Work identity and motivations among female volunteers as a function of attitudes toward women and gender role.

Sandra Smith Mella

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WORK IDENTITY AND MOTIVATIONS
AMONG FEMALE VOLUNTEERS AS A FUNCTION OF
ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN AND GENDER ROLE

A Thesis
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
in
Psychology

by
Sandra Smith Mella
June 1991
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ABSTRACT

This study was designed to examine the relationship between volunteer work identity and motivations as a function of attitudes toward women and gender roles. The subjects were 60 female Red Cross volunteers who completed a three-part questionnaire. In addition to personal demographics, volunteer work identity orientation and perceived motivational rewards were studied as a function of masculine and feminine roles and attitudes toward women. Results did not show any significant overall correlations between attitudes towards women (either profeminist or traditional) and levels of masculinity or feminity with work identity. A few significant relationships were found between motivational rewards of volunteering with masculinity, femininity and attitudes towards women's roles. However, these relationships were not in the expected direction.
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INTRODUCTION

Traditional values in the United States have always included those of active citizenship and personal community service. Volunteerism allows individuals to participate at community levels that directly affect them, and the result of such involvement is often the feeling of self-empowerment. In recent years, women in particular have been able to use volunteerism to foster innovation, advocacy, and possible reform through such movements as Mothers Against Drunk Drivers, the National Organization of Women and the Equal Rights Amendment.

Historically, volunteers have pioneered every paid position in human services today. Teaching, social work, firefighting, and professional advocacy have their roots in volunteerism. The list is extensive, and this job "creation" continues down to the present. Volunteering has also historically been a middle-class phenomenon. The word "volunteer" conjures up the image of "Polly-Do-Gooder," the affluent, upper-middle-class Caucasian housewife with 2.5 children, living in suburbia with some extra time on her hands. The assumed motivation for Polly was a sense of duty to her community and an abundance of altruism.

Throughout history, women have been assigned the roles
of caregivers for spouses, children and aging parents.
In surveying the changing history of middle and upper-class white American women's ideal from the Civil War to the late 1970s, Rothman (1978) concluded that women have always felt responsible for more than their families. She found that women's conceptions of their domestic responsibilities have often led them out of the household and into the community. The empirical literature supports the idea that women experience a greater sensitivity towards the needs of others than men and adds that the gender difference is primarily the result of women being socialized to be more empathetic, altruistic and nurturing (Block, 1984; Eisenberg & Lennon, 1983). However, the economic, and social transformations in our society have forced more women into visible work roles. More than half of working-class women work outside the home (Rubin, 1976). With the influx of more women in the education and labor markets, one might wonder if Polly is an endangered species and that volunteers in general may now be in short supply.

A 1985 Gallup Poll described recent volunteer trends: 58% of all adults identified themselves as volunteers, 55% of volunteers were female, and people most likely to volunteer (63%) were employed and had household incomes under $20,000. Clearly, this disputes the stereotypical notions that volunteers are wealthy, that volunteering is an activity restricted to the comfortable middle-class,
or that volunteers may be in short supply now because more women have gone to work. The impact of the U.S. economy and the women's movement in particular have had a negative effect on the numbers of women available for full-time volunteer work. However, it is likely that a stronger effect of the women's movement may focus on their motivations and perceived rewards, rather than on the numbers themselves. Studies over the past 20 years indicate that the majority of volunteers are employed in salaried jobs and volunteer in addition to other responsibilities. The trend of women returning to the workplace has not decreased the volunteer pool, rather it has decreased the number of daytime volunteers (Ellis, 1985). Since more women are entering the workforce now than in previous generations and if the women's movement has impacted motivations of women, then more women may now see their volunteer activities as supplemental or even career instrumental to other work, rather than as primary work.

The purpose of this study is to relate attitudes toward women's roles (traditional vs profeminist) and masculinity/femininity to how women view their volunteer work and their motivations for volunteering.

Volunteerism in Review

The greatest surge of interest in volunteers and volunteerism occurred in the 1970s. The majority of the
researchers in this area concentrated on attempting to find particular personality characteristics associated with altruism. Based on this data, volunteers have been found to be motivated by both "self" and "other"-oriented motives. For example, in a study of males, personality correlates of helping behavior in both volunteer and nonvolunteer males of Big Brother organizations were studied by Smith and Nelson (1975). Their findings indicated that autonomy is a powerful discriminator between male volunteers and nonvolunteers. Volunteers appeared to have a low need for autonomy and independence; that is, they appeared to be group-dependent and actively sought social approval and admiration.

In another study, Howarth (1975) analyzed questionnaire responses from female workers in a variety of volunteer organizations but found no significant difference in sociability, i.e., gregariousness, between volunteers and nonvolunteers. He argued that an apparent "lack of anxiety" was the primary characteristic differentiating the volunteers from paid workers. Moreover, those who volunteered appeared to show a more well-developed social conscience and concern for the welfare of others. Howarth equated this finding with relatively low anxiety scores (neurosis) and surmised from a more psychoanalytic approach that the superego is the most prominent aspect of the
volunteer personality profile.

In his analysis of various recruitment methods of volunteer subjects, MacDonald (1972), summarized what we knew about volunteers in general. Affirming the 1969 studies by Rosenthal and Rosnow, MacDonald described the stereotypical volunteer as better educated than non-volunteers, having a higher need for approval than non-volunteers, and less authoritarian and more sociable than non-volunteers. MacDonald used university students as his subject population and his incentives for recruitment of volunteers included extra credit, pay, and "love of science." Not surprisingly, among this population, subjects volunteered more for extra credit than for pay or "love of science." While MacDonald's results were statistically significant by only a slight margin, they did verify the earlier Rosenthal studies regarding volunteer attributes.

