PARTICIPATION AND MOVEMENT ORIENTATION

PARTICIPATION AND MOVEMENT ORIENTATION: FOUNDATIONS OF A THEORY OF CHANGE IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

By

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SCOPE AND CONTENTS:

This thesis investigates the relationship between the orientation of participants to voluntary associations and the orientation of associations to the wider society. By combining theoretical work from the field of voluntary associations with a theory of collective behaviour, a set of hypotheses is generated to analyze changes that have occurred in the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, a Canadian patriotic organization for women. A typology of voluntary associations is constructed, and a brief review of secondary sources shows the applicability of our theory to a wide range of voluntary social movements. The data used for this study includes association files, minutes, magazines and newspaper reports.

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INTRODUCTION

Compared to the work done in organizational theory,[1*] that on voluntary associations or organizations is meagre indeed. The major objective of this study is to lay the foundations of a theory of voluntary association from two main sources. Firstly, we shall extract from the literature on voluntary associations some organizing concepts which deal with the orientations to the associations that the participants exhibit. Secondly, we shall attempt to apply the conceptual apparatus of a recent theory of collective behaviour to the whole area of voluntary associations. Our primary emphasis is on the process of change which may take place in any such association. The major propositions set forth will relate how voluntary associations change through time. Such change will be analyzed in terms of the orientations of participants with regard to the functions that the association fulfills for its members.

In order to give some empirical referent to our theoretical constructs we shall examine in detail the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, (hereinafter referred to as IODE or the Order), a Canadian women's voluntary association. We shall also investigate some relevant secondary sources, work on the Townsend movement, the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, etc., to further test, albeit indirectly, our propositions and

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* Throughout this thesis reference footnotes will be found at the end of each chapter. Explanatory footnotes will be marked (*) and will be found at the bottom of the page.

hypotheses.

The basic substantive issue of this study, our research problem, is to explain the changes that have occurred in the IODE since the time of its founding in 1900 to the present day, the Annual General Meeting in June, 1965. This will be accomplished by the comparative method.[2] By means of a diachronic analysis we shall ascertain the responses of the association to several national and international issues with which the Order has been faced. Our data will be derived from the various regular and irregular publications of IODE, newspaper sources and IODE files. We shall therefore be in a position to state both how the association has changed over time, and how the orientations of the members have changed over time. Our theory will enable us to make predictions as to the nature of both of these sets of responses to the issues.

Chapter 1 will consist of a detailed review of the sociological and allied literature on the field of voluntary associations. This will be more exhaustive than selective, being in the nature of an attempt to show that certain trends and paths of development can be extracted from the work of those who have written on voluntary associations. Implicit in this chapter will be the rationale for studying voluntary associations, their strategic position in the modern, industrial form of society prevalent in the West. As a recent writer in the field argues:

> By uniting in a voluntary association, those with common interests strengthen themselves in the struggle for the enhancement and protection of those common interests. Association members are more easily made aware of their interests, and they formulate appropriate opinions with respect to specific problems they face. Once these opinions have been crystallized the association

> facilitates the spread of the opinion so as to influence others. The association, then, is a means for involving the individual in the social and political processes of the society.....(and) may be said to have consequences of an educational nature..... Since the association is part of the political and social processes of the society it may also help train future social leaders and serve as a channel for their emergence into the society. 3

The task of Chapter 2 will be threefold. Firstly, we shall briefly review some of the more important contributions that have been made to the study of collective behaviour. Secondly, we shall examine one of these, Smelser's Theory of Collective Behaviour, [4] and show how the conceptual categories of this theory might be applied to the study of voluntary associations. Further, we shall attempt to demonstrate the value of combining some selected theoretical devices from the development of the field of voluntary associations with some of those from Smelser's theory. Thirdly, we shall state our propositions and hypotheses with regard to the process of change in voluntary associations. The analytical foundations of a theory of voluntary associational change will then have been laid.

In order to put our theory to the test, in Chapter 3 we shall give a short history of the IODE and the position it occupies, and has occupied, in Canadian society. We shall also show how IODE fits into a typology of voluntary associations based on the functions that the association fulfills for its members, or the orientations that the members have towards the association.

Chapter 4 will consist of an analysis of the responses made by the Order to various national and international issues in its sixty-five year history. Membership responses will be carefully distinguished from

official, IODE responses, and so it will be possible to evaluate these on separate conceptual scales. We shall then be in a position to test the propositions and hypotheses of our theory with respect to the IODE and to ascertain to what extent the evidence corroborates or falsifies the theory.[5] An additional task of this chapter will be to cite a selection of secondary sources on voluntary groups which may be seen to have some relevance to our thesis.

The summary and conclusions of the study will be found in Chapter 5, as will a statement of the limitations and possible development of the theoretical approach of the thesis.

Terminological Note

As happens not infrequently in sociology, in the field of voluntary associations, to use Merton's comment on functional analysis, "a single term has been used to symbolize different concepts, just as the same concept has been symbolized by different terms."[6] (Italicized in the original). Indeed, one of the major aims of any theory, certainly of the theoretical statements in this work, is to promote both clarity and parsimony of the terms and concepts used. The term "voluntary association" has served as a catchall for social phenomena as far apart as church membership[7] and groups attached to the Tennessee Valley Authority,[8] tribal unions in West Africa,[9] and so on. On the other hand, many terms have been applied to the concept of social grouping with some explicit purpose, to distinguish it from an informal group, in which membership is totally voluntary.[10] The terms "voluntary association" and "voluntary organization" are used

interchangeably, along with others such as "formal association","formal organization", (this latter, however, usually refers to all types of organizations with a bureaucratic nature), "social organization", "organized social life", and often the whole gamut is dealt with under the rubric of "social participation". Generally, we shall restrict ourselves to the terms "voluntary association" and "voluntary organization", but with a conceptual preference for the former.

A further indication of the unsatisfactory state of the sociology of voluntary associations is the unfortunate categorization of such associations often found in the literature. Hausknecht, to take a recent example, distinguishes nine categories, such as Veterans, Military, Patriotic (and Auxiliaries of same); Political or Pressure Groups; Church, Religious; Social, Sports, Hobby, Recreational (except specifically church connected); etc.[11] This sort of classification tends to obscure much of what is sociologically significant in these associations. Therefore, by classifying voluntary associations on specifically sociological criteria we hope to rectify this situation and to introduce a set of terms that are both economical and pertinent for theoretical advance.

FOOTNOTES FOR INTRODUCTION

1. For a recent and comprehensive review of the literature, see W. Richard Scott, "Theory of Organizations" in Robert E. L. Faris, (ed), Handbook of Modern Sociology, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964, pp. 485-529.

2. See Werner J. Cahnman and Alvin Boskoff, (eds.), Sociology and History, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1964, passim and especially Part 3.

3. Murray Hausknecht, The Joiners, New York: The Bedminster Press, 1962, p. 10.

4. Neil J. Smelser, Theory of Collective Behavior, New York: The Free Press, Glencoe, 1963.

5. In our understanding of the nature of evidence for scientific theories, we follow Karl R. Popper, The Logic of Scientific Discovery, New York: Science Editions Inc., 1961.

6. Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, Rev. and Enlarg, Ed., Glencoe, Ill: The Free Press, 1962, p. 20.

7. Paul M. Harrison, "Weber's Categories of Authority and Voluntary Associations," American Sociological Review., 25(1960), 232-237.

8. Philip Selznick, TVA and the Grass Roots, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949, Chapter 7.

9. Kenneth Little, "The Role of Voluntary Associations in West African Urbanization", American Anthropologist, 59(1957), 579-596.

10. Bernard Barber in "'Mass Apathy' and Voluntary Social Participation in the United States", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1948, constructs an 'ideal type' for 'association' and one for 'community' to highlight this distinction.

11. Hausknecht, op.cit., pp. 131-32.

CHAPTER 1

THE FIELD OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

Although the importance of voluntary associations for complex societies has long and often been pointed out[1] there exists, at this time, little in the way of systematic theory or conceptual apparatus with which to go about their analysis. The purpose of this fairly detailed review of the literature on voluntary associations is twofold. In the first place, by examining the literature and tracing its development, we extract that which is necessary for the task of making the beginnings of a theory of voluntary associations. Secondly, we also suggest the ways in which an organization such as the IODE can be treated in terms of previous work done in the field of voluntary association, thereby preparing the ground for the union of voluntary association theory and collective behaviour theory for the explanation of change, which will be the explicit task of the later chapters.

Each of the three stages that we shall delineate in the development of the field of voluntary association may be characterized by a set of problems whose solution (or, at least, attempted solution) is a necessary condition for progress to the next stage. This process may be represented as follows:

Stage 1. What is the place and the significance of voluntary associations in the social structure?

Stage 2. How should the field be approached?

a. Empirical data and its replication.

b. Theoretical development.

c. The problem of change in voluntary associations.

Stage 3. How valuable is a theory of voluntary association based on the functions that the organization fulfils for the participants?

STAGE 1

The first specifically sociological piece on voluntary associations appears to be an article by C. R. Henderson entitled "The Place and Function of Voluntary Associations" which was written in 1895.[2] Henderson characterizes the voluntary association as "that form of social co-operation in which the conscious choice of each member determines his membership."[3] The impressionistic nature of Henderson's remarks is illustrated by the fact that he uses Goethe's three Reverences as the basis for his classification of Welfare bodies.[4] Nevertheless, much that has followed remains just as impressionistic without the benefit of Henderson's insights. We may draw the line between the diffuse and rather vague investigation of voluntary associations and the beginning of a rough attempt at bringing some systematization into the field at Goldhamer's work in 1942.[5] The set of macroscopic assumptions on large-scale (especially American) society on which subsequent work on voluntary associations is largely based is summed up in Wirth's justly renowned article, "Urbanism as a Way of Life". "The individual" Wirth argued, "thus becomes effective only as he acts through organized

groups."[6] Robert Angell in his "Integration of American Society" presents the role of the voluntary association as one of filling in the gaps that the planners of the great society did not (or could not) foresee.[7] The comparative autonomy for independent action of such groups is noted here by Angell, "these groups are the most untrammeled units in our society".[8]

An early research report indicates just how important voluntary groups could be for the democratic processes. In 1930 W. Denis showed not only that the members of a Daughters of the American Revolution group had an appreciably higher percentage of voter registration and voting in a primary election than a control group, but also a group of neighbours of the former were significantly higher on both counts than the control group. Denis concludes that "the voting strength of the DAR is much greater than that of an equal-sized group of the average population."[9] The general validity of this statement has been subsequently tested and largely corroborated many times since then.[10]

Several studies were carried out in the analytically connected field of social participation during the late thirties and early forties. Larson, for example, in a study of participation in rural communities,[11] made two important points that were to be taken up again and again in later years. First, he showed that, generally speaking, the rate of participation (measured here by monthly attendance) was low. Second, institutional religion accounted for a very high proportion of the total participation; 83% of farmer and 63% of villager participation.[12] At this time Chapin was developing his 'Social Participation Scale' and was relating this to what he called social intelligence.[13] Kather, in a survey of 708 people in Indiana,

argued that social participation was linked to income, home ownership, and education. Toppling into the arms of respectable metaphysics, Mather went on to claim

> human nature is acquired by association with others.... differential association indicates that a majority of the people of Franklin [where the study was carried out] are barred from complete realization of personality. [14]

The same type of sentiment is expressed by Queen, in the same volume of the American Sociological Review in 1941, in which he contrasts social disorganization with social participation, and bemoans the dearth of data available on the "socially handicapped".[15] In a comment on Queen's article, Elliot levels the astute criticism that not all non-participation is necessarily pathological[16] and this point, though tangential to our present concern, is nonetheless important.[17]

In a series of three related papers W. A. Anderson suggested the hypothesis that the "social participation of an individual is to a considerable degree a function of the social participation of the family."[18] Using Chapin's social participation scale, Anderson found his hypothesis supported by a sample of rural families,[19] and further showed that the participation of a family in community affairs was related to the opinions that the families held about themselves.[20]

Therefore, we may conclude, that up to about the time that Goldhamer wrote on voluntary associations and participation therein, most of the work done in these areas was of an eclectic and rather haphazardly chosen manner. What Goldhamer did, in effect, was to bring to bear on participation in voluntary associations some of the conceptual tools of sociology in a

systematic fashion.

Goldhamer first placed voluntary associations properly into the social structure, which he characterizes as being the relationship among four enterprises, namely, individual and corporate commercial, informal non-profit, non-voluntary associations such as the family and the state, and voluntary non-profit associations.[21] The crucial institutions of stratification and social control may be approached through these four enterprises and it is clearly seen that each or all of the former may help to stabilize or disrupt either or both of the latter. From a list of fifteen variables, (sex, religion, social status, etc.) Goldhamer chose three on which to concentrate his study. These were age, education, and personality. Six criteria of participation were set up as dependent variables; number of associations belonged to, frequency of attendance, number of officerships held, length of memberships, amount paid annually in dues, and type of association; and Goldhamer defined his problem as one of discovering the relations that held between his independent variables and his dependent (associational) variables.[22] Briefly, the more important findings of the study were that education seemed to stand out as a most important, independent variable on its effect on participation, and especially on leadership. Though the data on low-education minority group association tended to upset this relationship, Goldhamer still felt able to comment that:

> educational level operates...through its influence on the degree to which the individual possesses a certain sense of social importance, responsibility, and desire to maintain an appropriate place in the community.... status judgements may be associated with membership frequency. 23

Though ambiguous, this statement suggests, as the statements of Wirth, Angell, Chapin, and others suggested, that membership and participation in voluntary associations has tremendous significance for man in modern, complex society. Goldhamer's concluding remarks point out the difficulty inherent in this, as in all situations with which the sociologist grapples; that the number of possibly (and even probably) relevant factors is very large indeed, and so the amount of total variance accounted for by a single factor may be extremely small.[24] It will be shown in the second and third stages how particular aspects of voluntary associations have been selected for special emphasis, thereby increasing the theoretical importance and complexity of the field.

STAGE 2

We may delineate a second stage in the development of the sociology of voluntary associations from 1942, when Goldhamer's thesis appeared, to 1957 when David Sills published his full-length study of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis.[25] During these fifteen or so years, three trends can be distinguished. Firstly, the major task of data collection was continued with added zeal, in terms of the amount of participation and its correlates. In a study of associations in Boulder, Colorado, Bushee counted 268 adult voluntary organizations but reported the now familiar finding that a large percentageof the population (about 50% in this case) belonged to no association apart from the church.[26] Mirra Komarovsky, in her influential paper on "Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers" argued most cogently that though the great under-representation of the working

class did not necessarily mean that the urban masses were socially isolated, (kin groups, she claimed, were still strong), nevertheless: "sections of our population are cut off from the channels of power, information, growth, and sense of participation in purposive social action."[27] Knupfer[28] and Dotson[29] come to roughly the same conclusions as Komarovsky, though perhaps a little more and a little less pessimistic respectively. To the present, the phenomenon of lower class ethnic participation in associations remains to confound this issue. The work of Warner and Srole[30] stands out as a model of analysis in this context.

At this time the interest of the political sociologists was turning away from the philosophical considerations of the past two thousand years or so to the more mundane task of ascertaining, in cold facts, how the political systems, principally of the United States, worked. The data on political participation began to look ominously like that on social participation. Working with a sample of 8,000 Woodward and Roper maintained that only one in four could be considered politically active, and that was an overstatement if anything.[31] The researches of Berelson and his associates showed, amongst many other things, that a high level of participation in Unions was related to political activity, and specifically to voting Democrat, as would be expected.[32] Freeman and Showel, as a result of their investigation into the political influence of 13 voluntary associations of diverse types, concluded that "the influence of a group in the political sphere is not dependent upon the specific 'interest complex' for which it may have been organized."[33] The possible political role of voluntary associations is suggested by two works of the late forties. One, by Saul Alinsky, sets out

a detailed plan for the social-democratic redemption of America through nation-wide "People's Organizations" which are necessary to combat the "withering disease of apathy in the roots of democracy."[34] The other, a pamphlet published by the Political and Economic Planning body set up during the British Labour Party's post-war period of office[35] makes several down-to-earth suggestions as to how voluntary associations of one kind or another might render democracy more meaningful to the individual citizen. These sentiments remain among the prime raison d'etres for the study of voluntary associations and will be seen to reappear time and again in the literature.

