact and would enhance the influence reputation of a group. Resource measures, thus, could be expected to be better predictors than project meaning variables of perceptions of effectiveness.

However, results from multiple regression using three resource measures—size of budget, number of staff and size of membership—do not consistently support the proposition. Although the amount of variance explained using all three resource measures ranges from a high of 70.9 per cent for spontaneity of mention to a low of 30.4 per cent with perceived effectiveness,

only the variable of membership size is significant (probability of single order $R < .05$). There is a strong probability, however, that much of the predictive power of membership size may be accounted for by the superordinate size of one group—the National Action Committee. Therefore, regression analyses were run again removing NAC. In this case, the amount of explained variance drops dramatically; none of the equations are significant when NAC is omitted and the strength of membership size as a predictor evaporates.

TABLE 7.3

Multiple Regression Analysis:
Groups Resources on Other-Rated Effectiveness

NOTE: NAC is omitted from these analyses

Equation A
Y = Spontaneity of Mention
p = .104
R² = .194 (Adj = -.108)
Intercept = 3.972

Variable	Beta
budget	-.371
staff	.408
membership	.423*

Equation B
Y = Frequency of Contact
p = .595
R² = .064 (Adj = -.036)
Intercept = 24.576

Variable	Beta
budget	-.098
staff	.171
membership	.233

Equation C
Y = Intensity of Contact
p = .388
R² = .101 (Adj = .004)
Intercept = 111.78

Variable	Beta
budget	-.065
staff	.217
membership	.257

Equation D
Y = Perceived Effectiveness
p = .213
R² = .146 (Adj = .054)
Intercept = 10.118

Variable	Beta
budget	-.422
staff	.486
membership	.332

* significant at $p < .05$
degrees of freedom = 32

These findings suggest that resources alone are not sufficient to create a reputation for success and to enable high frequency of contact with public officials. Conversely, as qualitative interview data indicated, small, specialized groups with dedicated individuals knowledgeable about the policy process, equipped with expert information about their interest and prepared to meet one on one with public officials can make a substantial impression as effective advocacy organizations. However, many social movement organizations, as alternative political spaces, are naturally reluctant to lobby in this manner--the manner of traditional mainstream lobby groups.

Network position is consistently the strongest determinant of both perceived effectiveness and contact with public officials.¹² The network variable of network prestige alone explains between 67.3 and 81.3 per cent (adjusted R²) of the variance in the criterion measures. As shown in Table 7.4, when the network measure is used jointly in multiple regression with resource and project variables, it is the only consistently significant predictor of the criterion measures of spontaneity of mention, contact and effectiveness.¹³

It is evident that creating and maintaining ties with other social movement organizations positively enhances an organization's relations with the state including its reputation of being effective and its perceived frequency and intensity of contact as rated by public officials. These results accord with a similar analysis of perceived community influence of thirty-two local American volunteer associations conducted by Knoke and Wood (1981) in which

TABLE 7.4

Multiple Regression Analysis:
Project, Resource and Network Variables on
Other-Rated Perceived Effectiveness

Equation A		Equation B	
Y = Spontaneity of Mention		Y = Frequency of Contact	
p = .0001		p = .0001	
R ² = .885 (Adj = .867)		R ² = .846 (Adj = .821)	
Intercept = .998		Intercept = 6.541	
Variable	Beta	Variable	Beta
competency	.043	competency	.094
stress	-.032	stress	.015
membership	.341*	membership	-.203
network prestige	.647**	network prestige	1.071**

Equation C		Equation D	
Y = Intensity of Contact		Y = Perceived Effectiveness	
p = .0001		p = .0001	
R ² = .747 (Adj = .707)		R ² = .732 (Adj = .689)	
Intercept = 33.014		Intercept = -4.84	
Variable	Beta	Variable	Beta
competency	.400	competency	.066
stress	.050	stress	-.014
membership	-.180	membership	-.289
network prestige	.988**	network prestige	1.071**

3 missing cases; degrees of freedom = 29

* significant at p < .05

** significant at p < .0001

effectiveness was found to be strongly related to interorganizational position. The present analysis of women's groups also provides empirical support for the case studies and theory building of scholars such as Tarrow (1983), Offe (1984), Gelb and Palley (1987) and Jenkins and Perrow (1977) which stress the

importance of alliance formation for the success of social movement organizations.

As analyzed in the previous chapter, interconnections among organizations in a network are vital to defining a collective identity, raising particular issues to prominence and supporting or diminishing the legitimacy of subgroups within the movement. The significance of network position as a determinant of perceived effectiveness and contact with target policy makers indicates that the internal life and nature of connectivity among organizations in a social movement has consequences beyond the network. This analysis reveals that the number of ties and centrality of position of a group within the movement influences the degree and intensity of contact as well as the group's reputation with public officials. The implications of network position as the strongest determinant of perceived effectiveness is that those groups which are marginalized within a social movement are likely to remain marginalized when they face the state. If a group has not captured attention and built numerous ties within its network of social movement organizations, it is unlikely to be seen as powerful or be afforded contact with policy-makers. When the extra-movement implications of intra-movement position are considered in light of Mahon's (1977) notion of an "unequal structure of representation" within the state, there are serious negative consequences for some parts of the national Canadian women's movement. Mahon argues that officials within the state tend to represent the interests of the hegemonic bourgeois fraction, but regulate the interests of subordinate groups. Although her analysis was applied to class

interests, it could be argued that within the microcosm of a social movement, interests already marginalized by other groups will continue to be regulated and, therefore, diminished by policy-makers within the state. In contrast, the analysis also suggests that the strength of weak ties built by special interest groups within the movement will have positive effects on their reputation with state officials. At the project system level, this analysis underscores the importance of both the image-building and the research/education action domains--the activities which directly build or provide expertise upon which to build interorganizational linkages.

Results clearly indicate that, as hypothesized, the network position of a SMO affects how effective it is seen to be by government officials. However, the possibility that network position is itself a result of perceived effectiveness should not be ignored.¹⁴ It is possible that SMOs establish advocacy relations with a particular group because they believe that it is considered to be a successful lobbyist which has automatic inroads into the policy process and that by association they, too, will enjoy greater access to policy-makers. However, support for a strong causal effect of other-rated effectiveness on network position is not apparent from this analysis. As Dunleavy argues (1987), SMOs build organizational identities both to attract members and to show their viability as organizations and in this way become more attractive as alliance partners. However, it is unlikely that group leaders are able to be highly opportunistic and choose only effective partners in their construction of supportive linkages in the social movement network. Organizational identities, internal democracy and

responsiveness to member interests and group priorities preclude selection of advocacy partners simply on judgments of their effectiveness. While network position to some extent may be reflective of perceived effectiveness, it is argued that the reverse relationship (effectiveness as a function of network position) remains the stronger causal one. However, adequate testing of the causal paths are beyond the scope of the present exploratory study.

In addition, the possibility was recognized that the importance of network position may be inflated by the centrality of one organization--NAC--and, therefore, regressions were rerun omitting NAC. The results do not change (network position remains the only significant predictor of other-rated effectiveness or contact) which indicates that the relationship is not an artifact of the strength of one organization. Because there is considerable role specialization in the network (as discussed in Chapter 3), it appears that relations are primarily a function of interests and constituencies, rather than merely a product of outside perceptions of effectiveness.

Group-Rated Effectiveness

Effectiveness as rated by public officials is a useful indicator of the way in which groups are seen by the targets of their lobbying actions. In order to examine success in project domains other than advocacy and to consider the strengths and weaknesses of social movement organizations from the organization's perspective, effectiveness of each group is rated by the group elite representative. The implicit referent basis for this measure is group-specific

because it is the normative degree of effectiveness the group leader thinks her organization could achieve; in contrast, the yardstick for other-rated effectiveness is a comparison with perceptions of the advocacy effectiveness of other organizations with which the public official has had contact or knowledge. It is expected, however, that the hypothesized relations with the independent variables of project meaning, resources and network position would apply as much to self-rated as to other-rated effectiveness.

As described above, group-rated effectiveness is assessed (from 0 to 10) along nine dimensions which approximately map onto the project domains, as well as four global measures of effectiveness in past, present and future tenses. Examination of the mean scores on these measures, as presented in Table 7.5, reveals that group leaders give highest ratings to the effectiveness of the leadership in representing views of the members (mean = 7.2) and to advocacy activities (mean = 7.1). In comparison, the weakest aspect of their operations are seen to be fundraising (mean = 4.7) and attracting new members (mean = 5.3). It is also evident that group leaders are very optimistic about the overall effectiveness of their organizations in the future. While the mean on the groups' overall effectiveness considered retrospectively at a point three years ago was 5.3, the mean present overall effectiveness is rated as 6.9 and the anticipated effectiveness in five years hence is 8.5.

TABLE 7.5

Means on 13 Measures of Group-Rated Effectiveness

<u>Aspect of Effectiveness</u>	<u>Mean Score</u>	<u>No. Missing Cases</u> (N =45)
Advocacy	7.1	7
Fund-raising	4.7	9
Generating information	6.7	7
Image-building	6.5	7
Decision-making structures	6.6	7
Leadership in representing views	7.2	7
Attracting new members	5.3	10
Keeping existing members	6.6	9
Nurturing members	6.8	8
Overall perceived effectiveness	6.9	7
Past effectiveness	5.3	10
Future effectiveness in one year	7.6	8
Future effectiveness in five years	8.5	12

The predictors of group-rated effectiveness are determined in multiple regression analysis using the same set of independent variables--project dimensions, resources and network position--as employed with the criterion measures of other-rated effectiveness. First, the thirteen indicators of group-rated effectiveness are aggregated using McQuitty's Elemental linkage Analysis (McQuitty, 1967; McQuitty et al., 1967) in order to reduce the number of criterion measures.¹⁵ This procedure produced four aggregated dimensions or "factors" of group-rated effectiveness: 1) an "internal" operations factor including nurturing members, leadership, effectiveness of the decision-making structures and fundraising; 2) an "external" activity factor embodying advocacy effectiveness, research and education, image-building, attracting new and

FIGURE 7.1

Linkages of 13 Aspects of Group-Rated Effectiveness
created by McQuitty's Elemental Linkage Analysis
 (numbers indicate Pearson R correlations)

1) Internal Operations

2) External Activity

3) Overall Perceived Effectiveness

4) Anticipated Future Effectiveness

keeping existing members; 3) an overall effectiveness factor¹⁶ and 4) anticipated future effectiveness. A single group score on each factor is calculated by adding together the raw scores for each variable that is linked to the factor.

Multiple regression analysis using sequentially the four criterion measures of internal effectiveness, external effectiveness, overall perceived effectiveness (excluding past effectiveness) and anticipated future effectiveness shows a distinct difference between predictors of internal and those of external effectiveness. There is also a divergence from the set of independent variables which best predicts other-rated effectiveness. In the previous analysis, network position was found to be the strongest predictor and, indeed the only significant determinant, of the frequency and intensity of contact and perceived effectiveness rated by public officials. Similarly, network position is a strong determinant of the variance in group-rated external effectiveness, but has minimal impact on self-perceived internal effectiveness. Resources are a considerably better predictor of group-rated effectiveness than of other-rated effectiveness, but in a negative direction. Project meaning dimensions, especially sense of competency, also figure prominently in a group's ratings of its success.