There are two major problems with MacDonald's study. The first is one that plagues much of research in general, and that is the use of student samples in generalizing results to the general population. But, more importantly, the second problem calls into question the very concept of volunteering. The promise of extra credit or pay certainly cannot fit the standard, accepted definition of voluntary action, which incorporates two key elements: An individual works but is not directly paid for the value of the time or service and the individual is not coerced
by personal or financial needs or by other people to provide
the service. Moreover, the current controversy over whether
true altruism exists raises questions about "love of
science" as a motivation. Batson (1987) has raised the
question of whether any pro-social motivation, including
volunteering, cannot be seen as self-serving or egoistic.
Batson cites views of helping behavior as pseudoaltruistic
when internal rewards are expected or when the behavior
serves to reduce some internal state of tension or aversive
arousal. While self-benefits of altruism is currently
the dominant view in contemporary psychology, Batson
suggests that prosocial behavior may be truly altruistic
and an inherent part of human behavior.

Wiehe and Isenhour (1977) studied participants of
a volunteer recruitment and referral agency who ranked
themselves on four motivation categories: personal
satisfaction, self-improvement, altruism and demands from
outside. Personal satisfaction (defined as "the desire
to spend free time in a personally gratifying manner")
was seen as most important by those individuals. This
finding has implications for agencies in providing training
and assigning tasks to volunteers. If folding, stapling
and stamping materials are the only tasks allowed for
volunteers, their interest in those positions may be brief.

More recently, social value orientation was used by
In their study, subjects were pre-classified as having one of three social value orientations: 1) A cooperative orientation defines the individual who is concerned with maximizing joint gain in the welfare of others in addition to their own welfare; 2) an individualistic orientation identifies individuals desiring to maximize their own welfare independent of the welfare of others; and 3) the competitive oriented individual prefers to maximize the differences between their own outcomes and the outcomes of others in their social environment. After pre-classifying individuals, researchers asked subjects to indicate how many hours they would be willing to donate to a volunteer project. Results indicated that cooperators were willing to donate approximately twice as many hours of their time to the subject pool as non-cooperators. A more interesting (and perhaps not so surprising) aspect of the study was the relation between social value orientation and gender. Females were classified as cooperative more often than males and males were classified more often as competitive. These classifications correspond with the general stereotypes of women being more caring and cooperative and thus more willing to provide volunteer service than males. That women outnumber men in direct service volunteering may be the result of women having to come up with a basis for worthiness that is different from that of the dominant male culture. Miller suggests
that caring for people and participating in others' development, the "roles" assigned to women, are values internalized by women to enhance their own self-esteem (Miller, 1976).

Taken together, most of the literature on volunteer motivations has focused on studying initial motivation and initial recruitment of volunteers. However, the literature is sparse on the issue of rewards and sustained participation of volunteer workers. This is a serious deficiency because motivation for behavior may change over time and with varying situations. Do volunteers maintain participation because initial reward expectations are met; or, is there a shift in the individual's perceived reward values after sustained service? Volunteer organizations should be aware if such a shift is experienced particularly if career exploration or experience are valued by the individual. A certificate of recognition at an annual luncheon may not be as valued as the chance to participate in further training or a move to a more responsible position by such an individual.

One study which touches upon this issue explored the relationship between subjects anticipated egoistic benefits (motives) upon entering a volunteer Big Brother or Big Sister program and the longevity of participation. Rubin and Thorelli (1984) found that what predicts a high level of participation on an entry basis may predict a low level
of participation later on. Thorelli concluded that the initial determinant of longevity can be predicted by the initial volunteer experience i.e., whether it meets initial needs and expectations.

One thing that is clear is that volunteerism is multi-faceted. Few, if any, individuals give just one reason for volunteering. The literature reviewed presents a mixed picture of volunteer motivations and is influenced by how researchers present their basic question. Most researchers have looked for a particular set of personality variables in relation to a general view of altruism.

**Volunteer Demographics**

According to the 1985 Gallup Poll, individuals most likely to volunteer are married Caucasian women under the age of 50 with a high level of formal education. They tend to be located in the upper income bracket and are either unemployed or employed part time. They tend to be suburban or rural residents of the West or Midwest and to have children under the age of 18 in the home (Gallup, 1985).

This profile has not changed much over the last 25 years (Gallup, 1965; Action 1975). One of the outstanding characteristics of the profile is that women outnumber men in volunteering. However, the 1985 poll actually revealed a generally decreasing trend by women in membership in voluntary organizations. In 1982, 56% of U.S. volunteers
were women; in 1985, the figure dropped to 51%. While women continue to volunteer in large numbers, the findings indicate that they are usually in direct service delivery. Men continue to outnumber women in volunteer positions requiring little or no actual service delivery such as boards of directors and positions entailing governance and administration. Furthermore, the women who do occupy board positions are often there by virtue of their husband's position in the community (i.e., wives of attorneys, accountants or military officers) compared to men who are rarely selected on the basis of family ties (American Red Cross, 1988).

The Women's Movement

The early stages of the feminist movement did not support volunteering. In 1971, the position of the National Organization for Women (NOW) was that volunteering provided the illusion of participation without the power. NOW distinguished between two types of volunteering. The more common and traditional service-oriented volunteering was determined to be detrimental to improving the status of women. NOW suggested that volunteering kept competent women out of the labor market and deferred the need for basic reform in areas of equal employment, promotion opportunities and equal pay for equal work. Giving service free was considered as "devaluing" that service. In contrast, political, or change-oriented, volunteering was
encouraged. This type of volunteering focuses on changing the larger social, political, or economic system and on more direct participation of women in the decision-making process (Ruben, 1982). More recently, the feminist movement has come to terms with volunteerism and the opportunities it presents for many women to enter or re-enter the work force and to gain experience in management and governance roles. Currently, NOW has changed its focus to the source of the devaluation of women's participation in volunteer activities. Service-oriented volunteering is not seen as the cause of women's problems and the devaluing of women. Rather, negative attitudes toward women are seen as the source of degrading service volunteering.