The rural sociologist has also demonstrated some interest in the participation patterns of farm, village, and migrant populations. The results of studies in this context show no great differences though, on the whole participation tends to be higher (due mainly, one surmises, to the place of the church in rural communities).[36] Martin, in an interesting piece on the participation of suburbanites,[37] reports that, contrary to some opinion, the fringe resident, if he participates, is liable to belong to both suburban and city associations.

A good deal of rather unconnected research has emerged. Much of it serves only to widen our empirical knowledge of the vast array of voluntary associations to be found in modern, industrial society, without pointing to the theoretical advance which makes scientific progress possible. Such studies as those of Minnis on women's organizations,[38] Webber on a sample of retired people in Florida,[39] Bell and Force on urban types,[40] and Freeman and his associates on the correlates of membership,[41] are mere listings of facts with little attempt at the relation of the empirical generalization

to any conceptual framework.

To round off this review of the collection of data on voluntary associations and participation in them it is appropriate to note the small, though valuable, start that has been made in the study of comparative data for other countries than the United States. Research has been reported on voluntary associations from Mexico,[42] Britain,[43] France,[44] West Africa,[45] Denmark,[46] and Italy.[47]

The second major trend in what we have designated Stage 2 in the field involves the attempts of several sociologists to continue the work of Goldhamer in building up towards a theory of voluntary association. This is precisely what Barber, in his unpublished Ph. D. thesis[48] sets out to do. Barber constructs ideal types of (a) association, and (b) community; the distinguishing features of the former including its voluntary nature, written constitution, and the fact that officials are elected. These features, incidentally, also distinguish voluntary associations from organizations in general, though we shall be forced to return to this distinction again. The voluntary association, Barber claims, fulfils needs which neither the occupational organization nor the kinship system can fulfil, in the sphere of democracy as a social, rather than a political, system. The principal concern of the thesis is the relation of mass apathy and voluntary social participation, and Barber makes the critical distinction between apathy and non-participation in terms of the conceptual categories of values, institutional structure, and motivation.[49]

A structural-functionalist analysis of voluntary associations is presented by S. D. Fox,[50] who characterizes them as not being directly

engaged in activities which are functional prerequisites of the going social system. This presumably means that voluntary associations are not "necessary" parts of the social system, but, as it were, added lubricants to smooth the running of the dynamic equilibrium. Their place in the society is to "indicate points of strain in the social system".[51] Fox categorizes voluntary associations on the basis of their degree of integration with the major structural features of society; majoral, (business, labour, etc.), medial, (political, religious, etc.), and minoral, (ethnic, fraternal, etc.). The notion of associations as appendices (however useful) rather than integral parts of society, is heavily emphasized in this approach:

> the association remains distinct from the basic institutional framework of the society, although it may serve to implement the operation of the behaviour carried on within that institutional framework. 52

And again:

> associations that depend primarily in 'voluntary' support are those that perform 'extra' functions, that is, functions not related to the basic structure of the social system. 53

Seven separate functions of voluntary associations are pointed out by Fox, and these bear repetition as they serve as a preview of later work to be examined in the field of social movements.[54] The functions are 1) filling of gaps in the social structure; 2) dealing with frustration of expectations (strain); 3) promotion of sectional ideas; 4) protecting or redefining rights; 5) as sounding boards; 6) for dissemination of propaganda; and 7) in the social power structure.[55] Anti-democratic and subversive (sic) groups, Fox claims, have "positive" (Fox's term) latent functions insofar as: "the expression of unpopular ideas and opinions is inhibited, fear of

'guilt by association' grows and pressures for conformity to the going system increase."[56] This study constitutes a genuine advance on the theoretical level, in that it succeeds to some measure in applying a conceptual framework in the study of voluntary associations, and fitting them into the total societal picture. In particular, Fox's work will prove to be the source of some valuable pointers when the present study attempts to relate the fields of social movements and voluntary associations.[57]

As part of the Detroit Area Study M. Axelrod conducted an investigation on formal and informal group participation.[58] Axelrod set out to test the view of the Chicago School of urban sociologists which suggested that social relationships in the modern, industrial city are mainly formal, secondary, and non-affective. Against this view, Axelrod offers the hypothesis "all segments of the population will participate frequently in ....informal groupings, but....the kind of grouping will vary with role."[59] Working with a sample of about 750 people he found that almost two-thirds of these belonged to some formal association (apart from a church; 20% of his sample belonged to no formal grouping at all), but, what is certainly just as significant, over half of the members, that is 73% of the total sample, had attended only two or less meetings over a three-month period.[60] Then, Axelrod comments "if we think of formal group participation as an agency for collective action as well as being a primary agency for integrating and 'socializing' the individual, the question then arises, 'What of the people who don't belong?"[61] The answer is apparent on a perusal of Axelrod's analysis of informal group participation. Eighty-one percent of the sample were reported as seeing, at least once every week (65% about twice

per week) relatives, other friends, neighbours, and co-workers, in this order of frequency, for informal, 'social' interaction.[62] Further, active participants in formal associations were not necessarily lacking in informal group participation, that is, the former did not tend to replace the latter. Axelrod concludes his study with the suggestion that some research into the ways in which formal associations are linked dynamically to work groups, the family, and so on, would be most useful.

Such research, in fact, was being carried out to some extent in Britain at this time, though not exactly on the lines envisaged by Axelrod. In a volume on social mobility two studies on stratification and voluntary associations appeared.[63] Bottomore clearly links participation and especially leadership in voluntary associations with social status, as measured by occupation. Three broad occupational groups are distinguished, namely Class A (professional, managerial, etc.); Class B (other salaried non-manual); and Class C (manual and routine non-manual, weekly paid). The proportion of associational officials to membership for each of these classes was found to be one to six, one to twenty-eight, and one to eighty-one, respectively.[64] Membership and participation in voluntary associations, Bottomore is led to assert, is the confirmation of higher status rather than the means of acquiring it, and the former is in a sense an intervening and dependent variable, itself a function of occupational status.[65] In taking this one step beyond Goldhamer, Bottomore further illuminates the place of voluntary associations and participation in the wider society. Rosalind Chambers[66] presents a different picture, though this is no doubt due to the 'service' nature of the voluntary associations she studied. Leadership

tended to be based generally on skill, but as this usually necessitated some considerable time investment, the end result common to most such studies, a tendency to upper class monopolization of leadership, was seen to emerge. More important for our subsequent purposes, the analysis of associational change, is the conclusion Chambers reaches: "social and economic changes have reinforced existing attitudes and facilitated their expression in action; but the social attitudes are not themselves the result of change."[67] These associations see their function as one of service, and the primacy of this end makes for the limitation of the influence of the external status system. Thus, in contrasting the findings of Bottomore and Chambers, and appreciating that they are speaking about two different types of associations, not explicitly stated by them, we may make the tentative suggestion that the functions of voluntary associations have consequences, at least, for the ways in which the class composition is structured within the association.

We may therefore trace the line of theoretical development from Barber to Bottomore. Barber argues that voluntary associations fulfil functions for the wider social system that are, in a sense, strategic for "social democracy". Fox tends to minimize the importance of such groups by claiming that they come into play in the non-strategic areas of social life. Axelrod's contribution lies in his insistance that even without voluntary associations, the population at large may still be involved in meaningful, though informal, social relationships. The suggestion of Bottomore is that leadership in the associations that he studied was merely a reflection or confirmation of high status position in the wider society, and so the context of investigation is turned from the functions that the association fulfils with regard to the system within which it operates to the functions

it fulfils for its members. Chambers' analysis differs from that of Bottomore, therefore, because the voluntary associations with which they were dealing appear to serve different functions for their respective members.

This extrapolation on our part is supported by Rose.[68] He defines voluntary association as:

> a small group of people, finding they have a certain interest (or purpose) in common, agree(ing) to meet and to act together in order to try to satisfy that interest or purpose. 69

Rose distinguishes two types, the expressive group such as the social or hobby club, which is characterized as 'inner-directed', and the social influence group such as that attempting to change society in some way, characterized as 'outward-directed'. Though Rose does not make this clear, he sets out two types of functions for voluntary associations; the first being the functions for the membership, as noted above, and the second for the total society, specifically American democracy. These latter functions are three in number, 1) to distribute social power among a large proportion of the citizenry; 2) to provide a sense of satisfaction with democracy by direct, limited contact with the system; 3) to provide a social mechanism for the continuous institution of social change.[70] Therefore, perhaps for the first time, the political, psychological, and sociological significance of voluntary association is combined within a single attempted theoretical framework.

Two ways, then, have emerged of classifying voluntary associations. Fox's method[71] is broadly that of Bell and Force,[72] whose typology, based

on 'type of interest', includes general, special-stratum, and special-individual associations. The basic problem with this typology is that the placement of any single association becomes, in a great many cases, a matter of the almost arbitrary selection of the sociologist. For example, Bell and Force place the Chamber of Commerce in the general interest cell, while the P.T.A. and Labour organizations are considered special-stratum.[72] This is hardly self-evident. Though Rose's typology does not immediately avoid this problem, the extension of his basic expressive-social influence distinction will do so. We shall examine this extension in our discussion of Stage 3 of the development of the sociology of voluntary associations.

The third major trend in Stage 2 concerns the start that was made in the analysis of the change in particular voluntary associations, and as a necessary corollary, the case studies of such bodies. Stewart's study of the volunteer local boards which were the executive arm of the Selective Service System in the United States during the Second World War[73] clearly shows the major reasons why this instance of voluntary participation succeeded in the doyen of free enterprise societies. The Board members, Stewart reported, were compensated by their identification with a large, successful, and socially approved organization. Further, the delicate nature of the work, (in effect, selecting or deferring the individual for the opportunity to be maimed or killed in far-off foreign lands), was such that volunteer staffing of the Boards was preferable, and probably less liable to abuse, than any other type of arrangement.[74] There was little pressure on the organization to change and it did not do so, and when its task was finished it disbanded. This leads on to a

main focus of studies in organizational change. When a voluntary association finds that its manifest goal has been achieved then it may do one of two things; either disintegrate in an orderly fashion, as did the local Boards in Stewart's investigation, or it may find itself another goal and remain in existence. An association whose manifest goal seems to be incapable of solution can, of course, also do either of these aforementioned things or it can continue to strive after the goal of its original intent and be called "utopian", "idealistic", or some other pejorative by the sensible public. "If history teaches us anything", it has been said, "then it is that history teaches us nothing!" Notwithstanding the concealed wisdom of this remark, history certainly shows us that many, if not most, voluntary associations whose goal is either attained or generally recognized to be unattainable, continue to function as voluntary associations whether with different or the same goals.

Several sociologists have concerned themselves with the problems that this historical peculiarity presents. We shall briefly examine five such studies, those of Evan[75] on the Consumer's Co-operatives, Messinger[76] on the Townsend Movement, Gusfield[77] on the Women's Christian Temperance Union, (W.C.T.U.), Clark[78] on Adult Education, and Sills[79] on The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis (N.F.I.P.). In each of these studies we shall see that the investigator did not go quite far enough in his analysis of the changes that took place, and we may attribute this shortcoming to the fact that none of the authors cited explicitly saw the utility of examining the orientations of members in the context of associational change. Nevertheless, these five studies are important insofar

as they give us a basis for the introduction of this approach.

The problem that Evan sets himself is that concerning the reasons why the Consumer's Co-operative movement was so much stronger, and especially so much more strongly working-class, in Europe than in America. He puts forward an interesting and novel frame of reference within which he operates. This, briefly, involves the four elements of: context, (socio-cultural, community, and organization); actor, (the independent variable of occupational role is used); action, (associational affiliation and participation are the dependent variables); and various intervening variables of orientation and characteristics of actors. The three analytically separable dimensions of participation, namely decision making, activity, and value commitment, complete the frame of reference.[80] It is less Evan's solution of his specific research problem than his treatment of the ways in which the Co-operative movement changed in America that interests us here. He describes three stages in its growth from a small, sect-like social movement, through expansion, controversy and factionalism, to the final victory of the "business efficiency orientation" over the "consumer co-operative orientation". Instead of social education the emphasis of the organization became one of advising its members on nutrition, food preparation, shopping, etc. The self-recognition as a special-interest group was reported as the logical conclusion of this trend.[81] Evan cites four facets of 'structural change' to account for these events -- limitations of objectives of the organization being the first. He gives no indication that he fully appreciates why the goals of the organization changed and he generally fails to link up this

issue with his treatment of the orientations of the participants to the association because he has only shown the dimensions of participation and not a clear and useful way of distinguishing types of participant orientation. Types of participation and types of participators are not necessarily the same and, indeed, there would seem to be very good reasons for keeping these two sets of types apart. Fundamentally, participators may be high (or low) on a scale of participation, but may have totally different types of participant orientation.

Messinger's study of the Townsend movement does indicate this latter point, but, in our opinion, fails to capitalize on it. The corollory of the dramatic numerical decline of the movement is adduced to be the "tendency to deflection", by which the leaders have compromised their original goals in an effort to maintain the movement under vastly altered social and economic conditions. Messinger states:

> We can broadly describe this adaptation by asserting that the dominating orientation of leaders and members shifts from the implementation of the values the organization is taken to represent (by leaders, members, and public alike), to maintaining the organizational structure as such, even at the loss of the organization's central mission. 82

For the Townsend Movement, Messinger's explanation seems eminently suitable, but when we look further to other research on comparable voluntary bodies we begin to have some doubts. Gusfield's study of the W.C.T.U., as much a declining social movement in influence, if not in actual numbers on the American national scene, as the Townsend movement, contradicts Messinger's thesis. The W.C.T.U. has not accommodated to the society at large, it has not concentrated on maintaining its organizational structure at the expense

of its original objectives and doctrine, though the latter has changed. It would seem, therefore, that change in the environment of an association is not the necessary and sufficient condition for associational change that the proponents of the 'institutionalization theory' would have us believe.[83]

Thus, in this crucial aspect, at least, we may radically distinguish between voluntary and commercial-industrial organizations -- in the latter, where a 'change with the times' is the sine qua non for maintaining the custom of the organization, the organization will 'change with the times'. In voluntary associations the participants may be the 'customers' of the organization in a way that is not possible in commercial-industrial organizations, and this would lead us to suspect that the constraints of organizational authority structure do not operate in the same ways with relation to total change in the different categories of organization. Only in the limiting case does the orientation of the participant in commercial-industrial organizations affect the survival of the organization, (though it may often affect the efficiency), but in the voluntary association the survival is, in the modal case, a direct function of the participant orientation.[84] The difference would also be maintained for the reciprocal proposition, that the threatened survival of an organization affects the membership orientation differently for the different categories or organization. The participant orientation of which Messinger speaks misses the mark because, as we have seen in Gusfield's example, it is not at all widely valid. What must be found is a classification of

participant orientation that will be widely applicable, and this is available in terms of the functions that the voluntary associations have for their members.

From a different perspective, but bearing down implicitly on the same problem area, Clark has studied the Adult Education movement in California in terms of precarious values. The choice between, on the one hand, the ends of a service facility and, on the other, an educational enterprise for this movement was seen to be conditioned by such factors as the marginality of the organization, and the operating pressures implicit in the enrollment type of economy on which the movement depended. Clark concludes that the value adaptation to service, craft and hobby courses for example, rather than education per se, will increase as the organization, attached to the precarious values embodied in Adult Education, continues to lack a dependable clientele.[85] In our terms we may interpret this as suggesting that the type of participant orientation, affected as it must be by the way in which the member defines the values of the organization, is related to the changes in the organization, and especially to any change in the goals of the organization, and this does not necessarily affect the authority structure, nor is it necessarily affected by the authority structure of the organization.*

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* Weber's position on this point is illuminating and supportive. The concept of 'corporate group' depends on the probability of orders being carried out, irrespective of the basis of authority. However, he goes on to distinguish the following: "A 'voluntary association' (Verein) is a corporate group originating in a voluntary agreement and in which the established order claims authority over the members by virtue of a personal act of adherence...'compulsory association' (Anstalt) is a corporate group the established order of which has, within a given sphere of activity, been imposed on every individual who conforms with certain specific criteria." cf. Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1964, p. 151 and sections 12-15. Parsons remarks, "The distinction of Verein and Anstalt is one of far-reaching sociological importance, which has not become established in English usage." Ibid., p. 151, footnote 81.