1. Predicting External Effectiveness

Four independent variables--the project meaning dimensions of stress (as a marker variable of the stress factor) and competency (as a marker variable of the "competency" factor), a resource measure (budget, staff and membership size

used sequentially) and network prestige--are used to predict perceived external effectiveness.¹⁷ As Table 7.6 illustrates, these four variables provide strong combined predictability as indicated by an R^2 of .565 (using budget as the resource measure) and .443 (using staff).¹⁸

TABLE 7.6

Multiple Regression on Group-Rated External Effectiveness
using Project, Resource and Network Measures

Equation A (budget as resource measure)		Equation B (staff as resource measure)	
p = .001		p = .002	
$R^2 = .565$ (Adj = .505)		$R^2 = .443$ (Adj = .366)	
Intercept = 24.68		Intercept = 23.304	
Variable	beta	Variable	beta
stress	.065	stress	.026
competency	.194	competency	.246
budget	-.743**	staff	-.558*
network prestige	.748**	network prestige	.656*

N=37 (8 missing cases)

* significant at $p < .05$

** significant at $P < .0001$

In the two statistically significant equations (using budget and staff alternatively as the measure of resources), network position is the strongest variable explaining group-rated external effectiveness.¹⁹ Budget and staff are also strong predictor variables, but, in contrast to the hypothesis, the relationship is in a negative direction. That is, the larger the budget, size or staff of the group, the lower the rated external effectiveness. This lends substantial support to the notion of understaffing discussed in Chapter 6. The conditions of understaffing

appear to serve as an important motivation resource that heightens commitment and expectations among the leadership as to what the group can achieve and how well it is actually performing. Note that these perceptions are inconsistent with the public officials' views of understaffed SMOs which in general are seen as no more or no less effective than resource plentiful ones. In larger scale organizations there may be great tension between internally-focussed projects and external ones, such that both are done in a suboptimal manner given the resources available.

2. Predicting Internal Effectiveness

The perceived effectiveness of internally-oriented activities--nurturing members, quality of leadership, effectiveness of decision-making structures and fund-raising--is less well predicted than external effectiveness by the same set of four independent variables used above. As displayed in Table 7.7, the R^2 for internal effectiveness ranges between .309 and .333. Unlike the equations which predict other-rated or group-rated external effectiveness, network position is not a significant predictor of internal effectiveness and in fact has a negative relationship with this criterion measure. In contrast, the project meaning factor of competency (as denoted by the dimension , sense of competency) is the best, although not a significant determinant of internal effectiveness. The resource measures again have a negative relationship with perceived internal effectiveness, but are not significant at the .05 level.

These data indicate that ratings of success in internal matters are

essentially independent of financial and human resource availability. The finding that none of the independent variables is a significant determinant of internal effectiveness suggests that the perceived ability to nurture members, provide leadership and raise revenue are idiosyncratic and may be more dependent upon the qualities of individual members than on the characteristics of organizations. It appears that one consequence of being highly central in a social movement network is that the leadership is forced to reduce attention to and, hence the effectiveness in, internal matters in order to attend to movement-wide issues and interactions. This result also adds support to the earlier finding that large organizations--which tend to be the most highly central in the movement--have greater difficulties and reduced sense of their effectiveness in serving and maintaining their membership than do smaller groups.

TABLE 7.7

**Multiple Regression on Perceived Internal Effectiveness
using Project, Resource and Network Measures**

Equation A		Equation B	
(budget as resource measure)		(staff as resource measure)	
p=.025		p=.026	
R ² =.31 (Adj=.215)		R ² =.309 (Adj=.213)	
intercept=19.695		intercept=19.855	
Variable	beta	Variable	beta
stress	-.118	stress	-.127
competency	.29	competency	.294
budget	-.124	staff	-.11
network prestige	-.264	network prestige	-.274

N=34 (11 missing cases)

3. Predicting Group-Rated Overall Effectiveness

Conceptually, overall perceived effectiveness is an amalgam of the effectiveness of external and internal activities and the pattern of results is consistent with the determinants of each component discussed above. Overall perceived effectiveness is the least well predicted of the criterion measures (R^2 ranges from .149 to .273). The best predictor of group-rated overall effectiveness is the absolute level of resources, especially size of budget and staff, but as discovered with external and internal effectiveness, the association is in a negative direction. In support of the proposition, sense of competency is also a moderate predictor, albeit not significant, of overall effectiveness, while stress is a relatively poor predictor (but in a negative direction, as expected). Finally, the importance of network position is diluted when effectiveness is considered in light of all types of group projects and the independent variable does not contribute significantly to the variance in the overall criterion measure.

TABLE 7.8

**Multiple Regression on Group-Rated Overall Effectiveness
using Project, Resource and Network Predictors**

Equation A
(budget as resource measure)

$p = .036$

$R^2 = .267$ (Adj = .176)

intercept = 5.813

Variable	beta
stress	-.007
competency	.261
budget	-.420
network prestige	.117

Equation B
(staff as resource measure)

$p = .033$

$R^2 = .273$ (Adj = .182)

intercept = 5.945

Variable	beta
stress	-.034
competency	.267
staff	-.415
network prestige	.103

N = 36

Similar findings are discovered in the prediction of anticipated overall future effectiveness. The project dimension of sense of competency is the strongest determinant of anticipated future success while level of stress, network position (in a negative direction) and resources (negative) are of minor importance.

TABLE 7.9

**Multiple Regression on Anticipated Future Effectiveness
using Project, Resource and Network Predictors**

Equation A (budget as resource measure)		Equation B (staff as resource measure)	
p = .036 R ² = .308 (Adj = .206) Intercept = 11.017		p = .031 R ² = .299 (Adj = .195) Intercept = 11.363	
Variable	beta	Variable	beta
stress	.257	stress	.262
competency	.373*	competency	.351
budget	.113	staff	.009
network prestige	-.400	network prestige	-.357

N = 30

In summary, the regression analysis of group-rated measures of perceived effectiveness indicate, as hypothesized, that network position is important in assessing effectiveness in external actions that demand the attention of target officials and other groups, but is relatively unimportant in rating effectiveness of internally-oriented activities. This suggests that a centrally-located social movement organization continually receives support for its external activities from the rest of the movement and looks outward in assessing how well it can deal with the state, other groups and civil society.

The fact that resources, in contrast to the hypothesized direction, have a consistently negative relationship with group-rated effectiveness and that sense of competency is a strong or the strongest predictor of overall and anticipated future effectiveness suggests that, in group decision-making, enthusiasm may be confused with effectiveness or efficiency (Milton, 1967). In assessing in general terms how successful they are, group leaders look to the sense of competency they can create, rather than to a strict translation of financial and human resources into policy change. While resources were not consistently the most important determinant of either other- or self-rated effectiveness, the ability of women's groups to secure sufficient resources over the long term may be in jeopardy. The aspects of their operation in which group leaders see their organizations as being least effective are fundraising and attracting new members--precisely the two aspects that are vital to replenishing financial and human resources over the longer run.

Relationship between Other-Rated and Group-Rated Effectiveness

The two sets of criterion measures of effectiveness--first as rated by public officials and secondly by the group leaders themselves--are based on different perspectives, sources of information and referent axes. It was hypothesized that correlations between the two measures would be only moderate at best. Because they are conceptually and psychometrically different scales, direct comparison of absolute ratings is not possible. However, correlation of these two sets of dependent variables is possible and reveals, as expected, that they are minimally

correlated. In particular, group-rated overall perceived effectiveness and internal effectiveness have very low (and for internal effectiveness, negative) correlations with the measures of contact and effectiveness rated by public officials. As might be anticipated, however, the measures of group-rated external effectiveness, especially in advocacy activities, have somewhat higher correlations (in the order of .3) with aspects of other-rated effectiveness.

TABLE 7.10

Correlations between Measures of Other-Rated
and Group-Rated Effectiveness

	Spont	Frequency	Intensity	Perc eff	OPE	InternalPE	External...	Advocacy
Spont	1							
Frequency	.895	1						
Intensity	.861	.965	1					
Perc eff	.881	.91	.88	1				
OPE	.064	.111	.14	.103	1			
InternalPE	-.202	-.102	-.03	.001	.505	1		
ExternalPE	.3	.318	.293	.272	.359	.004	1	
Advocacy	.261	.221	.211	.302	.63	.242	.55	1

Note: 6 cases deleted with missing values.

An examination of the mean ratings on the scales of effectiveness ratings by public officials and those by group leaders (although the scales are not directly comparable) shows that groups have a markedly more positive view of how well they are doing in their lobbying pursuits than do government officials. On

the scale of 0 (not at all effective) to 10 (very effective), the mean score given by group representatives to their advocacy effectiveness is 7.1, to image-building 6.5 and to information generation/communication 6.7. However, ratings given by public officials on their scale of perceived effectiveness ranging from 0 (not at all effective/never hear of) to 3 (very effective) were consistently much lower: 28 of the 33 groups received mean scores of less than 1.0 (not very effective) and no group had a mean score greater than 2 (moderately effective)

Similarly, on the frequency of contact measure, 29 of the 33 groups were rated as having "infrequent" contact with government officials (that is, 29 groups have mean scores of < 1 on the scale of 0 to 3). In terms of intensity of contact (a scale of 0, "no contact", to 10, "sometimes acts as agent for the group") government officials said that with 54.5 per cent (18) of the groups, they had had only written communication, not interpersonal contact (that is, mean scores ≤ 3). For another 39.4 per cent of the groups, officials said they had heard their representatives only in formal hearings or lobbies (mean scores of > 3 and < 5). Only two of the 33 groups (6 per cent) have mean scores which indicate personal, ongoing contact with the selected subset of public officials.

For politicians and public servants, the basis of comparison is other pressure groups which they have encountered as targets of lobbying. On these terms, the 33 women's groups do not rate as being highly effective or as maintaining frequent and intense relations with public officials. Group representatives, in contrast, see themselves on average as being quite effective in their advocacy actions. Clearly, the intentions and advocacy actions of women's

groups are not being translated into favourable perceptions by government officials. Although women's groups may be building enthusiasm among their members for their advocacy interests, forging organizational and collective identities and contributing to the life of the movement through linkages with other women's groups, they do not seem to be lobbying in as frequent, intense or effective a manner as other types of interest groups or as effectively as they think they are lobbying. A related explanation may be that they have not been met receptively by policy-makers so that the policy process has not been as accessible as it has been for other types of pressure groups.

Lobbying the Canadian State

The final important aspect of an assessment of advocacy effectiveness is to determine the preferred targets or locations of lobbying within the federal state. As Presthus observed in his now classic work on elites in the policy process, where and how in government an interest group lobbies for its cause is a vital determinant of how effective it will be in obtaining policy change. Since the work of Presthus, conducted almost twenty years ago, it has been accepted as a basic principle of Canadian advocacy that a group which is primarily lobbying Members of Parliament had already lost its battle (Presthus, 1974, p. 255). It was regarded as a wiser strategy to concentrate advocacy activities on Cabinet Ministers and the bureaucracy where policy can be influenced at early stages of formulation. However, there have been recent significant alternations in the policy environment of Canadian interest group due among other reasons, to a

reformed parliamentary committee system and a burgeoning partisan bureaucracy in Ministers' offices.

In the "pluralistic" state of the 1980s and 1990s, it can be argued that there are several potential targets for effective lobbying (Pross, 1986, chap. 3). First Cabinet and federal public servants--even though Pross asserts (1986, Chapter 3) that their legitimacy and power have declined considerably in recent years--remain important potential targets. However, Parliamentary reform has added saliency to the role of standing and legislative committees and, thus, to backbench MPs in general and to the chair of committees in particular. In addition, during the two terms of the Mulroney government, the partisan exempt staff in Ministers' offices and the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) have assumed an enhanced role in the policy process. Finally, capturing attention of the media is an essential strategy for most interest groups in promoting their policy concerns.