The emergence of the feminist movement opened a number of productive directions in recognizing volunteering as real work experience. Coordinators of volunteers are now more conscious of the need to identify and use each volunteer's interests and abilities, to match volunteers with appropriate tasks, to provide suitable orientation and training, to involve a broad base of volunteers representative of the community and to advocate the value of volunteer participation as a real contribution to organizations (Sommers, 1981). This has benefited a number of populations such as students, retirees, minorities and working men and women. McCourt (1977) believed that volunteering among the middle and upper class is
particularly prevalent because they can afford household help, babysitters and second cars for transportation to the site. However, in implementing volunteer programs to meet the needs of this new generation of volunteers, the very definition of volunteering has changed. There is now a movement to allow volunteers to meet their basic expenses and be protected from losses incurred by volunteering. Insurance tax credits, daycare and transportation-cost reimbursement for volunteers were unthinkable twenty years ago, but generally accepted today. For women, these kinds of help may make volunteering the smoothest stepping-stone to paid employment. The entire displaced homemakers movement, unknown ten years ago, is based on the premise that volunteering is real job training (Sommers, 1981).

The feminist push for professionalism in volunteering has affected higher education in some significant ways. As volunteerism has become more professionalized, courses and degrees in voluntary association administration have expanded. In addition, women who have had significant volunteer experiences are now receiving credit and acknowledgment by colleges as well as by employers (Rubin, 1982).

Research on women's issues in volunteering is sparse and represents a relatively recent addition to the literature. In 1981 Jenner targeted volunteerism as an
aspect of women's work lives and broke the ground for new and fertile research. In her 1981 landmark study and her 1982 replication, Jenner explored female volunteers' relationships to voluntary organizations in relation to work life identities. Jenner found: 1) If volunteer work is perceived as a primary career, the commitment to volunteerism is seen as serious and meaningful work. The satisfactions sought will tend to be those commonly associated with an employed career, such as participation, accomplishment, self-fulfillment, autonomy and growth. Such women will work hard, and will show strong commitment and satisfaction unless the situation does not offer them the scope of activity they desire. 2) When volunteer work is perceived as a supplement to other more important parts of life, it tends to be done out of a sense of community responsibility and perhaps for the enjoyment of the affiliation. Like primary career volunteers, these women may be identified as homemakers; however, the supplemental group views homemaking as their main work. Therefore, the strength of the demands made on the volunteer experience will be less than those of the career volunteer and the intensity of involvement and effort also will be less. With less intense demands a greater tolerance develops and women in this group may remain in a volunteer situation that is not particularly satisfying. 3) When the decision to volunteer is career instrumental, there is likely to
be a significant commitment to a long-term goal along with involvement in a current activity (homemaking or school) that is considered important also. Women in this group use volunteer work as an aspect of career exploration, as preparation for paid work, or to maintain skills and contacts while they are out of the labor market. They may demonstrate involvement and commitment to the organization, but participation is more a means than an end. Demands are likely to be for growth and a sense of accomplishment. They will stay in an organization as long as the work they do fits their plans and interests. As they progress toward accomplishing their objectives, volunteer work is likely to become less important; however, many may become individuals for whom volunteer work is a supplement to employment later on (Jenner, 1981, 1982).

Volunteering in Military Communities

In 1984, Family Support Centers were mandated for all the military services. These agencies provide policy guidance, coordination, advice, money and training for military personnel in such matters as child care, recreation, library services, community services and family support services.

These services have been superimposed on the existing network of support systems such as chaplains and Air Force Family Services; privately funded organizations such as Air Force Aid, Army Emergency Relief; and membership
organizations such as the Officers and NCO Wives Clubs as well as national service organizations such as the USO and the American Red Cross.

While many of these organizations have always used volunteers and the military services have encouraged and depended on some volunteerism on its installations, it has only been since 1983 that Congress officially legalized the use of volunteers by the Defense Department. A 1985 study of military spouses estimated that there were more than 300,000 volunteers serving more than 3000 organizations on American military installations worldwide (Martindale, 1985). However, these figures are approximations and reflect only volunteering by spouses of active military members and not the volunteering done by active military members themselves. The study concluded that the rate of volunteering is higher among officers' spouses than among enlisted spouses because the latter may feel a greater need to work full-time to make ends meet. The highest rate of volunteering (50.5 percent) was by civilian wives of officers, followed by military wives of officers at 34.6 percent. Their activities tend to be concentrated in areas which give them more exposure to command view (i.e., Officers wives' and NCO wives' Clubs). In an interview with the civilian wife of a colonel, Kelly (1989) noted that there is an element of command pressure for civilian wives of officers to volunteer because their
absence from volunteer activities might prevent their husbands from receiving desirable command assignments. While the number of volunteers is higher among Officer's wives, Martindale describes wives of enlisted personnel as volunteering on a more frequent basis and in a broader scope of activities. The American Red Cross is one opportunity for volunteer involvement among military installations, and the focus of this study is the Red Cross as it exists in the military community.

The American Red Cross

The American Red Cross represents the largest volunteer organization in the United States with a total volunteer force in excess of one million. The majority of Red Cross volunteers work in direct service capacities, and a certain percent of these are volunteer managers. In 1988, the national level of Red Cross undertook "Volunteer 2000", an enormous study of its volunteers across the nation (American Red Cross, 1988). With the use of questionnaire surveys, structured interviews, focus groups and secondary resources, a profile of the Red Cross volunteer was compiled that replicates neatly the demographics of the 1985 Gallup poll. The findings indicate that 70% of Red Cross line volunteers were married Caucasian females who were not employed or were working part-time. They had a fairly high level of education (at least some college) and the median family income range was $30,000-$39,999.
In addition to the organization's own survey, there have been a limited number of studies of Red Cross volunteers. Frisch and Gerrard (1981) surveyed 195 Red Cross chapters nationwide in search of motivational factors contributing to volunteer service as well as any relationship between youth involvement with the Red Cross and the decision to volunteer with the organization as an adult. Altruistic motives were high for the entire sample but self-serving reasons were more frequently given by younger subjects; The reasons for volunteering among younger volunteers included "career exploration and development," "developing social contacts," "hobby or extracurricular activity," and "learning how to relate to people." Older adults cited items such as "becoming active in my community," "practicing ideals and convictions," "helping others less fortunate," and "being a good neighbor" with a higher frequency. The older population also added such reasons as "repaying Red Cross" for services they or their family had received in the past, "effective use of leisure time," and "being influenced to volunteer through the example of a close friend or family member."