David Sills' study, "The Volunteers", is particularly suited to the point at hand. There is a clear distinction between the N.F.I.P. Chapter, the permanent organization, and the March of Dimes, an annual fund-raising event. Sills characterizes the different satisfactions derived from these activities as ones of "service" and "performance" respectively.[86] Though Sills does not directly relate participant orientation to change or lack of change, it is not difficult to suggest how this might be done from his study. He says: "the images which the Volunteers have of the Foundation as a voluntary association go far toward explaining their continued participation and interest in its work"[87] and that, in addition, 71% of volunteer joiners viewed the Foundation as a social movement.[88] In the final chapter of the book, entitled "The Future of the Foundation", Sills goes on to say that it is extremely likely that the N.F.I.P. will make a successful adjustment to the achievement of its major goal and that it would make a transition to other related activities. Therefore, once again, though the material has been present and the direction has been set, the crucial theoretical step has not been taken. It is as if the theoretical load has been held back by some unknown force of friction, awaiting the tiny addition that will change quantitative pressures into a qualitative advance.

The second stage of the development of the field of voluntary association has been replete with small advances. The volume of empirical research has shown clearly that the impressions of the first stage which suggested the importance of voluntary association for the wider system in complex, industrial society, are not mistaken. On the theoretical level

this work has been supported and carried forward. The functions that voluntary associations have for the wider society led, not unnaturally, into the functions that they have for their members, and we have seen how the explanation of change and absence of change in such organizations has progressed, implicitly rather than explicitly, in the direction of the analysis of the orientations of the participants to their voluntary association. It is only in the third stage, with the introduction of the instrumental-expressive distinction in membership participation that we can properly begin to speak of a theory of voluntary association.

STAGE 3

The instrumental-expressive distinction has a long and influential ancestry in sociology. As an integral part of the more general gemeinschaft-gesellschaft dichotomy it appears in many societal typologies.[89] More recently it has found a fruitful application in studies of role differentiation in the family[90] as well as, indirectly, in the theoretical literature of action theory.[91] Gordon and Babchuk[92] were the first to use this distinction specifically for the analysis of voluntary associations. Their typology is based on the characteristics of the associations rather than on those of their members, and three criteria are suggested; accessibility of membership, status defining capacity, and the function of the association for the participant (either instrumental or expressive). Jacoby, one of Babchuk's students, seized on the latter criterion, and used it as his major conceptual distinction in a study of four voluntary associations.[93] Though the substantive results of Jacoby's

thesis are somewhat disappointing the theoretical implications bear some serious examination. The measures utilized by Jacoby to test for instrumental or expressive orientation, strongly imply that each of these is unidimensional rather than a convenient shorthand for a series of partially related aspects of orientation. In a later article Jacoby and Babchuk clearly set out the elements of the instrumental-expressive dimension:

> the degree to which the activities of the organization are designed to provide gratification either immediately or at a later time (i.e., after the activities in question have concluded); the degree to which the activities are oriented to and confined within the group or to persons outside of the group; and the degree to which the activities of the organization are ends in themselves or represent means to external ends. 94

The first of each of these alternative orientations characterizes the expressive, the second the instrumental, response. We would not wish to take issue with the reliability of the measurement of the instrumental-expressive dimension, (in fact, this has recently been improved upon by Jacoby [95]), but to highlight a remark of Jacoby and Babchuk for further scrutiny. They note that "a distinction is made, however, by the members between organizational objectives and their personal motives for joining and participating."[96] Given the accuracy of this statement, and there is no reason to doubt it, we must be continually aware that the presence of, say, an instrumental orientation among members does not <u>necessarily</u> permit us to assume that the voluntary association is an instrumental rather than an expressive organization. Indeed, it is precisely where we find a discrepancy between the type of objectives and the type of

participant orientation in associations that we should expect change in the associations. The problem of causal priority cannot be decided here, let it suffice to say, in a preliminary fashion, that where the objectives of an organization of this kind do not coincide with the type of membership orientation of which we have been speaking, then the voluntary organization will change in some specified way. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that we are not referring to structural, authority, change, but to change in either the objectives of the voluntary organization, or change in the orientations of the participants, or both. These latter types of change do not preclude structural change, indeed it as often as not accompanies them; our point is that it need not, that membership orientation in an association can change from expressive to instrumental without the structure of the association necessarily changing.

What is needed, therefore, to prevent the confusion of types of participant orientation with types of association, is to classify the associations themselves as far as it is possible on some other, though related, basis. We shall see in the next chapter, in our examination of collective behaviour, how this may be done and how, by combining this with the instrumental-expressive dimension, a powerful analytical tool for the analysis of change in voluntary associations is derived.

Little has been made of the instrumental-expressive distinction by the sociologists who have written on voluntary associations. The only researcher to have used the device apart from those cited above has been Marcus in a paper entitled "Expressive and Instrumental Groups".[97]

It is evident, however, that Marcus' use of the terms is by no means the same as that which we have described. He argues that the development of expressive (social-emotional) and instrumental (task-oriented) groups and leaders is related to the environment, threatening or friendly, that the groups encounter, and that the structure of the groups may be determined from this. In order to bring Marcus' work to bear on our problem we should have to ascertain whether or not the participants saw the environment as threatening or friendly as opposed to whether the association or group per se defined the environment, presumably measurable through the stated objectives, as threatening or friendly.[98] Rose, in an earlier paper, speaks of the differences that climates of competition and conflict make to voluntary associations. He claims that groups faced with opposition are more active in pursuit of their goals than those not so faced, and implicitly makes the same mistake as Marcus. Classical conflict theory certainly claims that opposition often results in the increased cohesion and effectiveness of groups[99] but it does not presume to say that this condition alone means that these characteristics are necessarily to be found in any greater measure than in groups that are not faced with conflict, as Rose and Marcus both suggest. It would seem that there is not very much to be gained by regarding the instrumental-expressive dimension in this light.

A brief review of the rest of the literature on voluntary associations in the recent past will serve to show both that the previous lines of development, namely data collection and justification of the field,

are being continued, and that the instrumental-expressive dimension has been all but ignored. Even Babchuk himself, the co-developer of the distinction, has not utilized it in all of his research to its fullest potential. In his work on Community Agencies[100] he comments that the more active agencies, and especially those that could be classified as instrumental organizations, were typically managed by men. Again, in his paper on the associations of Negroes[101] and his book, with Gordon, on slum organizations[102] he utilizes the distinction only tangentially.

Concentrating on the types of problems to be solved by voluntary associations, Warner and Miller distinguish "consummatory" and "instrumental" organizations.[103] Using roughly the same criteria as were used to distinguish expressive and instrumental they found that instrumental associations faced a greater number of problems of all sorts than consummatory associations. Unfortunately, Warner and Miller fail to develop the possible implications that this finding might have for associational change. If instrumental associations are typically faced with more problems, then we should expect that they also have a greater propensity to change than consummatory (or expressive) associations and we should also expect that this should throw some light on the complex relations that exist between the objectives of a voluntary association and the orientations of the participants. A short paper on women in hospital boards[104] lends indirect support to the instrumental-expressive distinction. Moore argues that board membership is linked to family and class responsibilities for upper-class women and defined as such by the ladies, while the middle-class board member will tend to subordinate her

associational role to that of her domestic role. Therefore we have a clear case of the distinction between the manifest functions of the organization and the orientation of members.

Most other researchers seem not to be aware of the device at all. Helen Gouldner has studied a sample of the League of Women Voters (LWV) in California with special reference to organizational commitment and one is forced to conclude that had she been familiar with the instrumental-expressive dimension her analysis would have benefitted considerably. In attempting to relate friendships within with commitment to the organization Gouldner, in the light of the fact that service and work rank above entertainment and sociability in the LWV, revises her core hypothesis and states that "task-oriented friendships yield commitment."[105] We should prefer to phrase this differently: in an association characterized by instrumental rather than expressive orientations, instrumental type friendships will yield organizational commitment. We should also expect that in an association characterized by expressive orientations, expressive friendships would yield organizational commitment. The replacement of "intimate" and "task" oriented friendships, (as well as "group" and "idea" orientations) by expressive and instrumental, though the correspondance is by no means exact, serves to sharpen the distinctions and also to eradicate the ambiguities apparent in the former terms.

The urban and community sociologists have shown interest in voluntary associations recently as in the past. Bernard speaks of them as carrying on a dialogue with those in power,[106] but fails to point out

the significance of the different types of associations that are to be found. Rose's distinction between expressive and social influence associations is acknowledged by Boskoff, but he appears to take a very pragmatic and simplistic view of the difference, asserting that the former merely augment primary group experiences, while the latter are more political. The reason that he adduces for their "morale source" is that: "voluntary associations bolster the social and psychological stability of an otherwise precarious urban middle class."[107]

A unique cross-cultural study in which the voluntary association of the population of five countries is investigated is contained in a recent work by Almond and Verba.[108] From a sample of about one thousand each of Americans, British, Germans, Italians, and Mexicans they found that the percentage who had at least one membership in each nation was, respectively, 57, 47, 44, 29, and 25. Although there is no systematic attempt by the writers to distinguish types of associations from one another, it is interesting to note that in four of the five countries between 40% and 46% of the sample responded in the affirmative to the question: Is your organization involved in political affairs?[109] Italy, however, had a response of only 20% and this may be partially explained by the fact that voluntary associations in that country are bound by very stringent regulations as to their activities and there are extremely severe penalties for breaking these regulations.[110] Thus, one might expect that there would be some relation between the political and social structure of a particular country and the forms of voluntary associations to be found there. Nevertheless, the mere fact of their presence has

significance as Almond and Verba point out:

> Membership in some association, even if the individual does not consider his membership politically relevant and even if it does not involve his active participation, does lead to a more competent citizenry. [111]

Both Maccoby,[112] and Zimmer and Hawley[113] make approximately the same assertion on American samples, though again types of association are not separated. Data is not at present available to test the hypothesis that, irrespective of the type of association, instrumental orientation is more liable to lead to political involvement than expressive orientation, but this seems a priori very reasonable. The potential importance of this suggestion increases as we take cognizence of Litwak's statement to the effect that in spite of the fact that the bureaucratic organization now controls the wider society, the local unit and its voluntary associations still remains a force to be reckoned with.[114] Therefore, though we tend to impressionistically classify neighbourhood groups as expressive and associations in the wider society as instrumental, by examining the participant orientation we may find that this impression breaks down. The local salon discussion groups before and during the French Revolution springs to mind as an example of the way in which a superficially expressive group can have instrumental consequences for the total society, given the latter orientation on the part of the members.

Scott Greer, one of the foremost students of urban politics, has written extensively on this type of problem.[115] A typology of local actors emerges from Greer's work; Isolates, Neighbours, Community Actors, and Deviants.[116] The Community Actors in their voluntary associations,

(what Greer calls "the 'parapolitical system' of the suburbs"),[117] wield a great deal of power in local affairs and may even constitute a self-appointed ruling class. It is perhaps superfluous to repeat that the strength of these investigations would have been significantly increased if both the orientations of the "community actors" and the types of voluntary associations in which they were acting had been clarified.

The small but growing literature on the structural authority aspects of voluntary associations bearsout, in a sense, the suggestion made above that organizational structure is not necessarily causally relevant to the functions of organizations for participants. Chapin and Tsouderos, in two related papers[118] have examined the process by which associations become "formalized". This, they claim, is relatively independent of the substantive goals of the organization, and, we should suspect, the participant orientation.[119] Therefore, change in either or both of these latter aspects of voluntary associations is not necessarily explicable in terms of the authority structure of the organization. Several pieces of research have been devoted to the problems of the rise of controlling groups in associations such as college sororities,[120] welfare committees,[121] and the League of Women Voters,[122] but none attempts to distinguish the orientational from the structural authority factors.

A most interesting and original approach to the study of voluntary associations has been expressed by W. E. Moore within the general framework of his "sociology of time".[123] As Moore correctly emphasizes, in voluntary associations time is power, and the strategy of meetings may be most important for the power structure of the association. It is obvious

that the opportunity cost of time investment is related to that which the participant expects to gain from his participation, and so Moore's temporal approach can be seen to be linked to the orientations of which we have previously spoken. One would expect, for example, that people with instrumental orientations would be more prepared to spend valuable time, i.e., time with great opportunity cost like those hours when they would be working for remuneration, on voluntary associational affairs, than people with expressive orientations to the association in question.

Finally, to round off this review of the literature, we shall examine a recent work which attempts to present a "Sociological Description of Voluntary Association Membership in the United States".[124] Hausknecht's study is incomplete insofar as it ignores entirely the research on and theoretical development of the instrumental-expressive dimension, while paying lip-service to the fact that there are different types of associations. However, this omission is partly compensated for by his grasp of the paradoxical position of voluntary organizations in modern society. He asserts that:

> In the past voluntary associations have performed those functions that government was unwilling or unable to perform; as more and more of those functions have been assumed by government--ironically enough, often as a result of the activities of voluntary associations acting as pressure groups--a powerful force sustaining associations and motivating membership has been sapped of strength. [125]

The truth of this statement may be properly assessed only when we have information as to the types of associations which are or are not being sustained, and the types of memberships which are or are not being motivated.

The intentions of this detailed examination of the literature will have been fulfilled if two things have emerged. Firstly, we have tried to show how the often unrelated statements of empirical and theoretical research may be set forth as steps along the difficult path of theory construction in sociology, and how certain major trends, specifically (a) that voluntary associations occupy an extremely important place in modern, industrial society,* and (b) that they are best approached in terms of the instrumental-expressive distinction, appear and re-appear. Secondly, we have attempted to show that the basic fact about such organizations is that they are voluntary, rather than that they are organizations, and that explanations of change in such bodies as the IODE are best couched in terms of the orientations of the members to the association and the functions it fulfills for them.

In the next chapter we shall examine collective behaviour, and set out a framework which will include some of the elements of a theory of voluntary association and some of the elements of a theory of collective behaviour in order to be able to deal with the problems of change in the IODE in particular, and in voluntary associations in general.

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* That this is being increasingly recognized by sociologists is evident from the fact that the whole of the recent issue of Sociological Inquiry, Spring, 1965, was devoted to voluntary associations.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER I

1. See, for example, Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America. (ed. and abrid. by Richard D. Heffner), New York: Mentor, 1956, esp. chapters 10, 29, 30, 31; Louis D. Hartson, "A Study of Voluntary Associations, Educational and Social, in Europe during the Period from 1100 to 1700", Pedagogical Seminary. 18(1911), pp. 10-31; and Hartson, "The Psychology of the Club: A Study in Social Psychology", op.cit., pp. 353-414.

2. American Journal of Sociology. 1(1895), pp. 327-334.

3. Ibid., p. 329.

4. Ibid., p. 329.

5. Herbert Goldhamer, "Some Factors Affecting Participation in Voluntary Associations", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1942.

6. Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life", American Journal of Sociology. 44(1938), p. 1.

7. Robert C. Angell, The Integration of American Society. New York: McGraw Hill, 1941.

8. Ibid., p. 189.

9. W. Dennis, "Registration and Voting in a Patriotic Organization", Journal of Social Psychology. 1(1930), p. 318.

10. See S. M. Lipset, Political Man. London: Mercury Books, 1963, Passim; and below footnotes 111, 112, and 113.

11. Olaf F. Larson, "Rural Community Patterns of Social Participation", Social Forces. 16(1938), pp. 385-88.

12. Ibid., p. 388.

13. F. Stuart Chapin, "Social Participation and Social Intelligence", American Sociological Review. 4(1939), pp. 157-166.

14. William G. Mather, "Income and Social Participation", American Sociological Review. 6(1941), p. 383.

15. S. A. Queen, "The Concepts Social Disorganization and Social Participation", American Sociological Review. 6(1941), pp. 307-16.

16. M. Elliot, "Comment", Ibid., pp. 316-319.

17. For an excellent set of discussions on this point, see Stein Rokkan (ed.), Approaches to the Study of Political Participation, Bergen, 1962.

18. W. A. Anderson, "The Family and Individual Social Participation", American Sociological Review, 8(1943), pp. 420-24; "Family Member Roles in Social Participation", Ibid., pp. 718-20; "Family Social Participation and Status Self-Ratings", American Sociological Review, 11(1946), pp. 253-58. The quotation is from the first cited, p. 420.