It is impossible to set out a precise strategy for success in lobbying the federal government, but it is important to recognize that in a state based on bureaucratic pluralism there are numerous, often competing and countervailing, centres of power. The analysis of the location and nature of access sought by women's groups is based on quantitative data on frequency of contact with public officials as well as qualitative responses from both officials and representatives of women's groups. Much of these data cannot be adequately tested statistically due to the small numbers of respondents in each category and results, therefore, are discussed in cautious terms.

Almost all women's groups attempt as a first priority to meet with the appropriate minister.²⁰ However, given the busy schedules of Ministers and the limited time available to explain complicated positions, this tactic may be less successful than advocacy at other points of access. The strongest connections of the groups--in terms of both frequency and intensity of contact--were with officials in Status of Women Canada and Secretary of State Women's Program. To exemplify, the modal intensity of contact (across all groups) with the official from Status of Women was 8 out of a maximum of 10; this is in sharp contrast to modal scores of less than three for other public servants. Further, officials from the "Women's State" had knowledge of all 33 national groups--the only respondents among the 44 public officials and journalists interviewed who had complete awareness of all groups.

The impact of parliamentary reform seems to have heightened attention of women's groups to MPs, but generally through written correspondence or formal *en masse* settings, such as a committee hearing or an annual lobby, rather than in informal one-on-one meetings. Evidence for this lies in the fact that the mean score on intensity of contact is 2.6 (on a scale of 0 to 10) and frequency is .53 (on a scale of 0 to 3) for the 21 MPs interviewed. Most MPs also said that an advocacy technique that is most convincing, or at least, ignored at greatest peril, is contact by their own constituents. However, few national women's groups use this approach extensively.

A long-term consequence of parliamentary reform may be to force groups to spend more time preparing legislative briefs and perhaps to make them even

more reactive to policy than they were previously (see Franks, 1987, p. 94-96, 174-175). The time, energy and resources required to appear at a committee hearing--now a requisite activity if an interest group is to be seen to have a legitimate stake or concern with a policy--may siphon off resources from more proactive policy development and the cultivation of ongoing informal contacts. Other groups may become complacent about a diversified and active pressure campaign because the leaders feel they have had the opportunity to be heard at committees. Within the movement, the result may be to give even greater prominence to those groups that have, or can capture, the expertise to produce specialized information.

Although only a limited number of all the potentially important public servants in line departments or central agencies could be interviewed, there is evidence from both the bureaucrats and the groups themselves that group leaders spend little time meeting with and lobbying public servants. While representatives of many of the groups meet with officials from the Department of Finance during pre-budget consultations, in general they have minimal contact with officials from the central agencies. Similarly, there is relatively little sustained contact by the subject groups with policy advisors in the political parties or with exempt staff in ministers offices.²¹ Finally, the journalists indicated that most women's organizations had relatively poor media relations; the three journalists interviewed consistently stated that most women's groups do not understand the constraints upon and time deadlines faced by reporters and that their suspicion of the media means that groups leaders do not recognize

that often reporters are sympathetic to their causes. Consequently, group leaders infrequently cultivate positive relations with the media.

In sum, it appears that national women's groups have a constricted range of advocacy relations with the federal government and that they normally assume or are forced into a reactive stance on issues. Rarely are ongoing informal contacts created with public officials and such informal relationships with public servants are particularly curtailed. It would seem that although the "Women's State" has been a timely and important lobby from within, its role as a magnet for group attention and conduit for making group concerns known to the state ironically may have resulted in the attenuation of relations with other line departments. Consistently, the public officials interviewed stated that national women's groups tend to be less effective as lobbyists than other public interest groups and are perceived to be considerably less effective than business associations.

These results, although not based on a comprehensive survey of all possible targets of advocacy activity, support the conclusions reached by Burt (1986) and Findlay (1987) on the relationship of the Canadian women's movement with the state. Burt argues that there are several explanations for the lack of effectiveness of women's groups in achieving their desired policy goals:

On the group side, there has been relatively little concern with effective lobbying tactics, so that often their message has not been transmitted to policy makers. On the government side, there is evidence that women's issues often receive low priority. (1986, p. 164)

Similarly, Findlay asserts that the state, in part through the Women's State, has validated the liberal face of feminism: "the actions of the liberal feminist wing of the movement were limited to relatively restrained periodic ministerial and bureaucratic lobbying rather than the embarrassing confrontations that had characterized IWY [International Women's Year]" (p. 48).

A more complete explanation for this pattern of group-government relations looks to the very nature of voluntary associations and the inherent ideology of social movements. Women's groups, like most public interest groups in Canada, have limited financial resources and few staff. Moreover, due to the primacy of the principle of democracy, staff are seldom permitted to speak for the organizations as a whole and are rarely allowed personally to undertake advocacy activities, especially in individual meetings with public officials. Although staff are a potential source of continuity of contacts with government officials, they tend to be considerably under-utilized in this task.²² When the volunteer executive and members of a national organization come to Ottawa from Fort Nelson or St. John's, they have administrative duties to which they must attend and most would rather be part of an event such as a large official lobby or demonstration than meet individually with MPs or bureaucrats.²³ For example, the annual NAC lobby has been seriously criticized--even by NAC supporters--as having minimal effect as an advocacy technique. However, its real value is not as a convincing lobby tactic, but to generate group solidarity and build enthusiasm among the rank and file. Thus, there is strong opposition to

abandoning the annual lobby in favour of more conventional closed-door meetings.

The reactive character of most women's groups is also due, in part, to democratic decision-making practices which require resolutions from local chapters, certification by regional councils and ratification by the annual general meeting before elected leaders are empowered to act. Although these practices have great value for the internal operations and integration of individuals and local groups, they also restrict the ability of the leadership to react quickly or to initiate new policy directions.

A basic feature of "new" social movements is that they are anti-institutional, that is, they hold an inherent suspicion of government and market institutions. They therefore also tend to be uncomfortable with the conventional advocacy tactics necessary to perform in the mainstream arena and see "elite accommodation" (Prethuis, 1975) as a compromise of core values and identities. There is often an unresolved tension among the leaders of social movement organizations as to whether they should lobby in an incremental fashion striving for "small wins" (Weick, 1984) that involve making compromises, or whether they should remain ideologically pure and defend their political space. An important conclusion reached by Mansbridge in her account of the failure of the pro-ERA forces to achieve ratification is that the tension between volunteers and elected leaders in a SMO often restricts accountability and effective lobbying actions:

the very structure of a voluntary political organization tends to produce an inability to hear or understand what others are saying. This is almost by definition an unconscious error. . . [V]olunteer activity encourages ideological purity and allows individuals to make choices for which they are not accountable." (1986, p. 191)

Given the push toward doctrinal purity, the need to build member enthusiasm and the limited time and resources of SMOs, most women's groups are not likely to have the resources or inclination to model themselves after the lobbying tactics of business associations that approximate elite accommodation, no matter how effective these tactics may be. Because the leaders of most women's groups see themselves as being more effective than do their targets, they are less likely to engage in serious strategic planning and evaluation of their advocacy actions.

Conclusions

Compared to other types of interest groups, national women's groups are not viewed by the targets of their advocacy to be particularly effective lobbyists. In contrast to public officials, the leaders of the groups see themselves as quite effective, which suggests that in rating how well they are doing group representatives may confound enthusiasm and expectancy with accurate assessments of effectiveness. Alternatively, they may mix perceptions of internal with those of external effectiveness in assessing their organization's performance. This speculation is supported by the finding that the project meaning variable of sense of competency is a strong predictor of self-rated

internal and overall effectiveness. Creation of a sense of competency and empowerment is not only an important means to being an effective SMO, but is an end in itself. Without this "illusory glow" SMOs, which by definition are almost always challenging the *status quo*, would likely disband due to discouragement over the years it takes to achieve their policy objectives. The leaders of most women's groups realize that the time frames necessary to produce the societal change they desire are decades and generations, not months or even a few years.

The differences between self-rated and other-rated effectiveness demonstrate that the success of a SMO must not be conceived of in narrow terms of effectiveness as interest advocates. When compared with traditional institutionalized interest groups and private sector interests, women's groups may not fare well as lobbyists, but as self-ratings indicate, there are other important ways of being successful as a social movement organization. For instance, SMOs may be very successful in altering the political discourse on a policy issue which, although their position is resisted by public officials and they are not accorded equal access to political debate, may nevertheless force a realignment of players and have a significant impact on eventual outcomes. Moreover, construction of an alternative political space and a collective identity is itself an accomplishment. Similarly, giving members a sense of agency is a means of changing civil society through individual rather than state actions. Given the importance of these expressive dimensions, the finding that group leaders feel the weakest aspects of their organizations to be attracting new

members and raising revenues, may pose serious problems for the national-level Canadian women's movement.

Analysis demonstrates that intra-movement life has extra-movement implications, as evidenced by the fact that network position is the only consistent determinant of the perceptions of effectiveness held by public officials. Unequal representation within a movement thus is likely to be reflected on the screen of state relations. In contrast, resources are not an important predictor of effectiveness and, in fact, the relationship is in the reverse direction to that of the hypothesis. Over the short term, the commitment created by all "pulling together" in an under-resourced and understaffed environment may generate enthusiasm. The feeling that action is making an impact on the policy process may compensate for the lack of financial resources and encourage the hard volunteer labour that will be substituted for money. However, it is difficult to sustain commitment in an understaffed environment over the longer term without facing the problem of activist burnout.

It is evident that more work needs to be done in developing a more comprehensive picture and appropriate measures for assessing the effectiveness of SMOs. Not only does the relationship between perceived and substantive policy effectiveness need to be determined, but measures of effectiveness in other important realms of SMO activity need to be developed.

ENDNOTES

1. Offe (1987, p. 92) describes three interdependent varieties of effectiveness: 1) substantive success which refers to a positive (or more often negative) decision made by economic and political elites that satisfies the policy objectives of the movement; 2) political success which is equated with recognition by opponents and support by potential allies and, 3) procedural success which involves changes in the mode or mechanisms of policy-making, but not the content of decisions. In these terms, the measures used in the present study are closest to Offe's definition of "procedural" effectiveness—that is, success in affecting the mode of decision-making rather than decision content. This is one facet of what Gamson (1975) calls "acceptance" by policy-makers.
2. This phrase was witnessed in a poster session at a conference sponsored by the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women which focussed on "Women and Power". The notion came out of small group discussions among delegates.
3. Because we are dealing in this study with organizations in a single policy field, we can relate effectiveness and contact to specific organizations, rather than being required to dilute this measure by the structural status of SMOs created by types of interests.
4. As members of the Special Parliamentary Committee on Childcare and the Standing Committee on Secretary of State, these MPs heard from a wide range of women's groups in the period 1985-1987. For this reason, the selection of MPs might over-estimate contact with women's groups. Nevertheless, as analysis shows, contact was minimal even with this strategic set of parliamentarians.
5. Ministers themselves were not interviewed due to the restriction on their time and the difficulty in being granted interviews. Instead, partisan staff in the Ministers' offices were interviewed as a substitute and as a recognition that this group of advisors now plays a very important role as gatekeepers on Ministers' agenda and in offering policy advice that serves as a counterweight to the public service (Savoie, 1983, pp. 512-13; Stanbury, 1986, pp. 265-269).
6. Public servants were interviewed from a cross-section of departments that might be involved from time to time in issues of central importance to women. These departments included Justice, Health and Welfare, Employment and Immigration, Labour Canada, the Public Service Commission and the Women's State (Status of Women, Secretary of State Women's Program and the Advisory Council).
7. Due to lack of time for adequate recall, it was not feasible to indicate the actual frequency of contact (for example, number of visits in the past year or number of letters). Although this was tried in pilot testing, this level of detail consumed too much of the interview time, so lower levels of measurement were used.