Twenty-six percent of the respondents had volunteered for the Red Cross as youths and when they were asked if that experience provided motivation to become an adult Red Cross volunteer, 78% of this group answered yes.
Similarly, 79% of this group indicated that it was this youth involvement that influenced them to contribute financial support to the organization as an adult.

The respondents in Frisch and Gerrard's sample fit the stereotype of the volunteer in being typically white, middle-aged, well-educated females. However, while 60% of the sample was female and 40% was male, less than 40% of the policy-making positions in the organization were occupied by females.

In a similar study, Gillespie and King (1985) looked at demographics and motivational items of Red Cross volunteers in a large midwestern city and compared their results to other national surveys. While the demographics reflected the national profile with regard to sex, age and marital status, the rank ordering of motivations by subjects produced the first insight into motivational changes. Traditional values were reflected in the two top-ranked categories of motivation: "helping others" and "contributing to the community." However, the third most frequently cited reason for volunteering, "to obtain training and skills," was a more recent addition to the volunteerism picture. This item represented the most meaningful difference between males and females with males citing this reason more than twice as often as women. However, when marital status was included, the greatest proportion of females responding to this item were in the
"divorced" category, indicating that volunteering may well be a way of exploring and developing career opportunities.

The American Red Cross is a highly organized volunteer organization and there are opportunities to occupy several volunteer positions in different service areas at any one time. It has professionalized its volunteer services in using job descriptions and performance evaluations for volunteers. This has proven to be a successful innovation in the field of volunteerism and generally accepted by both volunteers and paid staff. Many volunteer positions are counterparts of paid positions and carry as much impact in administrative decision making and policy making in the organization. The Red Cross on military installations offers a number of service areas for volunteer involvement: hospital/clinic workers, social casework, health and safety instructors, disaster services and administrative positions. Do these females who continue to make up the bulk of the volunteer force fit the stereotype of altruistic women? Or has the women's movement made an impact on the motivation and expected rewards of the female volunteer in the Red Cross? This study examined the motivations of today's female volunteers in the American Red Cross military community and how they identify their volunteer time in relation to work roles.
Summary of Hypotheses

A relationship between sex typing, sex role attitudes and career motivation was expected among female volunteers.

1) Less feminine, more masculine, and less traditional attitudes among female volunteers were expected to be positively associated with the view that volunteering is supplemental to other work or career instrumental in itself and less with the view that volunteering is primary work.

2) It was further expected that less feminine, more masculine, and less traditional attitudes would be associated positively with career instrumental motivations and negatively associated with social or intrinsic motives.
METHOD

Subjects

A sample of female American Red Cross volunteers from two Southern California military installations (Norton Air Force Base in San Bernardino and March Air Force Base in Riverside) was selected from the total populations of each base. Both military installations offer a variety of American Red Cross services allowing for analysis of career motivations, sex typing and sex role attitudes among volunteers from all service areas. Every third name from the active volunteers file was selected to be sent a questionnaire. Because the population is highly mobile and a great number of volunteers had been deployed to active duty assignments in the Middle East, many unanswered questionnaires were returned by subjects' families. As this occurred, the next name following the unavailable volunteer in the files was sent a questionnaire. A total of one hundred questionnaires were sent out and 60 were returned. Twenty questionnaires were returned due to a move by the volunteer and no forwarding address.
Measures

Participant Demographics

The first 34 items of the questionnaire identified a broad range of demographics including age, income, area and length of service, occupation, military connection and frequency of volunteering. Because the Red Cross had a personal interest in participating in this study, several items were included for the benefit of their analysis (items 12-17; 20-25; 27-33, see appendix A). In order to measure volunteer work identity, respondents were asked to indicate which of three orientations toward volunteering best described their position. (Jenner, 1981). These included viewing volunteering as primary work, supplemental to other work life or career instrumental (see Item 35, appendix A). The format for this section of the survey was a standard item checklist and open response.

Participants also were asked to rank 22 motivational items from three categories of perceived rewards in an original scale developed by this author. The three categories included intrinsic, social and career instrumental rewards. Six items measured intrinsic rewards: "to feel needed," "to repay Red Cross for past services," "to express my religious faith," "to practice my ideals and convictions," "as a hobby or extracurricular activity," and "to receive recognition." Six items measured social
rewards: "to meet social obligations," "to make new friends," "to be around others," "to develop social contacts," "to be an active member of my community," and "to maintain social contacts." Six items measured career instrumental rewards: "to learn how to relate to people," "to obtain training and skills," "to carry training to my work or other organizations," "to gain job experience," "to keep job skills current," and "for career exploration." Two of the items, "To help others less fortunate" and "to help others in need" were included as altruistic measures. It was expected that all volunteers would rank these two altruistic items highly due to the nature of their work. The response format for the motivational items was a four-point rating scale ranging from 1=very unimportant, 2=somewhat important, 3=somewhat unimportant, and 4=very unimportant.

The Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ)

The second section of the questionnaire included the sex role scales developed by Spence and Helmreich (1975). The PAQ is composed of twenty-four bipolar items describing personal characteristics. The questionnaire is divided into three eight-item scales, labeled Masculinity (M), Femininity (F), and Masculinity-Femininity (M/F). Spence and Helmreich conceived of a dualistic model in which masculinity and femininity are separate dimensions which
vary more or less independently rather than a single bipolar scale. Items in each respective scale were defined as socially desirable characteristics in both sexes but believed to occur to a greater degree in the sex-labeled direction. In contrast, the items in the M/F scale are bipolar with the ideal male and female on opposite ends of the scale. Respondents were asked to rate themselves on five-point scales. Separate scores were determined for each individual on the three scales. Each item was scored from 0 to 4; a high score on items assigned to the M and M/F scales indicating an extreme masculine response and a high score on F scale items indicated an extreme feminine response. Total scores were obtained on each scale by adding the individual's scores on each set of the eight items. The range of possible values was thus 0 to 32 for each scale.

The Attitudes Toward Women Scale (ATWS)

This scale was a short form of the ATWS developed by Spence and Helmreich (1975) containing 15 statements describing the rights, roles and privileges women ought to have or be permitted. It required respondents to indicate their agreement with each statement on a four-point scale ranging from "agree strongly" to "disagree strongly." Items were scored 0 to 3; high scores indicting a profeminist, egalitarian attitude. Possible total scores
thus ran from 0 to 45.