19. Anderson, "The Family and Individual Social Participation", op.cit., p. 424.

20. Anderson, "Family Social Participation and Social Status Self-Ratings", op.cit.

21. Goldhamer, op.cit., Chapter 1.

22. Ibid., p. 14.

23. Ibid., p. 68.

24. Ibid., p. 95.

25. David M. Sills, The Volunteers, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957.

26. Frederick A. Bushee, "Social Organization in a Small City", American Journal of Sociology, 51(1945), pp. 217-26.

27. Mirra Komarovsky, "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers", American Sociological Review, 11(1946), p. 698.

28. Genevieve Knupfer, "Portrait of the Underdog", Public Opinion Quarterly, 11(1947), pp. 103-114.

29. Floyd Dotson, "Patterns of Voluntary Association among Urban Working Class Families", American Sociological Review, 16(1951), pp. 687-93.

30. W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945, Chapter 9.

31. J. Woodward and E. Roper, "The Political Activity of American Citizens", American Political Science Review, 44(1950), pp. 872-85.

32. Bernard Berelson, P. F. Lazarsfeld, and W. N. McPhee, Voting, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954, pp. 46-53.

33. Howard E. Freeman and Morris Showel, "Differential Political Influence of Voluntary Associations", Public Opinion Quarterly, 15(1951), p. 708.

34. Saul Alinsky, Reveille for Radicals, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946, pp. 199-200.

35. Political and Economic Planning, Broadsheet no. 262, 1947.

36. See S. C. Mayo, "Age Profiles of Social Participation in Rural Areas of Wake County, N.C.", Rural Sociology, 15(1950) pp. 242-51; Donald G. Hay, "Social Participation of Individuals in 4 Rural Communities of the North-East", Rural Sociology, 16(1951), pp. 127-35; and "Social Participation of Households in Selected Rural Communities of the North-East", Rural Sociology, 15(1950), pp. 141-48; Basil Zimmer, "Participation of Migrants in Urban Structures", American Sociological Review, 20(1955), pp. 218-24; a recent paper tends to minimize the differences in participation between rural migrants and urban natives still further, see Ted J. Jitodai, "Urban-Rural Background and Formal Group Membership", Rural Sociology, 30(1965), 75-83.

37. Walter T. Martin, "A Consideration of Differences in the Extent and Location of Formal Associational Activities of Rural-Urban Fringe Residents", American Sociological Review, 17(1952), 687-94. See also A. H. Scaff, "The Effect of Commuting on Participation in Voluntary Associations", American Sociological Review, 17(1952), 215-20.

38. M. Minnis, "Cleavage in Women's Organizations", American Sociological Review, 18(1953), 47-53.

39. Irving L. Webber, "The Organized Social Life of the Retired in Two Florida Communities, American Journal of Sociology, 59(1953), 340-46.

40. Wendell Bell and Maryanne Force, "Urban Neighborhood Types and Participation in Formal Associations", American Sociological Review, 21(1956), 25-34.

41. H. Freeman, E. Novak, and L. Reeder, "Correlates of Membership in Voluntary Associations", American Sociological Review, 22(1957), 528-33; John C. Scott, "Membership and Participation in Voluntary Associations", American Sociological Review, (22(1957), 315-26, provides a good comparison of several preceding studies.

42. Floyd Dotson, "A Note on Participation in Voluntary Associations in a Mexican City", American Sociological Review, 18(1953), 380-86.

43. See the papers by Bottomore and Chambers in D. V. Glass (ed.), Social Mobility in Britain, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954, Chapters 13 and 14, resp.

44. D. R. Gallagher, "Voluntary Associations in France", Social Forces, 36(1957), 153-59. This article is a critique of the treatment of the subject found in Arnold Rose, Theory and Method in the Social Sciences, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954, Chapter 4.

45. S. Comhaire-Sylvain, "Associations on the Basis of Origin in Lagos, Nigeria", American Catholic Sociological Review, 11(1950), 234-37; Kenneth Little, "The Role of Voluntary Associations in West Africa", op.cit.

46. Robert T. Anderson, and Gallatin Anderson, "Voluntary Associations and Urbanization: A Diachronic Analysis", American Journal of Sociology, 65(1959), 265-73.

47. Arnold Rose, "On Individualism and Social Responsibility", Archives Europeennes de Sociologie, ii(1961), 163-69. See Edward Banfield, The Moral Basis of a Backward Society, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958, esp. Chapter 5, for a supplement to Rose's discussion. David Sills, "Voluntary Associations: Instruments and Objects of Change", Human Organization, 18(1959), 17-21, compares the situations in America, Italy, and West Africa.

48. Bernard Barber, op.cit.

49. Ibid., Part 4, passim.

50. S. D. Fox, "Voluntary Associations and Social Structure", unpublished PH.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1952.

51. Ibid, p. 15.

52. Ibid., p. 108.

53. Ibid., p. 363.

54. See Chapter 2.

55. Fox, op.cit., Chapter 2, passim.

56. Ibid., p. 342.

57. Especially with respect to the functions concerning "strain" and "redefining rights".

58. Morris Axelrod, "A Study of Formal and Informal Group Participation in a Larger Urban Community", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan, 1953.

59. Ibid., p. 12

60. Ibid., Chapter 2.

61. Ibid., p. 105-6.

62. Ibid., Chapter 5.

63. in Glass, op.cit.

64. Ibid., p. 358.

65. Ibid., pp. 368-69.

66. Ibid., pp. 383-406.

67. Ibid., p. 406.

68. Rose, (1954), op.cit., Chapter 3.

69. Ibid., p. 52.

70. Ibid., p. 51.

71. Fox, op.cit., Chapter 1.

72. Bell and Force, "Social Structure and Participation in Different Types of Formal Associations", Social Forces, 34(1956), 347-8.

73. Donald P. Stewart, "The Place of Volunteer Participation in a Bureaucratic Organization", Social Forces, 29(1951), 311-17.

74. Ibid., p. 315.

75. William E. Evan, "Occupation and Voluntary Associations", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University, 1954. See Also "Dimensions of Participation in Voluntary Associations", Social Forces, 36(1957), 148-53.

76. Sheldon Messinger, "Organizational Tranformation: A Case Study of a Declining Social Movement", American Sociological Review, 20(1955), 3-10.

77. J. R. Gusfield, "Social Structure and Moral Reform: A study of the Women's Christian Temperance Union", American Journal of Sociology, 61(1955), 221-32.

78. Burton R. Clark, "Organizational Adaptation and Precarious Values: A Case Study", American Sociological Review, 21(1956), 327-36.

79. Sills, The Volunteers, op.cit.

80. Evan, (1954), op.cit., Chapter 2.

81. Ibid., Chapter 6.

82. Messinger, op.cit., p. 10.

83. Gusfield, op.cit.

84. We do not consider that the compliance approach of A. Etzioni, in A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations, New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961, discriminates sufficiently between voluntary associations and non-voluntary organizations.

85. Clark, op.cit., pp. 333-35.

86. Sills, op.cit., p. 154 and Chapter 5, passim.

87. Ibid., p. 203.

88. Ibid., p. 250.

89. cf. Daniel Bell, The End of Ideology, New York: Collier, 1962, p. 27 and p. 411, note 11.

90. For example, Morris Zelditch in N. Bell and E. Vogel (eds.), The Family, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960, pp. 329-38.

91. See Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils (eds.), Towards a General Theory of Action, New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1962, p. 75.

92. C. Wayne Gordon and Nicholas Babchuk, "A Typology of Voluntary Associations", American Sociological Review, 24(1959), pp. 22-29.

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99. See Georg Simmel, Conflict and the Web of Group Affiliations, Glencoe: the Free Press, 1955, and also Lewis Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956, a prolegomena, with modifications, to Simmel's work on conflict.

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108. Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963.

109. Ibid., pp. 302-6.

110. cf. Rose, "On Individualism and Social Responsibility", op.cit.; Almond and Verba refer to this paper on p. 199, note 12, in another connection.

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CHAPTER II

COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOUR AND VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

The field of collective behaviour, like that of voluntary associations, has been traditionally neglected by sociologists. To the historian, to the journalist, and to the mass "mediatrician" in recent times, has been allotted the task of describing and even explaining such items of collective behaviour as the riot, the disaster, and the bloody revolution. The press card, and not the certificate of formal sociological training, is the licence needed to study at first hand the great social and political upheavals of the modern world. Only rarely, such as in Sorokin's autobiographical account of the early days of the Russian revolution,[1] may we have the opportunity of studying the extemporaneous reflections of the sociologist when confronted by episodes of collective behaviour. In short, the "laboratory situation" here, more than in most areas of sociology, is unattainable. We must add to this difficulty the often implicit objection that "collective behaviour" does not in itself constitute a special field of sociology, but rather involves the <u>whole</u> of sociology. Turner, in a recent paper, has gone some way towards meeting this point:

> The assumption that there is a special field of study which can be called "collective behavior" rests primarily on apparent contrasts with normal social and

> institutional behavior. It is the unusual character of mob behavior, of social movements in which otherwise meek individuals dare to threaten the established powers, of rumor processes in which normally critical people seem to accept the improbable without a second thought, of dancing and revelrous behavior in which modest and sedate people make public spectacles of themselves, and of panic in which usually considerate people trample others to death, which leads investigators to single out a special field of study...the formalization of the distinction is contingent upon some conception of normal behavior, whether explicit or implicit. 2

The opinion of the present writer is that the argument around the legitimation of the field of collective behaviour is sterile and that if the approach so termed helps us to better understand certain sociological problems and points towards their solution, then this is justification enough for a sociology of collective behaviour. As our very brief outline will show, most of the work done under the heading of "collective behaviour" has been thoroughly unsystematic.

The Field: A Brief Summary

Less than twenty years ago Anselm Strauss wrote an article entitled "Research in Collective Behaviour: Neglect and Need",[3] which went some way to pointing out the shortcomings in this area of sociology. The point to be derived from this, and much of the previous and subsequent writing, is that though a great deal of descriptive work had been done on many facets of collective behaviour, notably on revolutions, riots, and political movements, very little in the way of theory building has been carried out. As Blumer in a review written in 1957 exclaims:

> although much has been added to our knowledge of separate topics within the last two decades no significant contribution has been made to the general analysis of collective behaviour. [4]

Park is perhaps characteristic of some American sociology when he discusses the topic without ever really delineating its boundaries, and though appreciating its importance for the whole of sociology the significance of many of his perceptive remarks is lost and nothing like a theoretical scheme emerges from his treatment.[5] Collective behaviour is mentioned similarly in much of the work of the early pioneers both in Europe and in America, LeBon's treatise on the Crowd[6] and Ortega's classic, The Revolt of the Masses,[7] being particularly well-known examples of one direction this trend took in Europe. The voluminous literature in Journals such as the Public Opinion Quarterly and that on Social Psychology amply attest to the interest on this side of the Atlantic which the topic could arouse. Apart from a book published in 1938 by LaPiere,[8] which is summarily dismissed by Blumer,[9] the first textbook entitled "Collective Behaviour" would seem to be that of Turner and Killian of 1957. In the words of these authors, the discussion linking the readings of which this book is largely composed: "aims more at assembling existing ideas than at innovation....At the same time our purpose requires that we seek generalizations applicable to phenomena frequently not viewed together."[10]

In fact, Turner and Killian do a little more than this, for they attempt to set up a typology, at least of social movements, though not of collective behaviour. This is based on three ideal-types of movements,

value-oriented, power-oriented, and participation-oriented. In addition, the reform-revolutionary distinction is brought in to crosscut the three-fold typology.[11] Unfortunately, Turner and Killian confuse the issue by suddenly turning away from the original classification that they made to one based upon "the public definition of the movement's relation to the basic value scheme of the society."[12] Any criticism here would attack the mishandling of a small embarrassment of riches, and the hardly systematic presentation of useful ideas, rather than the ideas themselves. Turner and Killian separately, in a later publication, are again guilty of the same shortcoming.[13]

It was not until 1963, when Smelser published his work, that it became proper to speak of a theory of collective behaviour.

The Theory of Collective Behaviour

The base of the theory is to be found in a simplified and pointed treatment of the action frame of reference taken from Parsons and his colleagues. Briefly, Smelser distinguishes four vital components of social action which he arranges in decreasing order of generality as values, norms, role or organization, and situational facilities, the latter being, of course, the most specific of the components of action.[14] Thus, and this is a crucial consideration, "collective behaviour is analyzable by the same categories as conventional behaviour",[15] and so their differences will be seen to be illuminated through an analysis of their similarities. Not only are the action components themselves arranged in a hierarchy, as

noted, but <u>each</u> component is itself organized on seven levels of specification, so that in Smelser's words: "to produce concrete social action, every component must be progressively 'narrowed' in definition so that it can be consummated in some sort of operative social act".[16]

For example, the highest level of generality in the value component will be 'societal values' of which economic freedom is an important illustration. But this is extremely general, and tells us little if anything about <u>concrete</u> social action. We may move down the levels of the value component to, say, number 3, the legitimization of rewards, and we may illustrate this, again in the economic case, with reference to profit-making. This procedure is repeated for the other three components of action, and we may therefore construct a four (components) by seven (levels of specificity <u>within</u> each component) item cross tabulation, in which the most general level of social action, societal values, is found at the top left corner and anything below and to the right may be considered more specific.[17] The table takes the following form. (See next page)

"Allocation of facilities within organization to attain concrete goals" is the most specific item on the table, and so it is to be found at level seven of the situational facilities component. Therefore, when all is said and done, we have a logically constructed typology for the items of social action, and the way in which the theory is intended to work reveals itself in bare outline.

However, as Blumer had so correctly insisted, part of the problem is to set the field apart from "established or culturally defined behaviour"[18] and so we must examine how, within this wide action context

Table 1

LEVELS OF SPECIFICITY OF THE COMPONENTS OF SOCIAL ACTION

Level	Values	Norms	Mobilization of motivation for organized action	Situational facilities
1	Societal values	General conformity	Socialized motivation	Preconceptions concerning causality
2	Legitimization of values for institutionalized sectors	Specification of norms according to institutional sectors	Generalized performance capacity	Codification of knowledge
3	Legitimization of rewards	Specification of norms according to types of roles and organizations	Trained capacity	Technology, or specification of knowledge in situational terms
4	Legitimization of individual commitment	Specification of requirements for individual observation of norms	Transition to adult-role assumption	Procurement of wealth, power, or prestige to activate Level 3 [Transit Stage
5	Legitimization of competing values	Specification of norms of competing institutional sectors	Allocation to sector of society	Allocation of effective technology to sector of society
6	Legitimization of values for realizing organizational roles	Specification of rules of cooperation and coordination within organization	Allocation to specific roles or organizations	Allocation of effective technology to roles or organization
7	Legitimization of values for expenditure of effort	Specification of schedules and programs to regulate activity	Allocation to roles and tasks within organization	Allocation of facilities within organization to attain concrete goals

More specific

More specific

which he has built, Smelser does separate out his subject matter. The clearest expression of this is given in his formal characterization of collective behaviour, which reads: "an uninstitutionalized mobilization for action in order to modify one or more kinds of strain on the basis of a generalized reconstitution of a component of action".[19] An examination of the terms of this definition will elucidate the theory of collective behaviour. Firstly, Smelser insists that we must deal only with "uninstitutionalized" aspects, and for a very good reason, as it is this as much as anything which will distinguish the field for him. This derives from Blumer's discussion referred to above, and is not unproblematic, though we shall reserve comment till later.* That which is to be uninstitutionalized, Smelser says, is the "mobilization for action" and "the basic principle is that each type of collective behaviour is oriented toward a distinct component of social action."[20] Therefore, we now have the possibility of classifying any type of collective behaviour in terms of the component of action at which it appears to be directed. Typically, the revolution is value-oriented, the panic is facilities-oriented, and so on.

Classification, though a necessary prelude to, is not in itself, explanation, and so the next question naturally arises as to how Smelser explains the occurrence of any episode of this generic type. A necessary, though not sufficient condition for the emergence of collective behaviour is the presence of <u>strain</u> in any (or all) of the components of action.