8. The resulting scale ranging from 0 to 10 demarcates increasing intensity and a greater degree of personal contact with the group. The types of contact mentioned were scaled as:

- 0 - does not know of the group; never had contact
- 1 - knows of the group but has had no contact
- 2 - form letters/ minimal non-personalized contact
- 3 - has had written correspondence and briefs on issues from group representatives
- 4 - attended formal lobby or committee hearing with the group representatives
- 5 - regularly gets written information/ correspondence; hears often at hearings
- 6 - attends events sponsored by the group (speaks at their meetings/dinners)
- 7 - has had occasional personal meetings with group representatives
- 8 - has regular meetings with group leaders; group is an active lobby
- 9 - personal relationship with group; friends of leaders; may be a member
- 10 - strong personal relationship with the group; sometimes acts as their agent

This scale is intended to approximate a Guttman-type scale, although properties of reproducibility cannot be adequately tested with these data. It is assumed that a given point on the scale [eg. sometimes acts as agent for the group (10)] implies that the respondent has also engaged in the other actions scaled as 1 to 9.

9. There were no missing data in this summative procedure.

10. In general, marker variables are selected on the basis of factor loadings. For the factors of stress, centrality, support, visibility and democracy, the variable with the highest loading on the factor is chosen. However, the variable of competency (rather than initiation which has the highest loading of .72; competency is .61) is used to represent the competency factor because it has greater face validity. That is, as a single variable competency conceptually better reflects the nature of the overall factor and nature of agency than does initiation. The pattern of results did not differ, however, when initiation was used instead of competency.

11. There are 33 cases in the regressions (with some missing data on some of the independent variables) each of which represents a women's organization. Each independent variable is also calculated as a single indicator for the group; for instance, each of the variables of project meaning is a mean score on that dimension given by one respondent for the group. The mean scores of only one representative per group are used and the elected representative is the one selected if there were more than two respondents from the same group who completed Projects Analysis. The calculation of resource and network measures are straightforward because size of budget, staff and membership and network position are group-level measures.

12. Detailed comparison in predictions of perceived effectiveness of the relative strength of the two primary network measures (prestige and centrality) plus two related measures (supportiveness and closeness, as calculated in the previous chapter) shows some interesting differences. It is significant that network prestige (that is, the number of times group *i* is nominated by other groups) is a considerably better predictor of the criterion measures of other-rated effectiveness than is network "supportiveness" (that is, the number of other groups that *i* nominates as having

linkages with it). This asymmetry is probably a result of the fact that weak ties may develop on the basis of information sharing in which the recipient of information views the donor as an advocacy partner, but not *vice versa* and that organizations without expertise to exchange are likely to remain relatively obscure to other groups within a social movement. Consequently, they are unnoticed by outside observers as well.

13. As noted in other network analyses, it is possible that the effects of network position are merely an artifact of the centrality and number of ties of a single group--NAC. Therefore, the same regressions were run omitting NAC. The pattern of results, however, are the same and show the importance of network position even without NAC. The results of regression without NAC are:

Criterion measure = Spontaneity of Mention

$p = .0001$; $R^2 = .639$; Adjusted $R^2 = .579$; Error = 2.352

betas:	competency	=	.042
	stress	=	-.055
	membership	=	.261
	network pretige	=	.695

Criterion measure = Frequency of Contact

$p = .0001$; $R^2 = .872$; Adjusted $R^2 = .72$; Error = 6.55

betas:	competency	=	.073
	stress	=	.022
	membership	=	.061
	network pretige	=	.838

Criterion measure = Intensity of Contact

$p = .0001$; $R^2 = .658$; Adjusted $R^2 = .601$; Error = 29.102

betas:	competency	=	.107
	stress	=	.064
	membership	=	.117
	network pretige	=	.747

Criterion measure = Perceived Effectiveness

$p = .0001$; $R^2 = .712$; Adjusted $R^2 = .664$; Error = 9.66

betas:	competency	=	-.016
	stress	=	.008
	membership	=	.181
	network pretige	=	.879

14. It should be remembered that although the indicator of network position is termed network "prestige" this is not a measure of perceptions of reputation, but is used in the terminology of network analysis as a measure of direct in-ties (mentions by other actors) which in the present study are based on action, not directly upon reputation.

15. McQuitty's linkage analysis is based on Pearson-R correlations between the 13 measures of group-rated effectiveness. It is used in this case instead of factor analysis due to the small N (33) to variable (13) ratio.

Using the correlation matrix, the first step in deriving McQuitty's "factors" is to select the highest correlation per column. Factors are then determined by linking the highest correlated pair of variables and then joining to this pair the other variables that have the highest preselected

(per column) correlation with either variable in the first pair. When highest per-column correlations are exhausted for that set, a second factor is created by linking the next highest (as yet unnested) pair of variables. The analysis proceeds in this manner until all variables are linked to one (and only one) factor. In this way independent "factors" are created based on strength of correlation but the method does not require the same N to variable ratio as Principal Components Analysis. For more detail see McQuitty (1967). The correlation matrix is presented below:

Pearson R Correlation of the 13 Aspects of
Group-Rated Effectiveness

	OPE	Advocacy	Image	Fundraise	Informat...	Decmaking	Leaders...	New me...					
OPE	1												
Advocacy	.589	1											
Image	.124	.233	1										
Fundraise	.31	.192	-.086	1									
Informati...	.423	.641	.083	.052	1								
Decmaking	.16	.012	-.133	.188	.164	1							
Leadership	.324	.151	-.137	.101	.262	.674	1						
New memb	.079	.02	.402	-.179	-.015	-.407	.012	1	Keep me...	Nurture	Past	Future1	Future2
Keep memb	.291	.322	.414	-.09	.368	.031	.251	.339	1				
Nurture	.524	.179	-.13	.322	.272	.355	.506	.044	.34	1			
Past	.576	.16	.008	.319	.065	.266	.258	.17	.303	.449	1		
Future1	.446	.352	.31	.325	.189	-.058	.003	.044	.07	.329	.16	1	
Future2	.214	.117	.192	.039	-.215	-.115	.079	.08	-.07	.269	-.095	.727	1

16. In the McQuitty's analysis, overall effectiveness was linked to internal operations as a secondary variable. It is treated as a separate factor for purposes of theoretical interest in having a single global measure of effectiveness.

17. Regression analyses were run using one representative per group (N=33) and then using all respondents (N=45). The pattern of results was the same, so findings using the larger number are reported. The criterion measure is the score from (0 to 10) that the respondent gave to her group and the Project variable is her mean score on the meaning dimension; the resource and network measures are those used in previous analyses.

Marker variables from the other four project meaning factors (centrality, support, visibility and democracy) were tested for significance in predicting each of the criterion measures (sequentially in multiple regression with network prestige and size of budget). Only adequacy of financial resources (support factor) was statistically significant as a predictor of external effectiveness. Like the variable of budget size (a measure of absolute level of resources rather than perceived resources), perceived level of financial support also has a negative relationship with group-rated external effectiveness.

Gamson (1975) and Steedley and Foley (1979) found that breadth of focus is a significant predictor of success (measured as goal attainment). To test this, breadth of issue focus was coded as a dummy variable in multiple regression with the other four independent variables, but was not significant in predicting any of the criterion measures. Similarly, ideology was dummy coded as feminist/non-feminist, but was not significant in predicting group-rated effectiveness.

18. It is interesting to note that size of group used as the resource measure contributes considerably less to the predictive power of the regression equation than do the resource measures of size of budget or number of staff and is not itself a significant predictor of external effectiveness.

19. In using advocacy effectiveness alone as the criterion measure (that is, raw scores on the dimension of perceived effectiveness of advocacy), the pattern of results is very similar:

$p = < .05$; $R^2 = .402$; Adjusted $R^2 = .328$;

betas:	stress	= .017
	competency	= .12
	budget	= -.659
	network prestige	= .577

20. Those findings are based on responses of groups representatives and Chiefs of Staff of Ministers, who conveyed information on the frequency with which leaders of women's groups seek to get appointments with the Minister.

21. This confirms the findings of a study by Burt (1987b) of a cross-section of local and national women's groups. She found that there was very little contact between the leaders of women's groups and public servants.

22. Only one of the subject groups--NAC--had a full-time paid "lobbyist". However, the job of this person was primarily to track legislation, not to lobby in the usual sense of making extensive personal contacts with public officials and making representation to them on the positions of the group.

23. Personal communication in interviews.

CHAPTER 8

Summary and Conclusions

The purpose of this work has been to develop a new--and it is argued, more adequate--framework as well as appropriate methods for examining social movements and social movement organizations. This organizational analysis purposively invoked and integrated social movement literature with interest group analysis. A social movement must be understood as a network of individual organizations that are interconnected and bound by a collective identity and that share core, non-negotiable values, but which independently act to create organizational identities, serve particular constituencies and special interests and which lobby government on behalf of their members as well as in the interests of the movement as a whole. The form and direction of a social movement is influenced by the actions of individual social movement organizations, by the pattern of interconnections and linkages among these organizations and by the nature of their relationship with the state. While the activities of individual organizations shape the movement, they are simultaneously influenced by the integrative aspect of the social movement and the actions of other organizations in that interorganizational environment. It is this organizational embeddedness that distinguishes a social movement organization from an isolated public interest group. While this emphasis on social movement organizations does not preclude or deny the importance of

individuals as activists, it emphasizes that organizations serve as the anchor points of movements by providing the overarching political direction and that organizations are the primary, but not the only, agents for inducing collective action (Tarrow, 1989a, p. 37).

A comprehensive analysis of a social movement, therefore, must consider all three levels: the movement, the organization and the group-government interaction. Moreover, analysis must recognize that the actions of social movements and their constituent organizations are both instrumental, that is, designed to achieve policy change by the state and to alter the behaviour of civil society, and expressive, by which the value lies in the creation and expression of a collective identity. Although the contribution of the New Social Movement perspective has been to illustrate the significance of the expressive nature of social movements and to downplay relationships with the state, no social movement is exclusively expressive or, alternatively solely strategic and instrumental, in its logic and actions. Rather, the analytic perspective and methodological tools must be sufficiently flexible and comprehensive to include both orientations.

The lens used to view and integrate the three interdependent levels has been that of action. In contrast to resources or structural conditions as a unit of analysis, action embodies intentionality, systemic and ecological context. While resources may facilitate action, they are not necessarily translated directly into action. Human and financial resources are often substituted for each other and can be directed toward the promotion of different categories of action. Mere

knowledge of the level of resources possessed or mobilized by a group is not an automatic index of its effectiveness and does not tell us how the organization will act. Relatively small SMOs with limited finances may have considerable impact on the policy process by the dedication of resources to projects, such as research and education or coalition-building, that are appropriate to their issue or the contemporary structure of political opportunities. It is through the lens of action theory, rather than that of resource mobilization, that a more comprehensive view of the operation or effectiveness of social movement organizations is achieved.