Statistical Analysis

1) Analyses of variance were performed on attitudes toward women (ATWS) and the three sex-role scores (M, F, M/F) as a function of primary, supplemental or career instrumental view of volunteer work.

2) Pearson correlations were performed on the three sex role sets of scores and ATWS scores as a function of intrinsic, social and career instrumental motivations.

3) A factor analysis of the initial motivational scales was done to establish a more empirically intercorrelated set.

Procedure

Each subject received a separate consent form for the survey with a brief description of the study and the subject's right to withdraw participation at any time.

The questionnaires were administered by mail response and subjects were asked to complete the questionnaires at one sitting and to return them immediately. Once the subjects completed and returned the questionnaires, they were invited to ask questions regarding any aspects of the study and were advised on how they could receive results. Subjects were thanked for their participation and cooperation and sent a packet of informational materials from the American Red Cross.
RESULTS

Participant Demographics

The age range for the female sample was 13 to 77 years with a mean age of 51.6 years. Seventy-five percent of the sample were caucasian and 56% percent were married. Thirty-eight percent had some college education and the mean family income was $35,667. Seventy-three percent did not work outside of the home. These statistics parallel the national demographics of the American Red Cross. Because this was a sample from a military sector of Red Cross, questions were asked about active service. A little over half of the subjects (53%) had spouses in the military, and 36% percent of these spouses were officers.

The range for length of service was two months to thirty-six years with a mean of eleven years. Seventy-five percent of the sample volunteered in a hospital/clinic area; 1.7% worked as health and safety instructors; and 23.3% worked in emergency social casework services.

The time spent per month in volunteering ranged from eight hours to 160 hours with a mean of 44.6 hours. Ninety-five percent of respondents reported being satisfied in their volunteer position. Fifty-eight percent indicated
they had received training from Red Cross for their position and 33.3% indicated they would like to cross train into another area of service. Of these, 33% wanted to work in disaster services.

**Volunteer Work Identity and Sex Roles**

Analyses of variance were performed on the four sex-role measures (ATWS, M, F, M/F) as a function of volunteer work identity. There were three categories for volunteer work identity. The majority of respondents (51.7%, n = 31) indicated that their volunteer work was supplemental to other activities. Thirty percent (n = 18) viewed their volunteerism as primary work and 18.3% (n = 11) saw it as career instrumental. None of the four analyses showed a significant effect of identity. The F scores were as follows: ATWS (2,57) = .46, p > .05; PAQM (2,57) = .93, p > .05; PAQMF (2,57) = 1, p > .05; PAQF (2,57) = .27, p > .05. Age of participant was significantly correlated with ATWS, r = -.29 with younger women showing more profeminist attitudes. Masculinity and femininity scores were not significantly related to age. ANOVAs on sex role characteristics using age as a covariant did not yield any significant effects of identity controlled for age. The overall means for the entire sample were: ATWS = 31.93; PAQM = 22.20; PAQF = 24.80; PAQMF = 15.90.
Correlations Between Motivations and Sex Roles

Examination of the intercorrelations of each of the three sets of items developed a priori indicated that some of the items that had been expected to be significantly intercorrelated to form a set were not significantly related. In order to develop a more empirically based set of motivations, a principle component factor analysis with rotations using SPSS-PC was performed on the eighteen individual items.

From the principle component analysis, five factors emerged. All five factors had eigenvalues greater than 1.0. Items with factor loadings greater than .40 were included on the factors. When an item loaded on more than one factor, it was included on both factors. Factor One, with an eigenvalue of seven, accounted for 39.3% of the variance, and may be defined as extrinsic social and career rewards. Factor One consisted of eight items: 1) "To obtain training and skills" (.73), 2) "To carry training to my work or other organizations" (.47), 3) "To obtain job experience" (.84), 4) "To develop social contacts" (.75), 5) "To keep job skills current" (.77), 6) "To receive recognition" (.60)," 7) "For career exploration" (.85), and 8) "To maintain social contacts" (.61). Factor Two, with an eigenvalue of 1.9, accounted for 10.8% of the variance. Factor Two might best be termed as intrinsic...
social motivations and consisted of six items: 1) "To meet social obligations" (.44), 2) "To feel needed" (.54), 3) "To make new friends" (.56), 4) "To be around others" (.87), 5) "To develop social contacts" (.43), and 6) "To maintain social contacts" (.45). Factor Three, with an eigenvalue of 1.4, accounted for 7.9% of the variance and consisted of four items: 1) "To obtain training and skills" (.41), 2) "To repay Red Cross for past services" (.77), 3) "To carry training to work or other organizations" (.64), and 4) "To be an active member of my community" (.48). Since only one respondent identified repaying Red Cross for past services as a motivation, this factor related to contributions to the community. Factor Four, with an eigenvalue of 1.2, accounted for 6.4% of the variance and may best be defined as value expressive. Factor Four consisted of three items: 1) "To express my religious faith" (.74), 2) "To practice my ideals and convictions" (.76), and 3) "To receive recognition" (.52). Factor Five, with an eigenvalue of 1, consisted of two items: 1) "To feel needed" (.41) and 2) "As a hobby or extracurricular activity" (.84). This factor is difficult to define but because the major item on the factor was "hobby" it is best defined as a hobby or extra curricular activity. Factors scores were calculated by adding items which loaded greater than .40 without weighting items on each factor.
Based on the scores determined by the factor analytic procedure, intercorrelations of ATWS, M, F, and M/F with the five sets of motivations was performed. Only three of the twenty correlations were significant at the .05 level for a two-tailed design: 1) PAQMF, which is scored in the masculine direction, correlated positively with Factor 2, intrinsic social motivations, \( r = .27, p < .05 \). This correlation is contrary to what would be expected as the items in Factor 2 relate to social neediness. 2) PAQF correlated positively \( r = .24, p < .05 \) with Factor 4 which consists of items related to expression of values and ideals. 3) PAQMF correlated positively with Factor five \( r = .29, p < .05 \). This factor consists of items related to volunteering as a hobby and to feeling needed. ATWS did not correlate at a significant level with any of the five factors.