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* See below, pages 61-5

This strain refers to: "the impairment of the relations among parts of a system and the consequent malfunctioning of the system".[21] Strain therefore represents the imperfectly integrated system, and the equilibrium hypothesis of society is shown to be a useful heuristic device by arguing that there is more "strain than equilibrium" (as there very well might be in modern, industrial society). Why then is the social process not one continuous round of uninstitutionalized collective behaviour with all the chaos that this implies? Smelser answers this by producing six factors, the determinants of collective behaviour. These are: (1) structural conduciveness, i.e., recognition of the fact that the structural arrangements in a particular society will not permit certain types of outcomes to social events. This, in some way, is parallel to the familiar Weberian thesis that there are boundaries set up in society by the value system, that the institutional orders cannot "exceed".[22] (2) Structural strain which, to be properly included, must fall within the scope established by the condition of conduciveness. (3) Growth and spread of a generalized belief, a most important factor, provides us with a hierarchy of increasing complexity and inclusiveness, from hysterical, wish-fulfillment and hostile beliefs to norm and value-oriented beliefs. The next determinant is (4) the set of precipitating factors which may spark off an episode. (5) The mobilization of the participants for action is the only necessary condition that remains for collective behaviour to occur. (6) The operation of social controls is less of a determinant than a counter-determinant. Two types are relevant here, a) preventive, aimed at

nonspecific elements in the foregoing list, and b) post-episodic controls (my term) which are mobilized after the event.[23]

The organizing principle behind this approach is the "logic of value-added"[24] which distinguishes it from the much discussed natural history account, especially of revolution. Value-added works on the analogy of, say, the manufacture of a car. Smelted ore may be used for a multitude of products, steel in shapes for less, painted fenders for very few, and so on. The painting, therefore, is only valuable, i.e., only adds value, insofar as it takes place at a certain point in the total process. In the same way, a generalized belief in immanent disaster will only result in a panic if the other determinants in the series are also present. The logic of value-added, then, gives us some indication of the necessary and sufficient conditions for the occurrence of any particular type of collective behaviour, and so we have now both a typology of events and a logic for analysing outcomes, and the means by which to generate explanatory hypotheses in the field.

Smelser is asking two general questions. Firstly, when does a particular form of collective behaviour occur? The answer to this is found through his use of the six determinants of collective behaviour as they are arranged within the value-added process. The second question concerns the manner in which the episode of collective behaviour attempts to change the environment, the way in which it goes about the eradication of the original strain. For this task Smelser employs the four components of action and the seven levels of specificity which we have reproduced above.* The

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* See Table 1, page 52

response to strain occurs in two directions, destructuring then reconstituting the components of action. The former refers to a progression from the specific to the more general on the table, the latter to action which goes from a general to a more specific level. Thus, as we show with reference to a contemporary situation immediately below, action that leads to one type of collective behaviour will differ in the amount of destructuring it will undertake, (that is, the level at which the reconstituting of the components of action begins), from action that leads to another type.

Let us now pull together the separate threads of Smelser's theory by means of a brief example. We shall do this by locating a source of strain in contemporary American society, by analyzing some of the ways in which its eradication has been attempted, and by noting the presence or absence of the other determinants of collective behaviour and the subsequent occurrence or non-occurrence of episodes or outbursts. These processes take place, of course, in the value-added sequence if collective behaviour is to result.

In recent years a particularly intense source of strain in America has been that connected with the race situation. In terms of the theory, the way to overcoming this strain would be to restructure the component level of action higher than that on which the strain exists. The occurrence of racial trouble was considered stressful from many points of view; the American image abroad would suffer, tourism would be hit, the lives of the metropolitan millions in the scores of inter-racial cities would be both uncomfortable and potentially dangerous. Thus, the pressure for racial harmony was great, in whatever form it took, either for understanding

or increased suppression. Various crash programmes for slum clearance and other aid to underprivileged ethnic groups was undertaken, but soon proved to be hopelessly inadequate. These problems of the allocation of resources are seen as strains at the operative levels of the Facilities Series, (levels 5-7 of Table 1).

These strains might have been overcome by increasing all the resources, i.e., by moving up the Facilities Scale to Level 4, but this would only have been effective had the Americans possessed and were prepared to allocate the requisite technology for this move. It is plain that the race issue is not one easily soluble by referral to the Facilities Scale alone. Where a solution on the Situational Facilities Scale proves inadequate then the next move is to the Mobilization of motivation for organized action Scale, that is to the left of rather than above our original point of strain. The Montgomery Bus boycott and the lunch-counter sit-ins may be regarded as attempted solutions of problems or eliminations of strain on the Mobilization Series.

A more general type of solution would be to militate for the passing of laws to ensure the present and future control of the source of strain. The policy of the NAACP, for example, is one of sophisticated legal struggle, in order to ameliorate the stressful conditions that pertain to the lower levels of the components of action. Finally, an attempt may be made to rectify the situation on the value level. This has been most spectacularly demonstrated by the Black Muslim movement which rejects the white man and his values out of hand and sees the only solution to the problems of the Negro in the United States in terms of a complete

restructuring of American life.

The existence of strain, therefore, is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the emergence of an episode of collective behaviour. For strain to be resolved the higher level component must be reconstituted, and then on the basis of this modification the new elements in the action series are "used" to correct the previous deficiency that first gave rise to the strain. The components of action are first destructured on the way up to the final, corrective, level, and then restructured as the correction "permeates" the action series. The corrective level is, of course, determined by the generalized belief under which the collective behaviour is carried out.

Given that the strain of which we are speaking is only possible within the limits of the structural conduciveness of the society, and that the notion of "precipitating factors" is almost self-explanatory, there remains but one further determinant of the occurrence of any episode of collective behaviour to be explained, namely social controls. We may explain the somewhat surprising lack of wholesale violence on the part of American Negroes in circumstances where all the ingredients of practically any type of outburst exist, by the fact that the Admininstration had followed a fairly flexible and hopeful race policy, leaving open the channels of legitimate protest, although it has substantively done very little.

Where violence has occurred, as in the case of the riots following the slaying of a Negro boy in Harlem, New York, by a white policeman in June, 1964, we see clearly the operation of the theory within the value-added process. The precipitating factor takes place and adds the

necessary spark to the pre-existent situation. The outburst destructures the action components up to the Mobilization Series with a demand for the agent responsible for the strain, and when this demand is met there is a corresponding restructuring back down the action series to the source of the now corrected strain.

Our summary has hardly done justice to the analytical and empirical richness of Smelser's work, but we have pointed out the most important aspects of the theory as they are relevant to the present study. We must now select one type of collective behaviour of which Smelser writes, the norm-oriented movement, and show how it may be used as a "bridge" between the theory of collective behaviour and the concern of the previous chapter, the field of voluntary associations.

Norm-Oriented Movements and Voluntary Associations

One of the greatest sources of strength of Smelser's analysis is that he takes a term introduced by Turner and Killian, the "value-oriented movement", and analytically separates from it those movements which do not seek to change in a revolutionary manner the values of society, but rather only aim at modifying, and not necessarily destroying, the normative order. Therefore we may distinguish reform movements from 'revitalization' movements, as Wallace uses the term[25] or more generally from revolutionary movements.

This is very important in light of a considerable amount of research on what might be called "intermediary groups", that is, those associations,

organizations, movements or other manifestations of collective behaviour which are becoming more and more pervasive in modern, industrial societies. They are intermediary in the sense that they may be regarded as mediating between the individual and the social environment in which he finds himself increasingly powerless to act effectively on his own. Basically, then, it is suggested that the work done on voluntary associations and political and social participation,[26] and on interest groups,[27] may provide us with an opportunity to apply Smelser's theory of collective behaviour in a way not previously attempted; and further, that an analytical distinction found to be useful in the study of voluntary associations, namely the instrumental/expressive dimension, can be fruitfully applied to the theory.

The organizing principle behind our scheme is that a certain type of participant orientation is typically linked to each type of collective behaviour, (value, norm, etc. oriented), and that though this is related to the category of generalised belief involved it is not the same thing; it introduces a vital dynamic component which goes some way to explaining how the various outcomes of collective behaviour may change over time.

Before we can proceed with our analysis of voluntary associations, and the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire in particular, along these lines, we must deal with a set of problems relating to the general applicability of a theory of collective behaviour to the explanation of the emergence and forms of voluntary associations. In our subsequent use of Smelser's theory we shall be mainly concerned with the levels of the components of action and the various generalized beliefs with which they are

connected. The determinants of collective behaviour will guide our analysis of the IODE as a norm-oriented movement in the next chapter, but the seven levels within each component of action will appear only incidentally. The logic of the value-added process will remain, of course, the organizing principle behind the determinants.

Our dissatisfaction with Smelser's sixth determinant of collective behaviour, social controls, will contribute in no small measure to our modification and extension of the theory to deal with changes over time in voluntary associational social movements. To suggest that collective behaviour will not occur where there are adequate social controls, when social control is frequently defined in terms of the prevention of such events, borders on circularity.[28] The more important question is: why do previously adequate social controls suddenly prove inadequate? Our propositions and hypotheses at the end of this chapter will suggest an answer to this question.

The core problem in applying Smelser's theory to voluntary associations is perhaps best seen with relation to the norm-oriented movement. By definition, a norm-oriented movement is "an attempt to restore, protect, modify, or create norms in the name of a generalized belief."[29] The variation of types of movements included under this rubric is as varied as the number of major norms, political, religious, economic, educational, artistic, and so on, to be found in modern society. The vital fact to be noted here is that some normative changes occur simply as a matter of routine and with no prior cause or generalized belief. Others, however,

in our case of race relations for example, occur as a result of a great deal of unrest. Smelser points out that agitation in the norm-oriented movement is frequently carried out by some organization, and in many if not most cases, such organizations are voluntary in nature. It is on the crucial fulcrum of the problem of 'institutionalization' that the issue of the applicability of the theory of collective behaviour to voluntary associations rests. It will be recalled that a defining characteristic of collective behavious is that it be uninstitutionalized, but nowhere does Smelser really go into the implications of this condition. Turner and Killian oppose collective behaviour to "institutional behaviour" which "refers to activities which are necessary to the conduct of society's business, which support the norms of the larger society."[30] Zakuta, in a recent work, describes the C.C.F., which may have started out on a value-oriented trail, but now as the N.D.P., is an almost paradigm example of the occasional norm-oriented movement. He characterizes the process as follows:

> Institutionalization refers to that sequence of changes in which a crusading group loses its original character (ideology, structure, membership involvement) as it becomes enmeshed in the surrounding society and develops an increasing resemblance to the established bodies against whose very nature it initially rose in protest.[31]

It is obvious that Smelser would regard both of these attempts as only partly accurate, as they tend to ignore the behaviour which is oriented towards protecting or restoring some activity, norm or value, and it is in precisely this direction that some of the most interesting and important examples of norm-oriented behaviour are to be found. Smelser

notes that: "The 'uninstitutionalized' character of collective behaviour is also implied by the fact that the high level component is redefined or reconstituted".[32] Given that the intellectual origin of the notion of generalized belief lies in such ideas as Thomas' "definition of the situation", although there is no direct reference to this in the book, it is reasonable to assume that the redefinition and restructuring of which Smelser speaks is a matter of degree. All men interpret all situations at least on the basis of their past experience, so that, logically, each new definition of situation x differs in at least one respect from the last definition of situation x. For the sociologist this difference only becomes significant when the consequences of action themselves are seen to be different, and we attempt to explain the latter in terms of the former. Thus, it would appear that a rather wide use of institutionalization is called for here.

In a recent foray into theory building G. K. Zollschan has emerged with a definition (and, incidentally, a theoretical suggestion) that might suit Smelser very well.

> Institutionalization may be defined as a process consisting of changes in established patterns of interaction and/or the development and substitution of new patterns of action for previous ones, resulting from the more or less reciprocal actions of more than one actor. 33

The so-called "exigency" approach of this author and his colleagues is not too far removed from Smelser's emphasis on "strain" and the chapter in the book on "Revolutions" by Willer and Zollschan[34] coincides in many places with Smelser's analysis, though not framed in such a systematic form. The breadth of this way of looking at institutionalization, the last stage

in a series of phase processes in the establishment of social change (the first two are articulation and action), allows us to treat uninstitutionalized responses to strain (or exigency) in a completely neutral fashion, neither necessarily 'good' nor 'bad', 'desirable' nor 'undesirable', 'functional' nor 'dysfunctional', 'legal' nor 'illegal', though of course any piece of collective behaviour may be one or any of these. The uninstitutionalized character of collective behaviour is, then, as Smelser insinuates but never quite says explicitly,* contained in its novelty, in its "substitution of new patterns of interaction for previous ones" as Zollschan says, but only up to the point at which it itself becomes established. Thus, as Smelser notes, the rituals and rules and ceremonies of norm-oriented movements cannot be considered within the aegis of collective behaviour as they are established and institutionalized forms within the organization.

The purpose of this excursion into the problem of "institutionalization" has been to show that the concept, as it stands, does not allow us to make a clear-cut distinction between institutionalized and uninstitutionalized behaviour, collective or otherwise. Blake and Davis, in a recent paper on "Norms, Values and Sanctions" refrain from using the term altogether, but in a list of the major aspects of norms they state:

> Acceptance of the Norm
> a. Extent of acceptance (accepted by virtually everyone or accepted as obligatory by only certain groups, such as certain ethnic groups).
> b. Degree of acceptance (felt to be mildly obligatory or felt to be mandatory). 35

Thus, it would be only in the very extreme case that any particular

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* See above, note 32, for example.

norm could be said to be accepted or rejected; this is for the most part, as Blake and Davis correctly imply, a matter of degree. Likewise, in the case of collective behaviour, and especially with reference to the theoretical scheme offered by Smelser, it would appear that the application of a stringent criterion of "institutionalization" would serve only to unduly restrict the theory. These remarks maintain the autonomy of the field of collective behaviour, however, insofar as it deals with the emergence of new forms of social action and organization and not with established forms. Therefore, on the basis of the foregoing argument, we feel justified in utilizing the theory of collective behaviour as expounded by Smelser, for the analysis of the emergence of voluntary associations and other comparable groups in general, and the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire in particular.* This latter task will be accomplished in the next chapter.

The Theory of Collective Behaviour and the Instrumental-Expressive Dimension

In itself, the theory of collective behaviour explains the occurrence of a particular episode, it does not, however, attempt to show how the type of collective behaviour "attached" to a particular association or movement or group may change over time. It is our intention in the

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* Although our discussion has been limited here to the case of the norm-oriented movement, the other types of collective behaviour to which Smelser refers are equally amenable to this treatment. The assumption is that there is a voluntary association corresponding theoretically to each type of collective behaviour.

remainder of this section to suggest how this might be done by adding an extra dimension to Smelser's theoretical schema. This dimension is implied by the assumption that groups will have particular functions for their members, and that the subsequent orientations of participants in voluntary associations will fall between the instrumental and the expressive poles as outlined in Chapter 1.

Before this dimension can be added to the theory of collective behaviour we must re-examine it in the light of the conceptual task for which it is now intended. This is to allow us to set forth an explanation of how voluntary associations become the sources of first one type of collective behaviour and then another type, over time. That is, how does the generalized belief around which the episode of collective behaviour is organized theoretically, change its preoccupation with one component of social action to another? If we are to bring the instrumental-expressive distinction to bear on this problem then it is plain that we will have to relativise each of the concepts. The application of "instrumental-expressive" is necessarily situation specific; if we did not approach it in this way then we should be in danger as observers of labelling a piece of activity as, for example, instrumental, when the participants in fact regarded it as expressive. Let us give an example to elucidate this point. The introduction of sporting activities into, on the one hand a fan club for a film star, and on the other a value-oriented political group, might be seen in totally different lights by the members of each. The members of the fan club could interpret this new activity as representing

a departure from their, presumably, highly expressive activities; as widening the scope of the group; of perhaps involving others outside the group; and they may also feel that the new activity is less immediately gratifying than their usual programme.[36] In short, we should be justified in concluding that the voluntary association under scrutiny was moving from the expressive pole towards the instrumental pole, though it could still be classified for general purposes to be fulfilling expressive functions for its members. It is, however, the direction rather than the magnitude of change that is our present concern.