The advantage of action as a unit of analysis is that it may include expressive as well as instrumental forms: that is, the measurement of action may include such diverse types as membership service, networking, fundraising and lobbying and can encompass projects which are group-initiated and those which are thrust upon a group by its political environment. In addition, action as the basic unit can be used across the three levels--movement, organization and organization-state interface--to consider actions that involve other groups and that, thereby, serve as the basis for linkages at the movement level, to examine the internal action systems of social movement organizations, and, finally, to investigate lobbying actions that form the points of contact with the state. At the movement level, the pattern of ties among SMOs has been mapped based on cooperative advocacy actions. Implications for the negotiation of the collective identity and the relative position of individual organizations and interests within the movement have been discerned from the empirical analysis

of ties. At the organizational level, the research postulated an eight category project system and examined the construction and differentiation of social meaning attributed to each action type. It then investigated the influence of resources and structural characteristics by exploring the differences in action meaning across types of groups. Finally, at the state interaction level, the frequency of contact with and perceptions of effectiveness of SMOs held by public officials were studied as a function of action.

The national component of the Canadian women's movement was chosen as the case example because it is a mature and diversified social movement that has achieved considerable longevity as well as successful impact on government policies and civil society. As a keystone for future comparative research, the women's movement is one of the core "new" social movements that has counterparts in most industrialized as well as in many developing countries. Analysis centered on the organizational level with the selection of thirty-three national women's groups: the first empirical question was whether these groups are sufficiently interconnected to be considered a single social movement. Although these national organizations were indeed found to be integrated into a social movement, this network is not presumed to constitute the women's movement in Canada. As is well documented, the grassroots level probably comprises the bulk of the movement; analysis of this level, however, is beyond the scope of the present project.

As noted in Chapter 2, the persistence of organizations at the national level and a focus on the federal government has been a fundamental and

particular characteristic of the Canadian women's movement since 1970, when the Royal Commission on the Status of Women mobilized and crystallized public attention to the status of women around the federal government. In contrast to many other countries, national organizations have been a significant force in the Canadian women's movement and these organizations have chosen to engage in "normal" politics which involves considerable acceptance of and reliance upon state action. Violent protest or attempts at institutional overthrow are foreign to the advocacy approach of the national Canadian women's movement. It is certain that these national groups are more organizationally complex than are local groups, but a valid future comparison would be with national components of other core social movements such as the environmental, peace or consumer movements. It is also undoubtedly true that most social movements operate in national and local community political arenas and that the two are interconnected, but analysis must begin in a manageable fashion at one level and in subsequent steps proceed to examine the grassroots component.

The Network of the National Canadian Women's Movement

The difference between a public interest group and a social movement organization is that a social movement organization is, by definition, embedded in an environment of connected groups that while individually distinct, share core non-negotiable values and together create a collective identity of "us". A social movement must be viewed as a network of organizations, not as a unitary

actor. The expansiveness and specifics of the identity and behaviour of the movement will depend on the individual and joint actions of the other groups that are part of the network. A movement requires both diversity and unity. It thus balances the dialectic of inclusivity (that is, the need to include as many organizations and individuals as possible who are willing to share in the collective identity) versus exclusivity (the creation of bounded distinction and the establishment of "us" as apart from "them"). A movement that is too inclusive, that is without diversity, runs the risk of becoming a sect. But without the establishment of a boundary between the insiders and the outsiders, solidarity will not be created and, consequently, collective action cannot be sustained.

It was argued in this analysis that collective identity is the boundary or fence around a social movement. Identity, however, is a negotiated process among interconnected organizations; it is not a static product, goal or ideology. The specifics and expansiveness of the collective identity, therefore, will depend upon the individual identities, ideologies and interests of the linked groups. As Magnusson and Walker state, this negotiation process is vital to a social movement:

Engaging in struggles of connection can lead in turn to struggles of imagination. People are led to rethink what we mean by community, or power, or reason, or passion . . . . They do so not on the basis of some utopian prescription, but on the basis of concrete struggles. People probe their own identities and their relations to others, to discover ways of thinking, acting, and being that are appropriate to the reality they have to confront (1988, p. 162).

The movement and the identity which it constructs also have an important impact on individual SMOs. The social and political arrangement of the movement shapes the discourse on issues which, in turn, influences how organizations present their advocacy positions to government and other movements. The pattern of movement relations also affects the action system of individual organizations; for instance, the possibilities of information sharing with other network partners may alleviate or accentuate the need to conduct research internally. Finally, the pattern of existing ties provides the basis for coalition formation, and alliances have been recognized to be major determinants of success in lobbying the state. This work has not preemptively assumed that the thirty-three national women's groups are joined in a network, but rather posed this as an hypothesis which is examined through empirical testing.

The mapping of both project-specific and ongoing working relations among the groups illustrated that this is a well developed and expansive network that joins most of the diverse national groups. It includes both the self-defined feminist organizations and the older traditional--at least in image--groups such as the National Council of Women, Canadian Federation of University Women and YWCA. The collective identity which these diverse organizations share perhaps is best described as "liberalized feminism." While there is an emphasis on equality, the identity is a product of more precisely articulated visions of feminism combined with very loosely defined orientations

toward women and society. It is not a consciously and clearly enunciated identity of liberal feminism and it is properly termed a "women's" movement rather than a "feminist" movement.

The expansiveness of the movement's interconnections must be considered a strength because it provides a broad base for coalition alignments and the encompassed diversity is likely to protect the movement from "involution" by which movements turn inward, become ideologically rigid and institutionally isolated.¹ The only groups not connected in this network are R.E.A.L. Women and the Catholic Women's League (both of which stand opposed to the pro-choice position on abortion) and two small associations of professional women. The isolation of R.E.A.L. Women demonstrates that although they probably are attracting women who may feel threatened or disenfranchised by the rest of the movement and although the organization claims to support the principle of equality, they are not part of the women's movement in this country. The isolation of the professional women who have already succeeded in male-dominated occupations intimates that one of the tasks for the future of the women's movement may be to attract professional women who do not feel that they personally have experienced inequality and feel no sense of sisterhood outside of their professional spheres.

In contrast to the view of women's "liberation" movements depicted in European studies, the national Canadian women's movement has considerable form and interconnectedness. It is not a decentralized, atomistic or segmented network. Although there is a predominance of weak ties and the overall density

of ties cannot be considered high, efficiency of information flow and coordination of action with minimum resource costs is achieved in several ways. First, there is an important coordinating, albeit not controlling organization, the National Action Committee, that has both strong and weak ties to diverse parts of the network and, thereby can coordinate and facilitate information flow and advocacy action. There are also several other "peak" organizations--the YWCA, FFQ, CCLOW and CDCAA --that have a relatively large number of ties and because these groups are themselves interconnected, the ease and efficiency of information flow in the network is greatly enhanced. Structural equivalence (cluster) analysis also revealed that there is considerable specialization in network position by these groups: that is, they tend to have different, rather than overlapping, patterns of linkages. The absence of jointly occupied network positions tends to reduce intra-movement competition and reduces coordination costs through specialization. However, in this configuration it is essential that the peak organizations remain linked in order to avoid splintering and constituency drift. This may be a loosely coupled network, but it has definite form without calcification.

In all women's movements the ability to integrate minority women is a vital concern in the tolerance of difference and the fight against inequality which characterizes feminist ideology. In Canada, linguistic and cultural barriers add the additional concern of incorporating organizations of francophone women in order to achieve a legitimate national movement. The pattern of network ties revealed that while the three francophone groups form an interconnected unit

themselves, they are also linked to the anglophone groups through the important bridging role played by the Fédération des femmes du Québec. In contrast, minority women, specifically native, visible minority and disabled women, tend to be marginalized within the movement and are not regular partners in advocacy actions. This suggests that, in spite of much debate, the national movement still has a white middle-class tone and it has not been able to adequately respond to and address the interests of minority women.

The analysis of extra-movement linkages showed surprisingly few ties with other core social movements--the labour, peace and environmental movements. With the exception of NAC, FFQ and CDCAA, the other groups mentioned no formal organizational ties to labour unions. Because we know that individual women are working hard within the labour movement, it must be suggested that there is a high degree of specialization or selection of movement participation. Women tend to be either union activists or women's movement activists, but as leaders of women's groups few encourage their organizations, as organizations, to form boundary-spanning ties with unions. The absence of links with labour combined with the relatively few ties with social policy/poor people's organizations implies a class bias in the organized women's movement that individual activists have long railed against.

Finally, there are few organizational connections with the women's movements in other countries.² Although many of these national Canadian groups have direct American counterparts, and Canadian women undoubtedly have read the classic works of American feminists, it is a myth to suggest that

the Canadian movement has been an outgrowth or has been closely modelled after that of the United States. Rather, the Canadian movement independently has created its own network, processes and heroines.

There is considerable diversity of interests and constituencies among the national women's groups. To date, the women's movement has seen its strength in unity and feared its diversity. This inability to glorify the differences within the movement has contributed to the marginalization of minority women, sparked tension between the anglophone and francophone groups over the Meech Lake Accord (among other issues) and permitted the anti-feminist forces, such as R.E.A.L. Women, to challenge the diversity as divisiveness. However, a single movement that can bind together, if in some cases loosely, feminist with traditional groups, francophone, visible minority and aboriginal women is in itself an accomplishment that should not be denigrated. As a mature social movement that has already attained longevity over two decades, the collective identity can now be renegotiated to accommodate the expression of differences and recognition that diversity is not weakness and does not necessarily reduce unity.

Protest, and indeed reform, tends to come in waves or cycles (Tarrow, 1989a, pp. 91-103). Does the low frequency of organizational linkages with groups in other social movements indicate that the national Canadian women's movement is entering a phase of demobilization by becoming insular? Does the finding that the leaders of women's groups said that their groups have difficulty attracting new members imply that the movement is no longer attractive to

Canadian women? Katzenstein (1989) offers an alternative thesis to a theory of decline that is perhaps more accurate. The explanation may be, as Katzenstein argues in the American context, that the field for mobilization has changed from one focussed on social movement organizations to "unobtrusive mobilization" among women in firms, unions and other institutions such as the Church and the military. Such mobilization is less visible because it centres on individuals and consciousness rather than organizations and advocacy. Because both longitudinal analysis and the study of individuals is beyond the scope of the present work, it is impossible to say conclusively whether there is demobilization of the organized movement or whether there is diffusion of a new consciousness among women in traditional institutions. The shift in fields, however, would make the obituary for feminism which is currently fashionable in the popular press, premature. Moreover, unobtrusive mobilization may occur in addition to, rather than instead of, action by SMOs and there is no concrete evidence that national Canadian women's organizations are in danger of extinction.

Project Systems of National Canadian Women's Groups

A comprehensive examination of the actions of social movement organizations must include the totality of types of activities they undertake to operate in a network of other groups. A composite organizational picture of SMOs has not yet been compiled due to disciplinary fences: interest group literature has tended to focus almost exclusively on lobby actions while social

movement literature has focussed either on expressive action or on resources, rather than action as the basis of analysis. The purpose of the organizational level of analysis was threefold: first to develop and test a model of a SMO action system, secondly, to examine differences in ascribed meaning across action types in order to discern how organizations view the various activities in which they engage and, finally, to explore differences in action meaning across types of groups in order to determine whether the interpretation of action meaning is highly dependent upon resources, structural characteristics or ideology.

Based on experienced and recounted meaning, there is likely to be a selective process of choice applied to action in which groups, to the extent possible, specialize in, repeat or promote activities that produce a sense of competency and that do not generate debilitating levels of stress. In contrast, those types of projects that are highly stressful and do not promote a sense of agency or competency are likely to be avoided, delayed, routinized or "contracted out" to a few individuals. While it is difficult over the long run to avoid systematically projects from any given action domain, the distasteful ones may be undertaken only to the minimal levels absolutely necessary for organizational survival.