Examination of individual motivational items indicated that two rewards correlated positively with profeminist attitudes on the ATWS: "meeting social obligations," \( r = .32, p < .01 \) and "expressing religious faith" \( r = .32, p < .01 \). Only one item, "To obtain training and skills" correlated positively with masculinity, \( r = .27, p < .05 \). Three items correlated negatively with femininity: "Learn to relate to people" \( r = -.27, p < .05 \), "Make new friends" \( r = -.29, p < .05 \), and "Be around others" \( r = -.25, \).
p < .05), and two items correlated positively with femininity: "To express religious faith" (r = .32, p < .05) and "To receive recognition" (r = .30, p < .05). Two items correlated positively with M/F items which are measured in the direction of masculinity: "To feel needed" (r = .36, p < .05) and "To be around others" (r = .25, p < .05).
DISCUSSION

Previous research on volunteering has tended to focus on unique personality characteristics differentiating volunteers from nonvolunteers. Furthermore, initial recruitment methods and motivations have received the majority of attention.

This research extends previous research done by Jenner (1981) by focusing on the relationship of female volunteers' work identity and motivational rewards with attitudes toward women (traditional or profeminist) and gender roles (masculinity/femininity).

A relationship between sex typing, sex-role attitudes and career motivation was expected. It was hypothesized that less feminine, more masculine and less traditional attitudes among female volunteers would be positively associated with the view that volunteering was supplemental to other work or career instrumental in itself and less with the view that volunteering was primary work. It was further expected that less feminine, more masculine, and less traditional attitudes would be associated positively with career instrumental motivations and negatively associated with social or intrinsic motives.

There were no significant relationships between
volunteer work identity and sex roles. However, younger women showed more profeminist attitudes. Not surprisingly, age proved to be the most significant factor in determining attitudes towards women. Given the mean age of participants in the study (51.6 years), it is not surprising that the bulk of these participants did not see their volunteer work as a vehicle for obtaining job experience. Only eleven (18.3%) of the volunteers saw their work identity as career instrumental. Generally, this is not a significant number. However, considering the stereotypical definition of volunteer work as being purely altruistic with no expected reward or coercion, this percentage indicates that some women are viewing volunteerism as one vehicle for gaining job skills to enter or re-enter a career outside of the home.

One area for support of this notion, as well as for Jenner's characteristics of the career motivated volunteer, is the no-response rate of the subjects who had not been deployed to the Middle East or had their surveys returned unanswered because of a move. Ten of the twenty no-response subjects had been dental clinic volunteers. The Red Cross on military installations offers a certificated training program for those volunteers desiring to receive training as dental assistants and this certification allows them to seek employment in the civilian community. A recheck
with the Chairman of Volunteers five months after the initial study revealed that none of the recently graduated dental clinic volunteers were still volunteering with the Red Cross (Mason, 1991). The Chairman also states that the majority of dental clinic volunteers are young females within the age range of 18 to 25 years. According to Jenner, most career-motivated volunteers will only stay with an organization until their goals are accomplished. This might account for the drop in volunteering from dental clinic volunteers as well as not responding to the survey initially. They might not have identified themselves as true volunteers; thus, they did not complete the survey. Had they participated in the survey, the results might have been somewhat different.

While the original scales constructed for measuring volunteer motivations and rewards did not intercorrelate as anticipated, the factor analysis revealed several additional findings in this study that were unexpected and surprising. First, Factor One, which represents the largest factor of the five (39.3% of the variance), appears to combine career oriented and extrinsic social motives. The eight items in Factor One: "To obtain training and skills," "to carry training to my work or other organizations," "to obtain job experience," "to develop social contacts," "to keep job skills current,"
"to receive recognition," "for career exploration, and "to maintain social contacts" appear to be a form of social networking which provides for social contact as well as goal-oriented activity. This is a distinctly different kind of socializing than that of Factor Two. The second factor, which accounted for 10.8% of the variance consisted of six items: "To meet social obligations," "to feel needed," "to make new friends," "to be around others," "to develop social contacts," and "to maintain social contacts." This represents a more social neediness concept than Factor One. This may imply that there are actually two kinds of social motivational rewards and future studies should take this into account when designing motivational scales.

Another unanticipated finding was that the PAQMF scale, which is scored in the masculine direction, correlated positively with Factor 2, the social neediness motivations. Examination of individual motivational items also found two items, "to feel needed" and "to be around others," correlating positively with the M/F scale. Three motivational items items correlated negatively with femininity: "Learn to relate to people," "make new friends" and "be around others." That women with more masculine characteristics rate social needs stronger is unexplainable by the feminine stereotype. While correlations between
paid employment and gender role characteristics were not addressed in this study, it may be that more masculine women are employed outside of the home; and, due to more rigid time restraints use volunteering as a vehicle for meeting friendship and social needs beyond that of paid work relationships.

PAQF correlated positively with Factor Four which consists of items related to expression of values and ideals. The three items making up Factor Four consisted of "To express my religious faith," "To practice my ideals and convictions," and "To receive recognition." Upon further examination, two individual items correlating positively with femininity were "to express religious faith" and "to receive recognition." It is generally accepted that more feminine women may hold more traditional religious values than profeminist women and thus may find volunteering an acceptable method to express those values. However, volunteering to receive recognition was an unanticipated finding. It could be that more feminine women continue to provide a great deal of traditional service in low-recognition situations such as homemaking and mothering. Receiving recognition in the form of an award or certificate could provide tangible evidence of self worth.

Items correlating positively with profeminist attitudes on the ATWS were: "meeting social obligations" and
"expressing religious faith." At first glance, these appear to be conflicting items. However, item wording on the survey and reader interpretation may have had an effect. Profeminist women may have a more global sense of "social obligation" interpreting this as every individual's obligation to serve and better their community, rather than a more limited definition of social obligation as being to promote friendly intercourse to maintain a social status. If this is true, then "social obligation" represents a core value in one's value system and thus can be interpreted as "religious" whether or not one belongs to an organized religion.