The introduction of sporting activities into a political group might lead to the very opposite reaction on the part of the members. It could be defined as an interference with the revolutionary purpose of the group; as a likely cause of inward-turning by the movement and an abdication of the duty of widely influencing the people; and finally as a source of more immediate gratification than the perpetual round of political activities. Therefore, although we are dealing with exactly the same behavioural item, the interpretation of it in the political group might be quite different to that in the fan club. Sports could be seen as fulfilling an expressive function in the former, an instrumental function in the latter. Again, it should be emphasized that we are claiming neither that the introduction of sporting activities will necessarily change the fan club from "expressive" to "instrumental" nor the political group from "instrumental" to "expressive", but a change in these directions may very well take place.

We are now in a position to directly apply the revised instrumental-expressive dimension to Smelser's theory of collective behaviour in its application to voluntary associations. Bearing in mind that our problem is to explain how associations, and the collective behaviour of which they are (roughly) the formalized aspect, change over time, we may posit a relationship between the orientation of participants, measured through the functions that associations fulfil for their members, and the generalized belief around which the associational collective behaviour is organized. Thus, by cross tabulating Smelser's four types of collective behaviour, viz. facilities-oriented, mobilization of motivation oriented, norm-oriented, and value-oriented, with the instrumental and expressive orientations, dichotomized for simplicity, we emerge with an eight-cell typology of voluntary associations.

We are suggesting two things. Firstly, we present a typology of voluntary associations which is built up out of two main criteria: the orientations of the participants and the generalized belief around which support for the association is mobilized. The former is measured through the functions, instrumental-expressive, that the association fulfils for its members. The latter is found by means of the objectives of the association, from facilities-oriented to value-oriented. Thus, the following possibilities would occur:

TABLE 2

Typology of Voluntary Associations

		Movement Orientation			
		Facilities	Mobilization of Motivation	Norm	Value
Participant Orientation	Instrumental	1	2	3	4
	Expressive	5	6	7	8

Some of these types are more frequently found than others, indeed the two extremes, types 1 and 8, may never be found at all. We shall, in Chapter IV, attempt to fill in the cells of this typology with actual examples.

The second suggestion that we are making concerns the ways in which one type of association may change into another type; for example, how the instrumental value-oriented association (type 4), the paradigm revolutionary movement, may change into an expressive mobilization of motivation oriented association (type 6), or any other type, over time. We shall also suggest that any transformation will tend to involve a mixed instrumental-expressive participant orientation as an intermediary stage.

What must be done now is to convert the static typology with which we have been able to classify a large range of social groupings into a theoretical device that will enable the generation of a set of explanatory propositions. One way of approaching this necessary and often highly problematic objective is to construct a model. Levy has given a most clear account of the implications of this technique and the meaning of the term:

> A model... is a generalized description of the system of phenomena concerned -- a description that states the component parts of the system and at least some of their interrelationships...Such models are not "real" in the sense that they exist, or even reflect empirical phenomena with very detailed accuracy. They are simply ways of ordering abstraction about empirical phenomena in such a manner that it is possible to erect systems of theory about the phenomena. The "payoff" on a model is positive to the degree to which theories erected in terms of it can be relatively well confirmed if it is an empirical model, or proved if it is a mathematical model. 37

Therefore, following Levy's criteria, we may characterize the component parts of the system with which we are dealing. These are, as elaborated above, the instrumental-expressive dimension and the types of social "movements" that we derived from the extension of Smelser's theory. Our specification of an important interrelationship between the component parts is that the orientations of participants, the instrumental-expressive factor, varies with the objectives of the voluntary association, the type of social "movement". That is, a change in the function that the association fulfils for its members will, in a specific manner, always be accompanied by a change in the objectives of the voluntary association.

A further point may be noted in connection with different models. The distinction between "conscious" and "unconscious" models has been made by Levi-Strauss,[38] and R. K. Crook, in a study of mental hospitals, takes this as referring to the distinction between participants' and observers' models.[39] This coheres well with our discussion of the relativization of the instrumental-expressive dimension, in which we were at pains to point out the necessity of the observer having some "verstehen" into the association under study and into the meaning of the new activities. It would thus be possible for the participants' model to be quite different from the observers' model in the case of either participant orientation or associational objectives or both. It is the job of the sociologist to present both of these pictures as far as he can, for, as Levi-Strauss comments with reference to "a culture's 'home-made' models":

> even if the models are biased or erroneous, the very bias and type of error are a part of the facts under study and probably rank among the most significant ones. 40

From the simple model that we have thus constructed we may now derive a set of general propositions pertaining to change in voluntary associations, and a set of specific hypotheses with reference to the object of our case study, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire.*

Propositions and Hypotheses

Proposition 1: As the movement orientation of a voluntary association moves down the scale of the components of social action, then the participant orientation of the members will become more expressive.

Proposition 2: As the movement orientation of a voluntary association moves up the scale of the components of social action, then the participant orientation of the members will become more instrumental.

Proposition 3: During the time when a change in the movement orientation of a voluntary association is taking place, a mixed instrumental-expressive participant orientation will be found.

Hypothesis 1: The IODE arose as a norm-oriented movement.

Hypothesis 2: The IODE arose as a voluntary association fulfilling instrumental functions for its participating members.

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* The use of "propositions" and "hypotheses" in this statement is one of convenience. The former term is intended to suggest a universal assertion, the latter, one that may be directly tested with reference to specific empirical data.

Hypothesis 3: There has been a shift, over time, in the movement orientation of the IODE down the scale of the components of social action.

From proposition 1 and hypotheses 1, 2, and 3, we may deduce

Hypothesis 4: The participant orientation of the members of the IODE has become, over time, more expressive.

Hypothesis 5: The IODE is an example of the mixed instrumental-expressive type of voluntary association at the present time.

Hypotheses 1 and 2 will be dealt with in the next chapter. The evidence used to corroborate these hypotheses will be mainly historical, both from sources dealing with Canadian history and documents by and on the IODE.

In Chapter IV we shall attempt to give empirical backing for hypotheses 3 and 4, and the corroboration of hypothesis 4 will of course lend immediate support for proposition 1. An examination of secondary sources in the general field of social movements will be undertaken to further substantiate propositions 1 and 2.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER II

1. P. A. Sorokin, A Long Journey, New Haven: College and University Press, 1963.

2. Ralph H. Turner, in R. E. L. Faris, op.cit., p. 382.

3. American Sociological Review, 12(1947), pp. 352-54.

4. Herbert Blumer, "Collective Behaviour", in J. Gittler, Review of Sociology, New York: Wiley, 1957, p. 127.

5. Robert E. Park, Society, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955, Part 1.

6. Gustav LeBon, The Crowd, London: Benn, 1952.

7. J. Ortega y Gasset, The Revolt of the Masses, New York: Norton, 1932.

8. R. LaPierre, Collective Behaviour, New York: McGraw Hill, 1938. For a most stimulating discussion on the development of the concept of "collective behaviour" in Europe and America, see Leon Bramson, The Political Context of Sociology, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961, ch. 3.

9. Blumer, op.cit., p. 127.

10. Ralph H. Turner and Lewis Killian, Collective Behaviour, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1957, p. v.

11. Ibid., pp. 327-28.

12. Ibid., p. 329.

13. In Faris, op.cit., pp. 382-425, and 426-455 resp.

14. Neil J. Smelser, Theory of Collective Behaviour, op.cit., p. 30 and chapter 2, passim.

15. Ibid., p. 23.

16. Ibid., p. 34.

17. Ibid., p. 44.

18. Blumer, op.cit., p. 128.

19. Smelser, op.cit., p. 71

20. Ibid., p. 9.

21. Ibid., p. 384.

22. See Max Weber, op.cit., and Norman Birnbaum, "Conflicting Interpretations of the Rise of Capitalism: Marx and Weber", British Journal of Sociology, 4(1955), pp. 125-141, esp. p. 133.

23. See Smelser, op.cit., pp. 15-18 for the determinants of collective behaviour.

24. Ibid., pp. 13-14.

25. Anthony Wallace, "Revitalization Movements", American Anthropologist, 58(1956), pp. 264-81.

26. S ee Chapter I above.

27. H. Ehrman, Interest Groups on Four Continents, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958, contains an excellent survey of work in this field. William Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society, Glencoe: Ill.: The Free Press, 1959, deals most thoroughly with the problems of 'mass' and 'public'.

28. See, for example, Smelser, op.cit., p. 73.

29. Smelser, op.cit., p. 270.

30. Turner and Killian, op.cit., p. 12.

31. Leo Zakuta, Protest Movement Becalmed, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964, pp. 4-5.

32. Smelser, op.cit., p. 71, footnote 2.

33. George Zollschan and Walter Hirsch, (eds.), Explorations in Social Change, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1964, p. 91.

34. Ibid., chapter 5.

35. Judith Blake and Kingsley Davis, in Faris, op.cit., pp. 464-65.

36. See above Chapter I, footnote 94.

37. Marion J. Levy Jnr., The Structure of Society, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952, pp. 29-30.

38. Claude Levi-Strauss, Structural Anthropology, New York: Basic Books, 1963, p. 281.

39. Rodney K. Crook, "Role Differentiation and Functional Integration: A Structural Model of a Mental Hospital", unpublished PH.D. Thesis, Princeton University, 1963, pp. 26-32.

40. Levi-Strauss, op.cit., p. 282.

CHAPTER III

IODE AS A VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION

In order that we may apply our theoretical statements to the actual case at hand, the explanation of the changes that have taken place in the IODE over the years, we must operationalize the concepts that we have used. The major distinction on which this thesis rests is that between movement orientation and participant orientation. What we mean by these terms has been presented in the previous chapters, and now, before we can apply them to an analysis of the IODE, we must show how they are to be measured.

Movement Orientation

The movement orientation of a voluntary association refers to the level of action at which the objectives of the association are aimed. Therefore, an operational definition of this aspect of a voluntary association would take into account the official statements of policy, usually to be found in Presidential addresses at Annual Meetings, Press and other releases that originate from Head Offices, Editorials appearing in official magazines and journals of voluntary associations, and Handbooks and other sources of Aims and Objectives. From a careful examination of these types of material, over time, we may be confident that a fair measure of the

movement orientation of a voluntary association will be accessible to the researcher.

Participant Orientation

The participant orientation refers to the way in which the membership of a voluntary association perceives the activities that go to make up the movement orientation. Operationally, we must look for statements by individual members, irrespective of their positions in the association, which indicate what they feel about the activities in which they participate, and this will allow us to infer the functions that the association fulfils for them. Some activities appear, a priori, to be intrinsically expressive, while others are intrinsically instrumental; however, we must bear in mind the reservations laid out in the previous chapter concerning the relativization of the instrumental-expressive dimension.* Thus, the selection of one activity rather than another, in a particular context, will lead us to characterize participant orientation in the particular context, as tending to one type rather than the other. Such indicators of participant orientation as letters written to association magazines or journals, the actual content of the magazines or journals, and the choice of methods used by autonomous members to implement the policy of the voluntary association, will prove especially useful.

The Norm-Oriented Stage

The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire was founded by the late

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* See above, page

Mrs. Clark Murray on February 13, 1900, "during the period of one of the many grave crises in the annals of Great Britain."[1] The organization can be seen as a response to two sets of conditions, one pragmatically historical and the other socio-cultural. In October 1899 as the century and the Victorian era were both sinking into a fairly glorious past, war broke out in South Africa between the British and the Boers. This war represented a threat to the unity and stability of the British Empire and so:

> gave Canada an opportunity to demonstrate the loyalty and devotion of her people to the Mother Country, and just as in the two great wars which followed during the course of half a century, the young men of Canada immediately volunteered for service. 2

Men could demonstrate their loyalty and patriotism by fighting and, if need be, dying for their country, but this course was not open to women at this time. Rather than do nothing in a period of national emergency, the patriotic women of Canada, under the direction of and stimulated by Mrs. Clark Murray, organized themselves into a voluntary association. In the words of the Golden Jubilee Book:

> Since inspiration for the whole project of the IODE sprang from the exigencies of war, the first efforts of the women naturally were along the lines of comforts for the soldiers in South Africa and for the men of the Royal Navy. .....as it drew to a close, members turned their attention to raising money for the erection of monuments in memory of historic events, care of soldiers' graves, assistance in establishing and maintaining tubercular sanatoria and various other forms of social service. 3

There were things to be done and the IODE stood prepared to do them. Two questions stand out. Firstly, why did the association take the form that it did? And secondly, what was its motivating rationale? The answer to

the second question is immediately evident from an investigation of practically any early IODE literature. Mrs. Clark Murray "resolved to form an organization based on the foundations of Patriotism, Loyalty and Service."[4] The motto chosen was "For Queen and Country" and the Order's prayer gave thanks for "the ties which bind us together within our Empire...guide and direct all who sit in authority over us.....Give to each member of our Order grace to serve Thee faithfully and to labour loyally for the welfare of our country."[5]

The answer to the first question is a little more complex, and we shall attempt to trace out the processes leading up to the creation of IODE through the theoretical scheme presented by Smelser that we outlined in the previous chapter. As previously argued we may bring the determinants of Smelser's scheme to bear on the problems surrounding the genesis of voluntary associations and social movements, and so the IODE may be approached in terms of the structural conduciveness of Canadian society in the years before the turn of the last century; the structural strain which combined with this conduciveness; the growth and spread of a generalized belief; precipitating factors; the mobilization of participants for action; and the operation of social controls.[6]

(1) Structural Conduciveness. The status of Canada and its relations to Britain have developed gradually, over decades if not centuries, from almost complete political dependence to autonomy. The last decades of the nineteenth century had already seen some ambiguous trends towards defining a more acceptable arrangement between the two countries. William A. Foster's "Canada First" movement, although heavily and at times

hysterically criticized by most sections of the Canadian press, would appear to have prematurely presented a case that few Canadians in the early twentieth century could have found unpalatable.[7] Indeed, John Dafoe, a Canadian journalist, commented in a lecture at Columbia University:

> In 1882 David Mills, another Liberal leader, declared that if the rule that external relations must remain in the hands of the British government was unchangeable, it would be the destiny of the Empire to fall to pieces. No open effort was made to modify the theory but....a polite usurpation of powers [took place], with a ready consent by the British government which showed that it recognized that the old order must pass away. [8]

The impact of the North-west rebellion of 1885 had certainly contributed to a sense of Canadian nationhood,* as opposed to, but not incompatible with, Canada's continued links with Britain. Hopkins adduces the pride and willingness of Canada to participate in the Boer War in South Africa, to the fact that, for the first time, a Canadian army, (or at least Canadian contingents) were helping to defend the Empire at large and not simply on the North American continent.[9] Structurally, therefore, Canada at the turn of the century was ripe for a new type of patriotism, a patriotism which would, paradoxically, give spiritual impetus to the new nation, while continuing to gain sustenance from the old.

(2) Structural Strain. We may specify two main sources of structural strain which, combined with the conduciveness outlined above, further laid the sociological foundations for the emergence of the IODE in 1900. In the first place, although Canada was separated by three thousand miles of ocean from the British Isles, the fate of Britain both in Europe and in the rest of the world was of no small concern to the Canadians,

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* Though even this was mainly restricted to English-speaking Canada.

Anglo-Saxon or not. Britain's economic investment in Canada at this time was considerable,[10] and in the sense that it is nowadays claimed that 'what is good for General Motors is good for America', what was good then for the British Empire was good for Canada. Therefore, the threat represented by the Boers in South Africa, as symbolic of the possibility of the disintegration of the influence of the Empire, had repercussions on Canadian life, and especially on those people for whom Britain had been a recent personal or family home. In addition to this general threat, there was much unrest over the danger of an anti-British power bloc in Europe, led by Germany, which was very interested in the outcome of the South African War and which stood as an eager and ready alternative to the contomporary dominance of the English-speaking world.[11]

The women of Canada, as women, lived under a more specific strain. Loyalty to the Crown and patriotism as such are sentiments requiring action rather than passive acceptance. The supreme sacrifice for a patriot was to die for one's country on the battlefield. Women have traditionally felt badly that they were denied this privilege, as patriotically defined, to such an extent that the emancipation of women in a few areas of the contemporary world has made the female combat soldier a distinct possibility. Folk history is rife with stories of women dressing as men and going off to war to help, though often simply to find, their lovers. This sentiment was clearly present in the early literature of the IODE as the following extract from the first issue of Echoes, the Order's magazine, shows: "the care of the graves of our own beloved Canadian men - the first who, in a body, ever fought in a foreign land for the Empire, should, before

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all else, be the work of Canadian women.