A significant contribution of this approach is the adaptation and application of a methodology appropriate to testing the adequacy of this conceptual model of SMO action. Personal Projects Analysis proved to be a highly successful method for determining the actions undertaken by SMOs and for assessing the social meaning attached to these actions. By far the most

bothersome types of projects for women's groups are fundraising and strategic planning, as evidenced by very high scores of these activities on stress and very low scores on sense of competency. Due to the difficulty of motivating people in volunteer organizations to work diligently on projects that are unrewarding, it is likely that women's groups will tend to remain dependent upon existing sources and methods of raising revenues. This *status quo* dependency will be difficult to overcome even though the group leaders consistently say that they wish to diversify their funding bases. The fact that there were no significant differences in the meaning associated with fundraising between groups which are primarily state funded and those which are membership (or private donor) funded indicates that it is the action of fundraising, not the source that make the task loathsome.

Like fundraising, long term strategic planning is a primarily instrumental action. Rather than reinforcing the organization and movement collective identities, strategic planning purposively throws them into question. Given the importance of maintaining a collective identity, the process of establishing long term visions, goals and strategies may be more difficult for SMOs than for independent conventional interest groups that are not in the process of creating and defending new political spaces.

The function that membership service plays in a SMO has been portrayed in the literature in two divergent ways: as an instrumental action that provides selective incentives and as an expressive action that creates a sense of belonging. The finding that the action domain of membership service was experienced as

very high in a sense of competency, and the fact that the content of membership projects contained no mention of pure private goods, support a view that recognizes the importance of expressive action. The incentives to participation in women's groups are expressive ones, such as newsletters and annual meetings, that reinforce identities and build solidarities. These vehicles of communication are crucial means of binding members to each other and to the organization, but are unlikely to serve as selective inducements in the classical Olsonian sense unless there is an underlying consciousness that is being reaffirmed with an organization-specific identity. The meaning experienced in the internal action system, as well as the dynamics of SMOs as voluntary associations, helps to explain their general inability and unwillingness to lobby in a conventional interest group manner.

Impact of Structural Characteristics on Action

The analysis of action system meaning was further unpacked by exploring differences among groups. The purpose of this cross-group comparison is to assess whether action is experienced in consistent ways for all women's groups or whether resource availability, structural characteristics, or ideology of the organization influence the doing and experience of action. The popularity of the resource mobilization perspective has created the implicit assumption in much of the literature that the mere availability of resources leads to their deployment in ways most appropriate to the political agenda and opportunity structure. It suggests that there is a positive relation between the availability of resources and

the ease, efficacy and effectiveness in using them. In contrast to the resource mobilization perspective, the focus on action forces recognition that organizations engage in a system of action which necessitates choices in the application of resources to different action domains as well as among different kinds of projects within a domain.

Analysis of groups with different levels of resources (as indicated by size of budget, staff and membership) produced few significant differences in the sense of competency, stress or centrality experienced in each of the project domains. In fact, (with the exception of groups with very low levels of resources) the relationships were in the reverse direction from those hypothesized. In general, for most of the project domains, it was found that the greater the resources available, the lower the sense of competency and the greater the stress. These results offer strong support for the theory of understaffing (Wicke, 1973; Wicker et al., 1972; Barker, 1968).

Neither the source of funding for women's groups nor the structural characteristics of the organization made significant differences in the way in which the action domains were experienced. The sense of competency and level of stress experienced in lobbying and fundraising, for example, are not influenced by dependency on government funding. Although member-funded groups perceive slightly greater levels of resource support, perhaps due to the fact that they have a greater degree of control in generating it, there is no strong and consistent pattern which suggests that the leaders of independently-funded groups feel more efficacious in their projects, or alternatively, that government

support alleviates the stresses of organizational activities. Given the shrinking of state support, government-dependent organizations are likely to experience very difficult times and severe organizational stress in the next few years.

Because the action of fundraising from members and the public brings benefits other than money, such as image-building and attracting new members, total reliance on state funding can diminish these spin-off benefits because it is a process relatively invisible to members and the public. It is not recommended that state funding be abolished because this might result either in the extinction of many groups or their political demise by forcing them to concentrate all their efforts on fundraising. However, groups themselves need to recognize the downside of government sponsorship and either begin new methods of public finance or, if remaining state-dependent, compensate with greater efforts in membership and image-building campaigns.

The universal dislike of fundraising, combined with the stress associated with the other instrumental action of strategic planning, may indicate a problem described by some group representatives as "annualitis". The need to face the dreaded task of fundraising anew each year is partly due to the fact that donors--be they individuals seeking a tax receipt or governments--primarily provide contributions on an annual basis. In addition, elected leaders know that by constitutional requirements their term in office will be relatively short (usually a maximum of two years) so that they are reluctant to undertake long-run budgeting and planning.

The national Canadian women's movement is distinguished by the

existence of a variety of organizational forms, but most popular are umbrella organizations composed of chapters or independent organizations. Important organizational hybrids include NAC and the FFQ, which combine into an umbrella structure grassroots groups with organizations that have a national presence in their own right. However, these umbrella organizations have created permanent decision-making processes and distinct organizational identities. The fact that there were no significant differences in perceptions of action between groups differentiated by structure (umbrella organizations, individual membership groups versus non-membership groups) indicates that no one structure clearly facilitates or frustrates action more than another. There was some evidence, however, that multiple issue/multiple constituency groups have a lower level of agency and higher degrees of stress than do more issue or constituency focussed groups. It is not surprising that greater diversity of interests makes priority-setting among competing interests and constituencies more contentious. Indeed, it is sometimes remarkable that organizations as diverse as NAC can smooth over group differences sufficiently to act at all.

In contrast to the predictions offered by Zald and McCarthy (1987) that the prototypical future form of social movement organizations in the United State increasingly will be "professional" organizations with a paper membership led by a political entrepreneurs and staff vested with extensive authority, this study found no indication whatsoever that the professional SMO is a popular organizational form for women's groups or that any of the existing groups are evolving into such structures. On the contrary, the few groups which loosely fit

this description, such as LEAF or Media Watch, are actively working on building local chapters with active memberships and democratic decision-making structures.

The distinction made by Dunleavy (1987) between groups with an exogenous membership base and those with only an endogenous common interest appears to be a useful one. Although a preexisting identity set was discovered to make membership and lobbying projects easier and more efficacious, the identity set limits the base for fundraising activities. Exogenous groups may be at an advantage in organizing and mobilizing for collective action, but special interest endogenous groups are more likely through successful image-building and marketing to be able to generate the revenues necessary to sustain advocacy action.

Finally, differentiation between groups on the basis of feminism as the fundamental ideological orientation showed different factor scores on competency and centrality in several domains. This indicates that there are differences in experienced action meaning between groups that value an ideology and, hence, strive to maintain doctrinal purity by avoiding compromises on core values and process, and those that, in the absence of an overarching ideological framework, can deal with issues about advocacy tactics and issues in a pragmatic, individualistic and non-personal manner as they arise.

The action approach revealed that there seem to be consistent experiences in project domains that are little altered by resources, organizational characteristics or breadth of interests. It appears that there is considerable

similarity in how quite different social movement organizations approach the same action domains. There is, however, much to be said for a moderate scale of operation. Internal pressures are created both by administering abundant resources and large memberships and by being central in the movement network. The preferred strategy for SMOs, as Offe and Wiesensthal (1985) maintain, is to optimize rather than maximize organizational size and network connectedness.

Relationships with the Canadian State

New Social Movement scholars argue that the importance of social movements is to open political spaces, forge collective identities and democratize civil society and that the value of the study of social movements is to expand the focus in analysis of political behaviour beyond concentration on the state. But social movements are political as well as social agents that engage in instrumental action to affect institutional and policy change. It therefore is essential not to lose sight of the role of the state as a target of collective political action and as an institution which regulates social order. The purpose of the third component of the analysis was to examine the relationship of the subject groups with the Canadian state and determine the best predictors of effectiveness in these relationships. Specifically, it was hypothesized that effectiveness is a function of three independent variables: 1) individual group processes, such as a sense of competency or stress created through group action, which serve as the motivational basis for the exercise of power, 2) resources (budget, staff and

membership size) which create the material potential for influence and, 3) network position which provides both motivational resources such as knowledge of shared values, support and visibility and material resources, such as access to information and ability to mobilize other organizations.

Effectiveness is a multidimensional concept. The first step to achieving policy success is to have some form of contact with politicians, public servants and the media and to be seen by them as a legitimate, influential and effective organization. By catching the attention of policy makers, institutional biases that exclude certain issues or perspectives may be diminished and restrictions on participation in the policy process that exclude certain players may be reduced. But, no other agent has such intimate knowledge of and interest in assessing its actions than the group itself. Therefore, effectiveness in this study was assessed both in terms of the perceptions of effectiveness held by a subset of relevant policy makers and by group leaders themselves.

Network position was the only consistently strong predictor of perceived effectiveness as rated by public officials, while resources and internal project meaning scores were relatively poor predictors. Intra-movement relationships have important extra-movement consequences. Resources were a poor predictor of both internal and external self-rated effectiveness and the association was in a negative direction. This suggests that in asking, "how are we doing?" group leaders look to the value of the action for the organization, especially its ability to build enthusiasm and create a sense of efficacy—which are primarily expressive actions—rather than to strategic questions about what can be

accomplished with existing budgets, staff and members. Even groups with very limited resources can create this empowerment for themselves, but may remain unnoticed by most government officials. As noted earlier, the high stress associated with strategic planning may mean that a long term programme for the direction and political use of this sense of agency is not built. On the other hand, groups with greater levels of financial and human resources may have higher expectations about what they can achieve in both instrumental actions related to policy change and expressive acts of building an organization and may, thus, judge themselves harshly. Moreover, the finding that women's groups tend to have truncated contact across government departments and that they concentrate their lobbying efforts primarily on the "Women's State" (Status of Women Canada and Secretary of State Women's Program) and a few ministers, reinforces the conclusion that these groups are not very successful lobbyists in conventional terms.

This discrepancy between internally-viewed effectiveness (based on group goals and expectations) and policy makers' perceptions (based on comparison with the lobbying efforts of other interest groups) highlighted the fundamental conundrum of social movement organizations: that they are inherently anti-institutional, but must act upon existing institutions to achieve policy change. Therefore, SMOs face an ongoing dialectic between pragmatism and passion, a tension between confrontation and conciliation and between bureaucratism and enthusiasm. The recipe for advocacy success probably consists of instrumental action: building ties with other groups, defining issues

in incremental terms, developing and providing expert information, cultivating relations with government officials often through one-on-one meetings and, finally, avoidance of confrontation or protest tactics. But social movement organizations have another purpose besides lobbying, which is to create the "us" and "them" of a collective identity, to build group enthusiasm and solidarity, to vent frustration at being the disadvantaged "us", rather than the privileged "them" and to nurture members to feel a sense of political efficacy. In these latter tasks, confrontational politics work well, at least for the movement and its constituencies, if not for the successful promotion of its interests to the state.