**Limitations of this study**

One limitation of the sample in this study was the population's unique characteristic of mobility. Twenty unanswered questionnaires were returned due to a move by the volunteer. Since all subjects were either spouses of military members or active duty military themselves, it can be assumed that their moves are due to relocation assignments. Furthermore, the Chairman of Volunteers indicated that according to the active volunteer files, ten of the twenty no-response questionnaires were volunteers deployed to the Middle-East for emergency casework and disaster services. Thus, the subjects in this study represented a very small and select group of Red Cross
volunteers in the military sector.

Other variables not addressed here may have played a significant role in the outcome. Age may be a factor in type of volunteer service performed. Examples of this pattern are reflected in the majority of volunteers working in hospital/clinic services (75%) and the mean age of participants (51.6 years). Younger volunteers may occupy more positions in casework and disaster services. A number of these volunteers were not available to participate in this study because of their deployment to the Persian Gulf.

Finally, it is possible that the ATWS and gender role scales developed by Spence and Helmreich in 1978 may not hold their original validity in 1991. In reviewing each of the 60 individual surveys returned, this author found that not one participant agreed with four of the ATWS statements measuring traditional attitudes. The statements disagreed with were 1) "It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks," 2) "The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men," 3) "Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters," and 4) "In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of children." By contrast, all participants agreed with three of the statements measuring more profeminist attitudes: 1) "Under
modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing laundry," 2) "Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men," and 3) "Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades," Considering that the top of the age range was 77, it appears that the women's movement has been successful in promoting acceptance of equal economic and political rights. Perhaps some individual items in the scales need to be updated for the concerns of women in the 90's.

Future Research

While the original scales constructed for measuring volunteer motivations and rewards did not indicate any significant findings, the present findings are among the first to document correlations between sex typing, sex role attitudes and career motivation among female volunteers. Future research may implement the revised motivational scales and take into account the idea that social motivations may have individual components, one extrinsic, related to networking or career instrumental rewards, and one intrinsic, relating to a form of social neediness. Because of the unpredictability of available subjects in the military community a larger sample should be employed. Additionally, future research might sample
the volunteers in the community chapters where the population is not so mobile, rather than on military installations. There may be subtle differences in motivational rewards of chapter volunteers than those women tied to a military setting. A comparison study might be of interest in determining these differences.
APPENDIX A

Participant Demographics

1. What is your age? ______

2. What is your gender? _____Male _____Female

3. What is your ethnic background? _____Caucasian _____Black _____Hispanic _____Asian _____Pacific Islander _____Other

4. What is the highest grade/degree you completed in school? ______

5. Are you a student now? _____yes _____no

6. What is your marital status? _____never married; _____married; _____widowed; _____separated; _____cohabitating

7. Do you have a spouse in the military? _____yes _____no

8. If you answered yes to the above question, what is your spouse's rank? _____Enlisted _____NCO _____Officer

9. How many children are in your household? Indicate age and gender?

10. What is your approximate yearly family income?

11. What is YOUR occupation?

12. What is your political preference: _____radical left; _____very liberal; _____somewhat liberal; _____moderate; _____somewhat conservative; _____very conservative; _____radical right

13. How religious do you consider yourself? _____not at all _____slightly _____somewhat _____quite-a-bit _____very much

14. Do you consider yourself a Fundamentalist or "born again" Christian? _____yes _____no

15. How long have you volunteered for the American Red Cross? _____years; _____months

16. Have you volunteered for any other organization in the past? If so, please list them. _____yes _____no

17. Are you currently a volunteer in any other organization? If so, please list them. _____yes _____no

18. What area of ARC service do you work in? Check all that apply: _____hospital/clinic _____CPR/First Aid instructor _____SMF caseworker (please indicate if your work _____in office _____after-hours _____both; _____disaster services

19. If you checked more than one service above - which one do you consider your PRIMARY volunteer position? ______
20. Which of the above volunteer positions do you feel the most satisfaction from?
21. Which of the above volunteer positions do you spend the most hours?
22. Did you receive special training for your volunteer position? _____yes _____no
23. Do you feel the training was adequate? _____yes _____no
24. What would you like to see included in future training?
25. Would you be interested in cross training into another service area? ____no ____yes What area?
26. How often do you provide volunteer service?
   ____hours ____days per week
   ____hours ____days per months
27. Did you volunteer for ARC as a youth? _____yes _____no
28. If you answered yes to #27, did that influence you to volunteer as an adult? _____yes _____no
29. Are you satisfied in your volunteer job? _____yes _____no Explain:
30. Did you receive a job description for your volunteer position? _____yes _____no
31. As a volunteer, do you feel you receive adequate recognition _____yes _____no Explain:
32. Do you feel you are treated in a professional manner by other ARC staff? _____yes _____no Explain:
33. What could make your volunteer job better?
34. In the space below, indicate what you feel is the most important service the ARC has to offer:
35. I see my volunteer position with ARC mostly as: (please check only ONE)
   ____ PRIMARY WORK: Volunteer work is my main career or work activity; it is the key part of my work life which may also include homemaking, employment, school, etc.
   ____ SUPPLEMENTAL: Volunteer work is a supplement to the other parts of my work life.
   ____ CAREER INSTRUMENTAL: Volunteer work is a way to prepare me for a new (or changed) career, or to maintain skills and contacts if I am not working now).
APPENDIX B

Motivational Rewards Scale

On a scale of 1 to 4 with 1 being very important and 4 being very unimportant, rate each of the following "rewards" you receive from your volunteer experience.

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11. To practice my ideals and convictions
very important 1 2 3 4 unimportant

12. To gain job experience
very important 1 2 3 4 unimportant

13. To develop social contacts
very important 1 2 3 4 unimportant

14. To keep job skills current
very important 1 2 3 4 unimportant

15. As a hobby or extracurricular activity
very important 1 2 3 4 unimportant

16. To receive recognition (awards, certificates, etc.)
very important 1 2 3 4 unimportant

17. To help others in need
very important 1 2 3 4 unimportant

18. For career exploration
very important 1 2 3 4 unimportant

19. To maintain social contacts
very important 1 2 3 4 unimportant

20. To be an active member of my community
very important 1 2 3 4 unimportant
APPENDIX C

Personal Attributes Questionnaire

The items on the next pages inquire about what kind of person you think you are. Each item consists of a PAIR of characteristics, with the letters A-E in between. For example:

Not at all artistic A...B...C...D...E Very artistic

Each pair describes contradictory characteristics - that is, you cannot be both at the same time, such as very artistic and not at all artistic.