An important part of the work of the Order in the early days of its existence was the upkeep of Canadian graves in South Africa, and this activity figures prominently in both a practical and a symbolic form long after the hostilities in that country had ceased. The conclusion is thus inescapable that Canadian women at the time of the Boer War were under the additional strain of being at home when danger threatened the Empire abroad. They had to stand by practically helpless while significant numbers of their menfolk risked life and limb to defend what they all held dear. The wider implications of the responses these strains elicited from the women of the Dominion can be seen most clearly when we consider the next determinant of the value-added process for the emergence of collective behaviour.

(3) Generalized Belief. In order to demonstrate that the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire arose initially as a norm-oriented movement we must show that the belief around which the members of the association were mobilized included attempted reconstitution of both the Facilities and

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* Echoes, the official magazine of the IODE, is the responsibility of a special committee, the head of which is a National officer of the Order. This lady is also the editor of Echoes, a non-elective post, and she is directly responsible to the National Executive. In an interview with the present writer she offered the information that very rarely or never had the National Executive interfered with her work. Further, the impression was given that no contribution to the magazine from any member of the Order was ever turned down, on the contrary, membership communications of any kind were encouraged.

Therefore, there is sufficient justification to utilize the editorial material of Echoes as evidence for the movement orientation of the IODE, and the infrequent membership contributions as evidence for participant orientation.

the Mobilization Series as well as the Normative Series.* The details of the theory need not detain us here, it will be sufficient for our purposes to point out the major factors involved. It is necessary for us to prove that three types of events took place: a) that the Canadian women considered that something had to be done about the perceived strain on the practical level, i.e., the level of Facilities, b) that particular agents should be located and deemed responsible, either through their conscious malice or through default in duty, for the stressful situation, i.e., the Mobilization level, and c) that the solutions to the problems were seen to lie in some form of normative action, as Smelser says, "passing a law, redefining role responsibilities and obligations, establishing a regulatory agency to enforce norms."[13]

The first of these events is plainly present in the original aims of the IODE:

> The Aim and Object of the Order is to ... care for the widows and dependents of British soldiers and sailors and heroes during war and in time of peace, under accidents, sickness or reverses of fortune, as far as in our power lies, and any other patriotic work that the Executive may approve of...[14]

It was to those who were not particularly patriotic, rather than unpatriotic and "enemies" as such, that the call of the IODE was addressed. Grodzins, in his analysis of the social boundaries of patriotism and treason, points out that "the penalties for ... protest that is clearly disloyal, strike at the very roots of happiness. Job, family, friends, comfortable existence itself, are in this sense all hostages insuring loyalty."[15] The problem was to awaken the apathetics to the

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* See Table 1, page 52

dangers around them. We may distinguish three objects of this attack on what may be called "disloyalty by default". The first was the home population, both native and immigrant. The President of the Order, speaking at the first Annual Meeting with reference to the Children's Branch, expressed the hope that its establishment would result in "every Canadian boy and girl having a much more extended idea of the Empire and appreciation of its greatness and magnitude than they at present seem to have."[16] The insinuation is not difficult to detect -- Canadian parents were failing somewhat in their patriotic duty as far as the Imperial education of their children was concerned. The second recipient of the warning that the IODE was issuing was none other than the Motherland, England. There had been much dissatisfaction at this time over the excessive cost of postage for magazines, newspapers, etc. from Britain to Canada and the situation was being progressively worsened by the flood of foreign, mainly American, reading matter, much of it of a virulently anti-British nature, with which Canada was inundated. "Why", a letter to the Editor of Echoes complained in 1904, "is it so difficult for British statesmen in the motherland to recognize this isolated position of Canada."[17]

The third direction of the warning was to the Empire, and especially to the question of Empire unity, a cause to which Canada as a political entity did not contribute at all conspicuously in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Although Canada would legally have been involved in any British war, the extent of this involvement, as Laurier was to point out while he was Prime Minister of the country, would depend solely on the decision of the Canadians themselves. As the First World War was

to show, this was little more than mere verbiage, but the hard fact that it was said at all is nonetheless significant. Perhaps even more significant, though later than the time period with which we are dealing, were the events of 1922, the signing of a fishing treaty between Canada and the United States without British representation, and the Chanak affair, when Canada refused the rubber stamp of approval to a particularly inept piece of British diplomacy.[18]

It is instructive to compare this facet of Canadian "foreign policy" with the remarks of the National President of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, in her annual address to the Order in 1904:

> I wish our sister colonies...would be more ready to work with us in this matter of unity. We must all, as young nations, fight against a local feeling - it will mean death to the Empire as one whole, if we fail to realize the importance of each national division as only part of the whole. 19 (Italics in original)

An important, if not vital, task that the IODE set itself, therefore, was the mobilization of the people, the women of the whole Empire, to a realization of the dangers of neglect of patriotic duty in time of peace as well as in time of war. The positive aspect of this clarion call may be discovered by an examination of the content of the belief around which the solutions to these problems, the eradication of these strains, was to be organized. This, we claim, was of an unmistakeably norm-oriented character.

The IODE were rather more interested in redefining role responsibilities and obligations and establishing regulatory agencies to enforce norms, than in militating for the passing of particular, patriotic laws,

though some action, in wartime especially, was taken along this line.*

Much of the material already quoted from the early literature of the IODE has been in norm-oriented terms. The warnings that we have drawn out from the pronouncements of the officials suggest clearly a purpose that is primarily concerned with the redefinition of the role of the citizen in relation to his country. The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire were attempting to influence the behaviour patterns of their fellow-Canadians in these matters, and were employing the symbols of love of Crown and Country, the aspiration to patriotic duty, in order to deal with quite basic strains in the components of action. The words of the National President in 1903 indicate the form that this took:

> It has been called to my notice more than once by men who are interested in watching its progress that the moral influence of the Order is having a most beneficial effect on the patriotic and loyal sentiments of this country and must tend very strongly to increase the tide of feeling in the right direction. and have a particularly good influence on the thousands of new inhabitants of all nationalities now flocking to the different colonies. 20 (My emphasis)

Indeed, one of the Order's supporters in the North West Territory, during an organizing meeting in 1901, compared the rapidity of the IODE advance to that of the Salvation Army, "because, like that, it was the organized expression of a universal popular sentiment and an Imperial need." [21] For this very reason we hesitate to characterize this stage, the emergence of the IODE in value-oriented terms. It was not so much the value of patriotism that was in danger, but rather the ways of implementing this value, the normative prescriptions. The loyalty of the Canadian people,

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* In 1916, for example, a Resolution was adopted by the Annual General Meeting calling for "the establishment of universal military training in all public schools of Canada through the Provincial Governments."

or indeed of anyone in the Empire, was not to be doubted, as we have emphasized above, but certain deficiencies in the definition of the role of "patriotic subject" were discernable in many quarters. The theory of collective behaviour as elaborated by Smelser precludes ritual and ceremonial behaviour, and we follow Smelser in this limitation of the field. Our analysis, however, rests on the incontrovertible fact that the IODE, though they did advocate ritual and ceremonial behaviour for patriotic purposes, also strongly advocated other ways in which the general and widely held value of patriotism might be practised. And the collective behaviour which resulted from the efforts of the IODE was, at the time of its inception, invariably couched in patriotic terms.

Speaking of a project designed to provide aid for an Incurable Children's Home, the National President said: "I think it can be considered patriotic to care for and help to relieve the suffering of one of the afflicted little members of our great Empire."[22] And again, at the same meeting the National Secretary commented on "the ideal of practical patriotism which calls upon us to aid the weakest members of the fold."[23] The programmes of citizen education, helping to settle immigrants, raising funds for various causes at home and abroad, and even plainly social events, were all justified by their contribution to patriotic duty and the concept of welding together a strong nation for the future glory of the Empire.

The establishment of agencies to enforce norms was embodied, simply, in the expansionist policy of the IODE. This is to say that the Order considered that its members, eventually in all parts of the Empire, with a proposed Imperial Chapter in London, should take upon themselves the task

of "enforcing" the normative beliefs for which the association stood. This is undoubtedly the spirit behind many of the early statements of the ladies. Echoes in 1902, in its very first issue, asserts that:

> Every member is expected to wear the Badge constantly at home and abroad, that whenever it is seen, the owner may be at once recognized as a loyal subject...and representing as it does, the unity of the greatest Empire the world has ever seen.[24]

Later in the same year, Echoes speaks of the Order as "a sisterhood of British women ...a strong chain girding the Empire,"[25] but the most powerful expression of the potential normative influence that the members of IODE could and, in fact, were said to exert over their fellow-citizens, is contained in the forthright statement of Mrs. Nordheimer, the first National President of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire in 1904, speaking to the representatives of a 4,000 strong patriotic association:

> I would pray that each member of this Order, each Daughter of the Empire, remembers that she lives an example to those around her, in whatever sphere of life she is called. She is there a living example to her associates, be it for good or evil, for industry or sloth, for purity of life or otherwise. Let there be no hesitancy as to which it shall be.[26]

The IODE, therefore, was mobilized around a norm-oriented belief. We shall now investigate the precipitating factors which contributed to the development of this belief.

(4) Precipitating Factors. According to Smelser, these factors "mark the sudden establishment or symbolization of one of the conditions of conduciveness or strain" and also "create a sense of urgency and hasten mobilization for action."[27] The major role of precipitating factors, that of focussing attention on a stressful situation, can be clearly seen in the

effect that the Boer War, and particular incidents connected with it, had on the women who were to form the IODE. It is sometimes difficult to separate out strains from precipitating factors but we may usefully employ a certain chronological rule of thumb insofar as we can say that the earlier determinant is perhaps more continually present, whereas the later determinant is more sudden and temporally nearer to the episode or form of association that we are explaining. Thus, we may present as evidence of factors which precipitated the emergence of the IODE as a norm-oriented movement some of the more immediate consequences of the South African War. The date of the founding of the Order is given in the official literature as January 15, 1900 in Fredericton, New Brunswick, but the first meeting in Montreal at which Mrs. Clark Murray can formally be said to have founded the IODE took place on Tuesday, February 13, 1900. The ladies had been thinking along the lines of a patriotic association of a voluntary nature for some time before these dates and we may pose the question of why the Order was in fact founded in the few months directly before and after the dawning of the twentieth century. A historian of this period in the history of Canada provides us with a suggestion of the answer:

> The first contingent of one thousand men /for South Africa/ steamed down the St. Lawrence from Quebec on October 30th, 1899, after farewell banquets to the officers and an ovation from immense crowds in the gayly decorated streets... there were delegations and individual representatives from all parts of the country...Patriotic funds of every kind were started...It was, indeed, a manifestation of the military and Imperial spirit such as Canadians had never dreamed of seeing.[28]

The newspapers of both Canada and Britain reflected this opinionn in no uncertain fashion. The Sarnia Observer, for example, on its front page for November 3, 1899, reported from its Montreal correspondent that

"Quebec went wild" over the departure, and that it was "the most enthusiastic send off imaginable." On November 10, the same paper printed the impressions of one of the journalists present at the occasion. "It was one of the privileges of a life time to be in Quebec on Monday last. The day and its events and incidents will never pass from my memory." The Times of London, in its issue of October 31, the day after the departure, expressed similar views. "It was a memorable scene and one which will live long in the recollections of those privileged to witness it." The final word on the subject must go to the writer of a magazine article on "The Canadian Contingent," which expresses the thoughts that must have been uppermost in the minds of the women who were, so soon after, to come together in the IODE.

> I rejoiced with those who rejoiced, and my joy blinded my eyes and scorched my throat...Sentiment, I know not what it is, or whence it came. I only know that it was here before I was born, and that it seems to be founded in patriotism entwined with loyalty.[29]

There can be no doubt that for the ladies who had been contemplating the foundation of a patriotic association such as the Order, the departure of the Canadian troops for the South African War was a precipitating factor.

It is not surprising that the IODE founders and supporters were able to take advantage of the obvious patriotic enthusiasm which was sweeping the country at that time. Although it is not directly documented, the probability must be high that many women on witnessing such scenes as those described above, would be precipitated into a situation with the propensity for the emergence of a norm-oriented movement mobilized around

a belief in patriotism.* We must now examine the mobilization process.

(5) Mobilization of Participants for Action. Schlesinger has listed several patterned aspects of the ways in which voluntary associations are mobilized,[30] and we shall examine these in relation to the setting up of the IODE. First, the movement had to have an "imposing" name. Few would argue that the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire failed to satisfy this condition. Second, a set of respectable names were to be found as members and patrons. A perusal of the major office-holders and supporters of the Order in its early years is called for at this point. As the association is restricted to women, we shall have to be content with an examination of the social status of husband or father as an approximation of the prominence of the Daughters of the Empire.

Mrs. Clark Murray, the acknowledged founder of the movement, was certainly a prominent woman in her own right as well as the wife of a highly esteemed Scottish-Canadian academic. Mrs. Murray had travelled fairly extensively and was a widely experienced magazine and newspaper writer. She had for a time been the editor of "Young Canada" and the Washington correspondent for "The Week". H. J. Morgan, an authoritative Canadian biographer, quotes a Dr. O'Hagan as saying of this lady that "she busies herself in such manifold ways that it is difficult to record her activities".[31]

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* The following quotation from A. P. Cockburn, Political Annals of Canada, Toronto: Musson Book Company, 1905, p.491, may serve as evidence of a precipitating factor for the Montreal meeting on February 13, 1900:

> The House met again on February 5th, 1900. In the speech from the throne His Excellency referred to the liberality of the Dominion in having furnished two contingents for the South African War...He was charged by the Imperial government and by Her Majesty to convey thanks for the loyal and generous aid sent in the time of need.

Rather than enumerate the notable features of the most important committee members of the IODE at the beginning of its history we shall present a brief table of their social prominence as derived from reference to the families of the ladies in two important Canadian biographical surveys.

TABLE 3

Social Prestige of National Founding Officers of IODE

Position in IODE (National)	Relationship to Person Mentioned	a. Morgan's Canadian Men and Women*	b. McMillan's Canadian Biography**
Founder			
Mrs. Clark Murray	Wife	Yes	Yes (22 lines)
President			
Mrs. S. Nordheimer	Wife	Yes	Yes (19 lines)
Vice-President			
Mrs. H. McMahon	Wife	Yes	Yes (20 lines)
Vice-President			
Mrs. H. Strathy	Wife	Yes	No
Secretary			
Mrs. R. Land	Wife	No	Yes (8 lines)
Treasurer			
Mrs. J. Bruce		No	No
South Africa Fund			
Miss C. Boulton	Daughter	Yes	Yes (19 lines)

Therefore, we may confidently assert that the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, in its emergence as a norm-oriented movement had won not only the support but also the participation of a set of extremely reputable and socially esteemed people.

Schlesinger's third aspect of the mobilization of voluntary bodies involves the hiring of staff. The IODE is perhaps a little atypical in its

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* H. J. Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women of the Time, Toronto: William Briggs, 1898.

** W. Stewart Wallace, Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Toronto: McMillan, 1963.

successful adhesion to the principle of "voluntary service". Although the exigencies of a growing and extremely active association of women encompassing not only the whole of Canada but other parts of the world as well necessitated some paid help, a very great deal of the work of the Order was, and still is, carried out by volunteers from the ranks of the association. For example, the magazine Echoes has always been produced by unpaid effort.

The fourth step is, in advertising parlance, "to sell the movement to the public," by means of lectures and other types of informative publicity. To this task the IODE fell with a vengeance! The Order constantly attempted to bring itself and its particular views before the Canadian people whenever patriotic issues or those connected with patriotism arose. The reports of local chapter meetings in the early issues of Echoes abound with references to occasions in which IODE was confronting the local community with exhortations to study some Imperial question, to support some patriotic project, or simply to come and have a good time within the association--but always with the basic justifying belief that what the Order was doing in the name of patriotism was worthwhile because it contributed to national and Imperial unity and strength.