The discrepancy between how well the leaders of women's groups rated the performance of their organizations and how poorly policy makers rated these groups as lobbyists demonstrates that theory must expand the concept of the effectiveness of SMOs. The role of SMOs in society is not confined to acting as interest advocates and, consequently, their effectiveness should not be assessed merely on the basis of their lobbying capabilities. On the contrary, measurement of effectiveness must recognize that people--both members and non-members--are reached through collective action and that this is a major function of SMOs. Therefore, SMOs should also be evaluated on the basis of their ability to create identities and political spaces and on their ability to generate collective action.

Due to the dual role of being both policy advocates and organizers of collective action, social movement organizations continually struggle with the choice between pursuing incremental gains or "small wins" through

institutionalized channels and that of striving for the big bang or total victory by confronting the institutions of state, the market and civil society. While the former approach of conventional lobbying tends to dampen member enthusiasm and over time may lead to member apathy and disintegration of the rank and file from the leadership, the latter approach may reverberate in open opposition and marginalization of demands so that no policy gains at all are achieved. The paradox of insurgency, Jenkins (1985) argues, is that while unruliness may alienate both the state and moderate supporters, the very nature of the demands presented and resources available to social movements preclude action through existing institutional channels.

This analysis suggests that it is very difficult, often organizationally unacceptable, for SMOs to lobby in the conventional manner (written briefs, meetings with MPs and public servants, shared expert information) used by mainstream interest groups. As a result, women's groups and other SMOs are always likely to be less visible and taken less seriously by policy-makers. However, there are several things which SMOs might do to preserve the delicate blend of pragmatism and passion. First, staff or designated--and accountable--volunteers might be given the task of meeting privately with politicians and public servants to present positions, so that when the elected executive merge on Ottawa from the corners of Canada they can attend to organizational needs and the public face of lobbying. For women's groups, more emphasis could be placed on building contacts with naturally sympathetic individual women in the state, rather than exclusively with the Women's State.

In terms of decision-making rules, most women's groups place heavy emphasis on democracy to the detriment of leadership. Although democracy is vital internally, mechanisms that would allow elected leaders to react to issues when they are topical, rather than waiting for the annual cycle of policy resolutions from local chapters, would generate visibility and clarity of position for the organization. Umbrella structures have been significant and workable innovations that accommodate diversity and local association needs with national interests. But as these organizations (especially NAC) grow, there is a strong need to reexamine internal processes of representation in order to prevent ideological and regional splintering and to maintain close connections between the rank and file and the leadership. Member participation need not obfuscate leadership.

Perhaps the most obvious result of this analysis is the need to build ties with other groups and social movements. The social support and morale created by network connectedness prevents ideological and organizational involution in which groups make themselves doctrinally pure by becoming excessively exclusive through isolation. The strength of weak ties not only builds a collective identity sufficiently expansive across special interests and constituencies to withstand opposition, but it mitigates the marginalization of some groups within a movement and creates visibility and support to make the organization appear more influential to state officials.

At the movement level, one way of accommodating both expressive and instrumental orientations is through greater specialization. As has occurred in

the national Canadian women's movement, there recently has been the rise of specialized organizations, such as LEAF, whose members are not at all uncomfortable with conventional lobbying or litigation tactics. This allows the confrontational tactics to be undertaken by other parts of the movement. With increased specialization, however, the need for ties among SMOs becomes even more crucial.

Study Limitations and Directions for Future Research

This research has offered an analytical framework that integrates organization, movement and the group-government interface. Secondly, it presented an alternate analytical lens to resources, that of action, and finally, it tested methods, Projects Analysis and network analysis, for the examination of group and social movement behaviour. As exploratory research, however, this analysis opens many questions, both theoretical and empirical.

There are also several limitations of the study imposed by its exploratory nature and availability of resources which must be acknowledged and accepted as restrictions on generalization. The most restrictive parameter results from the fact that only one or two elite representatives were interviewed and asked to speak on behalf of the groups as a whole. This measure has external validity because these elites often do represent the views of their groups to government or other groups and they take an important part in shaping the action of their organizations. However, the reliability of the responses of one elite representative in adequately portraying group processes and member

perceptions is unknown. It is, indeed, possible that these responses bear a heavy stamp of individual personalities, positions and personal experience. The fact that there were no role-dependent response sets and that there was a strong consistency in the patterns of experienced meaning suggests that the elite representatives have not been highly personal and idiosyncratic. However, it is only with inclusion of a broader cross-section of group executives, perhaps interviewed in a group setting, that the reliability of elite responses can be adequately ascertained. As an even more comprehensive analysis, future research might include rank and file members as well as the elite and, thereby, examine relationships between the national organizations and local associations or members.

At the movement level, there could also be more comprehensive inclusion of subject groups. It has not been contended that this analysis of national women's groups represents all of the Canadian women's movement. Rather, connections among the grassroots groups with and within national organizations is required before a complete picture of the women's movement in Canada can be pieced together.

The second restriction relates to the extent to which this study of women's groups can be generalized to other types of social movement organizations. In the first component of analysis, an eight-category action system was developed which was theorized to apply to all types of interest groups and social movement organizations. However, this action system needs to be tested empirically with other kinds of groups to determine if the eight

domains remain relevant and the system complete. Although the present study, as an initial attempt to conceptualize a SMO project system, treated the domains as discrete in intentionality, further analysis should recognize that in reality the domains are not discrete, but overlap in the functions they perform for the organization. Fundraising, for instance, not only raises revenue but is an important vehicle for image-building and attracting new members. Although analysis which can accommodate the duality of action purpose necessarily would be more complex, it is the logical sequential step in understanding the organizational behaviour of social movement organizations. Replication and comparative analysis would also indicate the stability of the factor structure of project meaning and determine if other types of SMOs experience the action domains in similar ways.

Because there are no comparative empirical studies of movements as interorganizational networks, the analysis of the network of the national Canadian women's movement had to be undertaken without appropriate scales against which to compare measures of density, centrality or shape. Comparative research on other social movements, such as environmental, peace or welfare rights movements as well as women's movements in other countries, is now required to adequately assess whether the network configuration is typical of all social movements or is peculiar to this one. The network analysis is a snapshot of advocacy relations at one point in time and, although ongoing relations are incorporated in the method, longitudinal analysis would assist in understanding changing political alignments, collective identities and the discourses on

particular issues.

Effectiveness is recognized and treated as a complex concept that cannot merely be equated with policy change. However, minimal work exists on SMO effectiveness and no generalizations can be made from this study to the effectiveness and targets of advocacy actions of SMOs other than the subject groups. Measures need to be refined and the relations among indicators of perceptions of effectiveness and actual goal attainment examined. Furthermore, the reverse relationship--the impact of the state on social movements, especially through government grants to groups--deserves attention. The present research focussed on the relationship of a social movement with the state, but social movements also act to change civil society and there exist few studies of the effectiveness of SMOs in generating collective action and on their success in altering the behaviour and attitudes of individuals and private sector institutions.

A Final Word

Social movement organizations have a positive value for the democratization of civil society, for the opening of political spaces and the contribution of non-elite perspectives to the universe of political discourse. To understand why such organizations do not always behave as "civilly" as business and professional associations, we need to look at both the pressures of organizational project systems and dynamics created by movement identities and networks. The Canadian women's movement has been successful in

publicizing the gender implications of policy and in establishing organizations with considerable longevity. But it is now facing the challenge of counter-mobilization, restrictions on government funding, changes within the state such as Parliamentary and Cabinet reform, and insinuations in the popular media that feminism is dead.³ In order to meet the demands of this rapidly changing political environment, women's groups must constructively deal with the organizationally odious tasks of fundraising and strategic planning, face the trade-off between confrontation and conciliation and create strength in movement ties. It is the time to be inclusive, to appeal to professional women, union women and homemakers, to young women and older women, as well as to francophone and anglophone, native, disabled, immigrant and visible minority women. It is not the time to drift into exclusivity and isolation which will only serve to constrict the discourse on political issues and close an important political space.

ENDNOTES

1. The idea of involution in women's organizations is discussed at length by Mansbridge (1986, pp. 181-186), but was introduced much earlier by Bell (1952).
2. Many of the national Canadian women's groups have sympathies with women in developing countries, but few have ties with women's movements in other countries, particularly in industrialized nations. MATCH International, as a development organization, regularly runs projects with groups of women in developing countries and other organizations such as YWCA and the Canadian Federation of University of Women recently have also undertaken such projects on a more limited basis.
3. The notion that feminism is dead has been popularized in articles such as Corelli (1987), Gray (1988), Nicholls (1989), Riley (1989) and Steed (1987).

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APPENDIX A

LIST OF GROUPS AND CRITERIA FOR SELECTION

Criteria for Selection of Groups

The criteria for selection of groups were:

- 1) have a group interest in advancing the interests of women and in building organizational identities for women (several mixed-gender groups are included because their collective interest is central to gender issues)
- 1) have a voluntary membership (thereby excluding professional associations)
- 2) be engaged in pressure politics to some extent, rather than merely in service activities
- 3) have a national membership or be required by government to act in a national sense (includes two major groups from Quebec)

List of National Women's Groups in Study

**Network
Code**

AFEAS	Association Féminine d'Education et d'Action Sociale
CARAL	Canadian Abortion Rights Action League
CAAWS	Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women and Sport
CAEFS	Canadian Association of Elizabeth Fry Societies
CAWEE	Canadian Association of Women Executives and Entrepreneurs
CCLOW	Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women
CDCAA	Canadian Day Care Advocacy Association
B & Ps	Canadian Federation of Business & Professional Women's Clubs
CFUW	Canadian Federation of University Women
CRIAW	Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women
CWL	Catholic Women's League of Canada
CBW	Congress of Black Women of Canada
DAWN	Disabled Women's Network
FWIC	Federated Women's Institutes of Canada
FNFCF	Federation nationale des femmes canadiennes francaises
FFQ	Federation des femmes du Quebec
FJL	Federation of Junior Leagues of Canada
IWA	Inuit Women's Association
MATCH	Match International
MW	Media Watch
NAC	National Action Committee on the Status of Women
NAWL	National Association of Women and the Law
NCJW	National Council of Jewish Women of Canada
NCW	National Council of Women
NOIVMW	National Organization of Immigrant & Visible Minority Women
NWAC	Native Women's Association of Canada
PP	Planned Parenthood Federation of Canada
REAL	R.E.A.L. Women of Canada
VOW	Voice of Women
WSA	Women for the Survival of Agriculture
WISE	Women in Science and Engineering
LEAF	Women's Legal Education and Action Fund
YWCA	YWCA of Canada

APPENDIX B

PERSONAL PROJECTS ANALYSIS (as modified for this dissertation) AND INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

PREFACE:

During the course of completing these questions, please feel free to say that you have no opinion on a question or that the question is not applicable to your group. Or, you may choose to decline to answer the question entirely.

If you wish to clarify a point or add further comments, again, please feel free to do so.

The information you give me will be kept strictly confidential. A short paper on the results will be circulated to you.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE IN THIS RESEARCH.

NAME:_____

POSITION:_____

GROUP:_____

PROJECTS ANALYSIS

I am interested in studying the kinds of everyday and advocacy activities undertaken by groups involved in women's issues. Think of the activities that your organization is presently engaged in and will be doing over the next three months. Some of these activities are likely to be everyday or routine, while others may be crisis related. Some activities may involve internal administration and others may be related to advocacy on issues that your group is concerned about. Some projects may be in the early planning stages while others are close to being (but perhaps will never be) completed. Although I will refer to these activities as "projects", please consider both ongoing activities and concerns as well as the more finite projects your group is doing. Here are some examples of group projects:

Finishing the brief to the Department of Health and Welfare.

Making sure "Nancy" is doing her job well.