The letters form a scale between the two extremes. You are to choose a letter which describes where YOU fall on the scale. For example, if you think you have no artistic ability, you would choose A. If you think you are pretty good, you might choose D. If you are only medium, you might choose C, and so forth.

1. not at all aggressive A...B...C...D...E very aggressive
2. not at all independent A...B...C...D...E very independent
3. not at all emotional A...B...C...D...E very emotional
4. very submissive A...B...C...D...E very dominant
5. not at all excitable in a major crisis A...B...C...D...E very excitable in a major crisis
6. very passive A...B...C...D...E very active
7. not at all able to devote self completely to others A...B...C...D...E able to devote self completely to others
8. very rough A...B...C...D...D very gentle
9. not at all helpful to others A...B...C...D...E very helpful to others

45
10. not at all competitive
   A...B...C...D...E
   very competitive

11. very home oriented
   A...B...C...D...E
   very worldly

12. not at all kind
    A...B...C...D...E
    very kind

13. Indifferent to others' approval
    A...B...C...D...E
    highly needful of others' approval

14. feelings not easily hurt
    A...B...C...D...E
    feelings easily hurt

15. not at all aware of feelings of others
    A...B...C...D...E
    very aware of feelings of others

16. can make decisions easily
    A...B...C...D...E
    has difficulty making decisions

17. gives up easily
    A...B...C...D...E
    never gives up easily

18. never cries
    A...B...C...D...E
    cries easily

19. not at all self-confident
    A...B...C...D...E
    very self-confident

20. feels very inferior
    A...B...C...D...E
    feels very superior

21. not at all understanding of others
    A...B...C...D...E
    very understanding of others

22. very cold in relations with others
    A...B...C...D...E
    very warm in relations with others

23. very little need for security
    A...B...C...D...E
    very strong need for security

24. Goes to pieces under pressure
    A...B...C...D...E
    stands up well under pressure
## APPENDIX D

**Attitudes Toward Women**

The statements listed below describe attitudes toward the roles of women in society which different people have. There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions. You are asked to express your feeling about each statement by indicating whether you (A) agree strongly, (B) agree mildly, (C) disagree mildly, or (D) disagree strongly.

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**1. Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man.**

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**2. Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing laundry.**

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**3. It is insulting to women to have the "obey" clause remain in the marriage service.**

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**4. A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage.**

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**5. Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.**

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6. Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men.

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7. A woman should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of action as a man.

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8. It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks.

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9. The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.

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10. Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.

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11. Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together.

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12. Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters.

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13. In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of children.

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14. Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set up by men.

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15. There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.

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APPENDIX E

Participation Consent

Greetings. As a Red Cross volunteer and a graduate student completing my thesis work at California State University I am conducting a survey of volunteers. This study is designed to investigate the knowledge and attitudes among Red Cross volunteers who have worked within the organization within the last two years. ARC records indicate that you have donated time in the Red Cross and I am requesting your participation in my study.

Participation involves filling out three questionnaires, which previous participants have indicated takes around 15 minutes. The survey asks questions about your experience with Red Cross, a personal attributes questionnaire and attitudes towards traditional female roles. Most of the questions relate directly to my study; however, some questions may be of help to Red Cross and your participation will help to assess the needs of volunteers in developing training and reward systems. By signing and returning this consent form, you are indicating that you understand the following:

1) My participation, as well as my responses will be strictly confidential; NO identifying information will remain on the survey once it has been returned. My individual responses will not be discussed with anyone.

2) I understand the purpose of the study and what my participation involves.

3) I understand that at my request I can receive additional information about the study, including the results when the study is completed.

Again, thank you for participating in my study. PLEASE return your consent form and the survey in the enclosed envelope as soon as possible. Once I receive your completed survey all identifying information will be removed. I anticipate the final report to be finished in June, 1991. You may call or drop by the Norton AFB Red Cross Office for results at that time.

Sandra Smith Mella

____________________  ____________________
Signature               Date

____________________
Address

____________________
Telephone
APPENDIX F

General Instructions

PLEASE READ THIS PAGE PRIOR TO COMPLETING THE SURVEY

Dear Participant,

Thank you for agreeing to participate in our study of Red Cross volunteers. You have been asked to participate in this study because we think you have an important role in our ongoing effort to understand volunteer motivation and to upgrade American Red Cross services. The information you provide will be used to help understand your needs in planning Red Cross services. Before you begin, please take note of the following items:

1) Your answers will remain completely CONFIDENTIAL. Once we check your name off as having returned the survey, your name will be removed from your survey packet.

2) Others who have already completed the survey indicate that it took them about 15 minutes to finish.

3) It is important that you be as candid as possible.

4) If you have questions about the survey, please feel free to call Sandra Smith by dialing (714) 880-4456. If she is not available, please leave your number and she will return your call as quickly as possible.

5) PLEASE complete and return the survey in the envelope provided as quickly as possible.

6) In return for your much-appreciated response, we will send you a thank-you packet.

Again, thank you for your time and patience.

Sincerely,

Sandra L. Smith
Project Coordinator
NAME: 
MAILING ADDRESS: 

MILITARY ADDRESS: 

To insure your confidentiality, this page will be removed upon receipt from you. I ask for your name and address so that I may send you a thank-you packet and summary of findings in return for your participation.

Please check here if you would like a summary of study results once the study is completed.

** A FINAL NOTE BEFORE BEGINNING **

Please be as candid as you possibly can! It is very important that you complete the survey without discussing your answers with anyone, including other participants or Red Cross personnel. Once everyone has returned the questionnaire, I encourage free discussion of these items.
REFERENCES