Talking to the leader of another women's group regarding a
joint presentation.

Publishing next month's newsletter.

Talking to Ms. Jones at Secretary of State regarding funding.

Planning the annual meeting.

Responding to media requests for information on our position
on Issue "X".

On the next sheet, please write down in approximately ten minutes all the activities you can think of that your group is doing and will be engaged in over the next three months. Please think of those projects which not only you personally, but other staff or member of your Board of Directors are involved in. Remember that these need not be only the formal or most important projects.

YOUR RESPONSES WILL BE KEPT STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

LIST OF PROJECTS

Please write down as many projects as you can think of.

This image shows a single page of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There is no handwriting or other markings on the paper.

Now copy the projects in as brief a form as possible into the left hand column of the matrix on the next page. Just make your description long enough to keep each project clearly in mind. As you can see, there is space for 10 projects. If your initial list contains *more* than 10, could you please select 10 which you think would be of interest to explore in more detail in order to better understand your group.

In columns 1 to 21, please rate each one of your group's projects using any number from 0 (low) to 10 (high). Remember that numbers between 0 and 10 can also be used.

1. Importance: how important each project is to your group at the present time (use 10 if the project is very important and 0 if it is not at all important).
2. Difficulty: how difficult your group as a whole finds it to carry out each project (use 10 for a project that is very difficult and 0 for one that is not at all difficult).
3. Enjoyment: how much your group enjoys working on it (use 10 if the project is enjoyed a great deal and 0 if it is not enjoyed at all).
4. Stress: how stressful you think it is for your group to carry out each project (use 10 if a project is very stressful to carry out and 0 if it is very relaxing to carry out).
5. Visibility to Membership: how visible you think a project is to most of the members of your group, that is how aware they are that you are engaged in this project (use 10 if it is very visible and 0 if not at all visible).
6. Public Visibility: how visible a project is to the relevant people-- such as policy makers and interested publics-- outside of your group (use 10 if the project is very visible and 0 if not at all visible).
7. Control: how much do you think your group controls the course of a project and its outcome (use 10 for a project over which you feel your group has complete control and 0 if you think your group has no control at all).

8. Outcome: what you anticipate the likelihood of successful completion of the project to be (use 10 if you think it will be extremely successful for your group as a whole and 0 if you think it will turn out to be a total failure).
9. Value Congruency: to what extent is the project consistent with the formal stated values of your group (use 10 if a project is totally consistent and 0 if it is totally at odds).
10. Typicality of the Group: how much does a project reflect the essence or image of your group (use 10 if the project is very typical of the "culture" of your group and 0 if it is not at all typical).
11. Progress: how successful your group has been in each project so far (use 10 to indicate that your group has been very successful and 0 to indicate that it has had no success at all).
12. Commitment: to what extent is your group committed to doing a project (use 10 if your group is deeply committed and 0 if it is minimally committed).
13. Initiation: how much you feel your group is responsible for having initiated each project (use 10 if your group is fully responsible for the initiation of a project and 0 if you feel your group has taken no part whatsoever in initiating a project).
14. Challenge: to what extent each project is demanding and challenging to your group (use 10 if a project is extremely challenging and 0 if it is not challenging at all).
15. Positive Impact: how much you feel that doing the project helps doing other projects. Please think of the process of doing the project rather than the impact of eventual completion of the project. Don't worry whether the project hinders others or not, we'll get to that on the next dimension (use 10 to indicate that a project greatly increases the group's chances of working on other projects and 0 to indicate that a project has no positive effect).

16. Negative Impact:	how much you feel that doing each project hinders doing other projects (use 10 to indicate that a project seriously hinders the group's chances of working on other projects and 0 to indicate that it has no negative effect).
17. Competency:	the degree of competency that your group has to successfully do this project (use 10 to indicate superior competence and 0 to indicate relative incompetence).
18. Adequacy of Financial Resources:	how much you feel that the amount of money your group has available to spend on the project is adequate (use 10 if the amount of money is perfectly adequate and 0 if not at all adequate).
19. Adequacy of Human Resources:	how much do you feel that the number and type of people available to do the project is adequate (use 10 if the human resources available are perfectly adequate and 0 if they are not at all adequate).
20. Personal Involvement:	the degree to which you personally are working on the project (use 10 if you are deeply and very actively involved in actually doing the project and 0 if you personally are not working on it at all).
21. Individual Identification:	the extent to which the project is identified with a particular individual in your group versus being identified with the group as a whole. Imagine a continuum that at one end (0) describes a project that is entirely conceived, shaped and promoted by an individual in your group. At the other end (10) is a project that is completely a project of the group--defined and driven by the group as a whole.

In the last two columns, please write down the approximate **starting date** of the project (the time that you began planning or actively working on it in any way) and the anticipated **completion date**, if there is one. If the project is a ongoing, continuous one, please write "ongoing" across the columns.

LIST OF PROJECTS		PROJECT MATRIX																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																												
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PEOPLE ASSOCIATED WITH PROJECTS

Now I would like to consider the people outside of your group who are associated with some of your advocacy activities. On this sheet, please write down on the numbered lines 4 of your **advocacy-related** projects. For each of these projects, would you please tell me who is the intended target(s)--the person(s) to whom the project is directed--if there is a target. For example, the target of the project, "Establish better contacts with Health and Welfare" may be the Deputy Minister or the Department as a whole.

Next, please tell me the most important people outside of your organization who are in some way involved in the project. These outside people may include public servants, government departments or other women's groups. Each may influence the project in a positive or a negative manner.

In the columns under **Support** and **Hinder**, please indicate if the target and each of the other people associated with the project is supportive of the project or a hindrance to it. Please feel free to say "Don't Know" when necessary.

Please Begin:

- 1). Please select 4 advocacy-related activities and write one down in each box under the "Project" heading.
- 2). For the first project, who is the target?
- 3). Would you say that this person: **strongly supports (++)**, **somewhat supports (+)**, **is neutral (0)**, **somewhat hinders (-)** or **strongly hinders (--)** the project? Please put the appropriate plus signs under the "Support" column or minus signs under the "Hinder" column.
- 4). What other groups, government agencies or individuals are involved? Please write these down under "Other".
- 5). Would you say each of these people: **strongly supports (++)**, **somewhat supports (+)**, **is neutral (0)**, **somewhat hinders (-)** or **strongly hinders (--)** the activity?

PEOPLE ASSOCIATED WITH PROJECTS

1 Project	2 Most Important People	3 Support	4 Hinder
1. _____	TARGET----- ----- ----- OTHERS----- ----- ----- -----		
2. _____	TARGET----- ----- ----- OTHERS----- ----- ----- -----		
3. _____	TARGET----- ----- ----- OTHERS----- ----- ----- -----		
4. _____	TARGET----- ----- ----- OTHERS----- ----- ----- -----		

++ strongly supports
 + somewhat supports
 0 is neutral

- somewhat hinders
 -- strongly hinders

UPON COMPLETION:

What other groups do you generally work most closely with in your advocacy activities?

Does there tend consistently to be a particular target or targets for your advocacy activities? Who generally, is the target?

What policy issues will be the most important for your group over the next year?

A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT PAST AND FUTURE ACTIONS:

1) Past Projects:

Now I would like to ask you some questions about projects that your group has undertaken in the past.

Successes: Please name the 3 projects already completed that you think have been the most successful for your group. Please give an approximate date and the reasons for success.

Project	When	Why Successful
1) _____	_____	_____ _____ _____
2) _____	_____	_____ _____ _____
3) _____	_____	_____ _____ _____

Least Successful:

What do you think are the 3 least successful projects that your group has done in the past? Again please give a date and reasons for lack of success.

Project	When	Why Not Successful
1) _____	_____	_____ _____ _____
2) _____	_____	_____ _____ _____
3) _____	_____	_____ _____ _____

- 2) In general, what kinds of activities does your group do best? How has it developed competency in doing these?

Types:

Reasons group does well:

- 3) **Future Projects:** Now I would like to ask about some projects that your group might do in the future. Please answer in the appropriate spaces below:

a) Are there projects that you wish your group were doing but which it is not doing at present? If so, what 3 projects would you most like to see your group undertake in the near future? Please indicate these under "Project" below.

b) Why would you like to have your group doing this project?

c) Why is your group not doing the project at present?

Project	Why Would Like to Do	Why Not Doing
1) _____	_____	_____
	_____	_____
	_____	_____
2) _____	_____	_____
	_____	_____
	_____	_____
3) _____	_____	_____
	_____	_____
	_____	_____

4) Five Years Time:

What do you **hope** your group will be like and what would you like it to be doing in 5 years?

What do you think is the probability (% chance) it will be like this? _____

What do you **think** your group will **actually** be like and what kinds of things will it be doing in 5 years?

---

5) Effectiveness:

One of the concerns of this study is to examine how women in women's groups perceive their own groups. Please consider and rate the effectiveness of your organization in the following domains. Use 10 to indicate that you feel your group is highly effective and 0 if you feel it is not at all effective in that domain. Please say if the domain is not applicable.

How would you rate (0-10) your group's effectiveness in:

- 1) Advocating policy goals. _____
- 2) Fund raising. _____
- 3) Generating and disseminating information useful to policy makers. _____
- 4) Maintaining a strong image and position relative to other women's groups. _____
- 5) Effectiveness of the decision making structure in assisting the group to accomplish its goals and activities. _____
- 6) Leadership in representing views of the members. _____
- 7) Attracting new members. _____
- 8) Keeping existing members. _____
- 9) Nurturing and encouraging members to learn or apply abilities. _____
- 10) Overall effectiveness considering all the activities that your group does. _____
- 11) Overall effectiveness three years ago. _____
- 12) Anticipated effectiveness in one year. _____

6) Changes in Structure:

Do you regard the present levels and means of raising funds as adequate? What changes, if any, would you like to see made?

Are there any changes that you would like to see in the **decision making** process? (e.g., any changes to the resolution process?)

Are there any changes to the **organizational or membership structures** that you would like to see?

Are there any changes to the way in which your group **advocates** for policy change that you would like to see made?

Do you think litigation might be an appropriate strategy in the future?

---

7) View of Feminism:

Does your group consider itself to be a feminist group?_____

What percentage of your members do you think would consider themselves to be feminists?_____

If Yes, How would you describe your approach to feminism?

---

8) Models:

Has your group followed the example of another group in deciding how to do--or not to do--particular activities? If so, which groups served as models and for which activities?

9) Meech Lake:

Does your group have a position on the Meech Lake Accord? (explain)

If yes:

Does your group have a lobbying plan of action?

When and How was this position and plan developed?

If no:

Why hasn't your group developed a position?

10) Free Trade:

Does your group have a position on Canada-US Free Trade? (explain)

If yes:

Does your group have a lobbying plan of action?

When and How was this position and plan developed?

If no:

Why hasn't your group developed a position?

---

11) Childcare:

Does your group have a position on childcare? (Please explain)

If yes:

Does your group have a lobbying plan of action?

When and How was this position and plan developed?

If no:

Why hasn't your group developed a position?

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION:

1) How long have you served in your present capacity with this group? _____

How long have you served on the executive? _____

2) How long have you been a member of this group? _____

3) Did you work with other interest groups before you assumed your duties here?

Group _____ How Long _____

Group _____ How Long _____

Group _____ How Long _____

4) Have you ever worked on women's issues within the public service or a Minister's office? (If so, what department?)

_____

_____

5) What other women's groups or other voluntary associations are you a member of?

_____

_____

END

18/02-91

FIN