The most impressive demonstration of the readiness of the IODE to spread the message throughout Canada was the North-West Tour that a small group of the ladies undertook in the winter of 1909. An excerpt from the minutes of one of the business meetings of this tour, in Saskatoon on November 2, 1909, will serve to show the impact that the IODE emissaries had on a Western community:

> Mr. Aikin, President of the Canadian Club then addressed the meeting. He said that on hearing of the proposed organization of a chapter of the IODE in Saskatoon he had felt that it was unnecessary and that a Women's Canadian Club could cover the ground satisfactorily; but as he listened a strong interest and intelligent sympathy for the aims and objects of the Order had grown in his mind and he thoroughly approved of the establishment of a chapter. The aims of a Canadian Club are not universal enough for the work of the Order.

The fifth and final factor is the multiplication of "subsidiary societies" on the widest possible scale. The efforts and successes of the IODE in carrying this out have been commented upon above. We may, however, add a few remarks about particular expansions that were contemplated. The Junior Branch of the movement, the Children of the Empire as they were called, was always an area of special attention, as a realistic awareness was ever present that the future of the Order lay in the hands of the young and the forms of patriotic education they received. Further, the founders of the IODE had expressed a desire to expand the scope of the order so that some day it would encompass the whole Empire, with a projected headquarters, the Imperial Chapter, as distinct from the National Chapter of Canada, set up in London, England, and chapters wherever the traditional Imperial red appeared on the map. We shall examine why this far-reaching scheme never was accomplished in the next chapter when we analyze the ways in which the Order has changed in its sixty-five years history.

We have set out to demonstrate that the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire emerged in 1900 as a norm-oriented movement in the terms of Smelser's theory of collective behaviour, in this section. There now remains only the operation of social controls, a counter determinant of

collective behaviour rather than a determinant, to be treated in order to complete our demonstration.

(6) Social Controls. Smelser suggests four ways in which the agents of social control may operate with respect to the norm-oriented movement, but labels them specifically in his discussion of value-oriented movements. He constructs a model for the containment of these and it appears to be suitable for all if not most types of movements. The authorities must rule out uninstitutionalized expressions of hostility as well as direct challenges to their legitimacy, and this is referred to as "political effectiveness." "Flexibility" is shown where the authorities open channels for peaceful agitation which may result in change. Finally, the attempt to reduce the sources of strain is termed "responsiveness" on the part of the authorities.[32] We can state plainly that the Canadian government and the other agents of social control in the country did by no means attempt to hinder the progress of the IODE as a norm-oriented movement and in this sense, contained it within these bounds. There was no necessity for the members of the Order to take any other type of action than that which they did take for the accomplishment of their goals. The history of the suffragette movement in its struggle to attain political equality for women provides ample proof of Smelser's point in this connection. Where political effectiveness, flexibility, and responsiveness are not present then a norm-oriented movement can turn to violence as a means of expressing and satisfying demands.

There is an implicit tendency to consider collective behaviour as a priori unlawful, or at least undesirable in a smoothly operating society. Thus, the discussion of the containment of movements would seem to suggest

that if the movements are contained successfully, that is, kept within the limits of the law and social propriety, then collective behaviour will not emerge. In our examination of the term "institutionalization" in the preceding chapter, we attacked this notion and argued that the concepts and working of the theory of collective behaviour could be applied to the field of voluntary associations and not solely to outbursts or episodes of collective behaviour. The voluntary association, we implied, could be usefully regarded as the formalized aspect of collective behaviour and we set up a typology of types of associations in terms of the potential category of collective behaviour to which each was oriented as well as in terms of the orientations of the members to the association. To say that the emergence of collective behaviour depends on the mal-operation of the social controls enumerated above is, we consider, (as was suggested previously), verging on the circular, unless we are able to give some very precise operational definitions of the types of social control in question. It is too glib to assert that a particular revolution exploded into violent action because the social controls proved inadequate to the situation, when we have examples of similar value-oriented or norm-oriented movements being contained by authorities whose use of the social controls differed little from that of their unsuccessful fellow-enforcers. The six determinants of Smelser's theory tell us how a particular piece of collective behaviour arises, and we have enlarged this to deal with the emergence of social movements. What Smelser's theory does not explain is how one type of collective behaviour, as attached to some voluntary association, can change over time into another type of collective behaviour. What appears to be needed here is an explanation of why some movements

take the trouble and inconvenience of certain types of action upon themselves in situations of unrest, while others do not. The first level of explanation for this problem, the limit that this thesis has set itself, lies, we claim, in the elucidation of the participants orientations to the voluntary association, the movement concerned, measured along the instrumental-expressive continuum.

Therefore, although we stop at this point, the operation of social controls, in our analysis of the emergence of the IODE, we shall continue in the next section of this chapter with a view to improving and extending this part of the theory.

It is felt, then, that Hypothesis 1, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire arose as a norm-oriented movement, is corroborated to a high degree by the historical and documentary evidence that has been presented.

We shall now investigate the participant orientation of the members of the IODE during the time of and the few years following its emergence, a norm-oriented stage as has been demonstrated above, in an attempt to place the movement on the instrumental-expressive dimension. When this has been done and the evidence mustered for the corroboration of Hypothesis 2, then we shall be in a position to investigate in some detail the theoretical propositions that our empirical research has generated.

<u>The Orientation of the Participants</u>.

To fit the IODE on the instrumental-expressive scale as expounded by Jacoby and Babchuk it is necessary to seek indirect methods. Obviously the founding members of the Order cannot be asked to answer a question-

naire for this purpose, and so we must extract the vital components of the dimension and attempt to find documentary sources which will provide us with a key to the participant orientation within IODE at the time of its emergence.

Jacoby and Babchuk note three points which must be taken into consideration in order that a voluntary association may be placed on the instrumental-expressive scale. Firstly, do the activities provide gratification immediately or at a later time? Secondly, are the activities confined to the group itself or do they include others outside the group? And thirdly, are the activities ends in themselves or do they represent means to an external end? If the activities of a voluntary association correspond to the former of each alternative then the association is said to perform expressive functions for its members. If the latter of each alternative is the choice, then the association is said to perform instrumental functions for the members.[33] It is further assumed that in an association which performs expressive functions (as perceived by its members) for its members, the members will be expressively oriented to the association. The same statement will hold good for the instrumental case. This serves to further clarify and support the distinction made in the preceding chapter between participant orientation and movement orientation. Briefly, the participant orientation is one of the functions that an association has for its members, whilst the movement orientation is one of the functions that an association has for the wider social context.* We are, therefore, utilizing the three levels

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* These types of orientations are the basis of our typology of voluntary associations; see Table 2, page 68

of individual, association, and society, in our analysis of the IODE and voluntary groups in general. Having dealt with the association in its relation to the wider society and having characterized it as a norm-oriented movement, we now turn to the task of showing how the functions that the IODE fulfilled for its founding members can be classified in instrumental-expressive terms.

Let us select a few of the activities reported in Echoes during the first decade of the existence of the Order and analyze them with respect to the three points of Jacoby and Babchuk referred to above.

The Campaign against the Montgomery Monument. A patriotic group of Americans from Boston, called the "Sons of the Revolution", had suggested that a statue be erected in Montreal to a certain "General" Montgomery. Montgomery, an Irishman with a particularly checkered career, had deserted from the British ranks to the Rebels in 1775. He had died while leading an attack on Quebec in that year, and the American patriots wished now to commemorate the event and the man in granite. The IODE, not surprisingly were opposed to this project and one lady, writing in Echoes, exhorted her fellow members to protest in no uncertain terms:

> That a monument should be erected up on Canadian soil to a man who was a traitor to the grand old flag of England is a very great disgrace to national sentiment in Canada... Let every member of the Order do all that is possible to discourage the erection of any such monument.[34]

Two years later Echoes reported a similar protest against the erection of a monument to George Washington in London. How are we to interpret this type of activity in terms of the instrumental-expressive dimension?

The major gratification involved in this protest activity occurs

unquestionably at a later date and not immediately. It is trite to argue that protesters derive satisfaction from protesting, for they most probably do. In this sense, all activity is at least expressive and we have no wish to deny or obscure this point, we only wish to claim that some activity goes beyond this and that the main portion of the gratification derived from the activity is derived not immediately.

The activity under scrutiny is oriented to people outside the group, that is, it is not all confined to the members of IODE. The erection of the monument is seen as "very great disgrace to national sentiment in Canada" and therefore is perceived as affecting all Canadians. The members of the Order were encouraged to influence all within their reach to ensure success to the protest.

Finally, this activity is not an end in itself, but clearly a means to an external end. The protest activity in this case is a means to the end of preventing a monument to a "General" Montgomery being erected in Montreal in 1902.

This example shows that the orientation of the members of the IODE, as represented by remarks in the magazine of the Order, was unmistakably instrumental.

Work with Immigrants. The very fact that the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire considered it part of their duty to work with immigrants at all, entails that this activity includes people outside of their group and thus one of the conditions required for the presence of instrumental participation of members is fulfilled. A statement by a member of the Order made during a meeting in Saskatchewan in 1909 further illustrates the significance of this activity:

> The peoples of the world are crushing through the gates of the West...Our duty is to contrive to perfect the absorption of foreigners. This can be worked for by Church, School and Home, and here is where the influence of the IODE can be most felt.[35]

There is little doubt that the gratification involved in this work is not immediate. The "absorption of foreigners" does not conjure up the image of cosy tea-parties, but rather of language classes, (which the IODE still organizes) and practical help. Needless to say, this activity is not an end in itself but a means to the vital and patriotically perceived end of national unity and Empire solidarity. On this example too the IODE can be said to have been fulfilling instrumental functions for its members at the time of its foundation.

The Work of the Order. Rather than go through the various objectives of the Order, which have been covered and properly belong in the previous section on the IODE as a norm-oriented movement, let us examine the way in which the members felt about the goals. It is perfectly possible for a movement to have certain objectives as official policy and yet for the membership to be interested in other things. This, indeed, is one of the phenomena that the next chapter of this thesis will attempt to explain. For the views of one member on what the IODE does, and has to do, we cite a passage from Echoes in the first year of its publication:

> It is in this educational work that all patriotic societies are valuable. They are nuclei of national effort from which radiate very potent influences...A great field of work awaits the efforts of the Daughters...[36]

This very general statement contains a sentiment that must be placed far towards the instrumental pole of the instrumental-expressive dimension.

The gratification it suggests would often be delayed, and it is uncertain insofar as education is not always blessed with success. It is obvious that the activities of the Order will touch not only the members but also large sections of the country, thus the need for a "national effort." The end of the activity is not the great work to be tackled but something beyond, the patriotic purpose on which the Order was based. "Patriotism through Service" meant in the first decade of the twentieth century that the rationale for the good work which the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire was carrying out was primarily instrumental, that the justification for all that the members were doing was beyond merely activity for the sake of activity.

A brief perusal of the various projects that the individual Chapters of the association were carrying out at this time will further substantiate this claim. Debates, essays, study projects were all Empire debates, Empire essays, and Empire study projects. These activities, though expressive in themselves, assume an instrumental light when we take into account the ever-present rationale of any improvement of the self as a contribution to the strength of the Empire, in that members of the Order so improved are thus able to better execute the work of the Order. Other activities like raising money for health and welfare projects are clearly instrumental as are projects of the nature of the South African Graves Fund. All of these activities present a picture of the IODE as fulfilling instrumental functions for its members. The Order provided a framework for the manifestation of instrumental orientations on the part of its participant members.

Therefore, on the basis of the preceding evidence, we feel justified

in claiming that the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire can be classified as fulfilling instrumental functions for its members at the time of its foundation in the first decade of the twentieth century. Hypothesis 2 is thus corroborated.

In our typology of voluntary associations the IODE would be located in cell number 3, norm-oriented and with instrumental orientation of participants.* In the next chapter we shall consider the changes that have taken place in both the movement orientation of the IODE and the orientation of the members since the foundation in 1900 to the present.

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* See Table 2, page 68

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER III

1. IODE, Golden Jubilee Book, Toronto: 1950, p. 1.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., pp. 13-14.
4. Ibid., p. 1.
5. Ibid., p. 8.
6. Smelser, op.cit., pp. 15-17.
7. William A. Foster, Canada First, Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1890; see especially the Introduction.
8. John Dafoe, Canada: An American Nation, New York: Columbia University Press, 1935, pp. 37-8.
9. J. Castell Hopkins, The Story of Canada, Toronto: John C. Winston & Co., 1922, p. 497.
10. Ibid.
11. W. T. Easterbrook and Hugh G. J. Aitken, Canadian Economic History, Toronto: McMillan, 1956, pp. 253-4, 345-6, and passim.
12. Echoes, 3, 1902, p. 6.
13. Smelser, op.cit., p. 112.
14. IODE Minutes, Annual Meeting, 1902, pp. 9-10.
15. Morton Grodzins, The Loyal and the Disloyal, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956, pp. 33-4.
16. IODE Minutes, Annual Meeting, 1902, p. 35.
17. Echoes, 1, 1904, p. 11.
18. cf. E. Thomas Cook (ed.), The Empire in the World, London, Oxford University Press, 1937, p. 96 and Part 3, passim.
19. IODE Minutes, Annual Meeting, 1904, p. 3.

20. Ibid., 1903, p. 137.

21. Minutes of Moosejaw Meeting, 1901, p. 1

22. IODE Minutes, Annual Meeting, 1902, p. 37.

23. Ibid., p. 65.

24. Echoes, 1, 1902, p. 1.

25. Ibid., 3, p. 1.

26. Ibid., 1903, 4, p. 2.

27. Smelser, op.cit., p. 294.

28. Hopkins, op.cit., p. 503.

29. Norman Patterson, "The Canadian Contingent", in The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art, and Literature, 14, (Dec. 1899), pp. 148-9.

30. A. M. Schlesinger, The American as Reformer, p. 52: quoted in Smelser, op.cit., p. 296.

31. H. J. Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women of the Time, Toronto: William Briggs, 1898, p. 672.

32. Smelser, op.cit., pp. 364-5.

33. Jacoby and Babchuk, op.cit., p. 464.

34. Echoes, 1, 1902, p. 4.

35. IODE Minutes, November, 1909.

36. Echoes, 4, 1902, p. 1.

CHAPTER IV

THE PROCESS OF CHANGE

The constitution of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire was incorporated by special act of the Dominion of Canada in 1917, and has been revised once since then, in 1962. In this chapter we shall examine three major issues which faced Canada and the IODE in this period and we shall attempt to show how the movement orientation has changed along with the orientation of participants, through an analysis of the various responses from both of these sources to the issues. The three issues that have been chosen are the First and Second World Wars, and the contemporary debate on national identity and unity with which Canada is being faced. These issues are not chosen at random, on the contrary they are intended to show that similar types of strains occurring at different times, may be responded to in different manners, and that the responses to these strains may tell us a great deal about both the movement orientation of the IODE and the orientation of the members.

The two World Wars are, for our purposes, eminently comparable in that Canadian troops fought and died in both; the threat was perceived to concern Britain and her sphere of influence on an international scale; and that in neither conflict was the Canadian civilian population directly in danger. We should therefore expect that if the IODE had preserved

throughout the World Wars the same movement and participation orientations that we have demonstrated it to have had at its foundation, then we should be able to characterize its response to, for example, the Second World War, as that of a norm-oriented/instrumental voluntary association. We shall see below that, in fact, the Order did not perceive the strains of this period to be soluble on the normative level wholly, and that the participant orientation of the members tended to the mixed instrumental-expressive type.

The issue of Canadian identity is even more crucial for our argument. Let us hypothesize the response of a norm-oriented/instrumental IODE to the dual problems of replacing the Red Ensign as the flag of Canada, and the terms of reference of the debate on national unity. There is no need to point out the significance of the "flag" as a patriotic symbol, and there is every reason to believe that the IODE, as evidenced by the material in the preceding chapter, considered it the prime symbol of all that it believed. Under these circumstances, the suggestion that the Red Ensign was to be replaced would have been greeted with a howl of protest from the Order. The issue, by definition, would have been considered soluble only on the normative level, and the IODE would have certainly organized a mass legislative onslaught on Parliament, would have demanded in no uncertain terms that citizens of the land had a patriotic duty to organize themselves in order to protect the flag, the symbol of nationhood. The very purpose for which the Order had been founded, to ensure that the ties between Britain and Canada should be continually strengthened

within a mighty brotherhood of nations, would be subverted by the act of expelling the Union Jack from the Canadian flag. This, for a norm-oriented/instrumental movement, would have been no time for idle and mild gesture -- this would represent a direct confrontation between the Order and its most hallowed aims, and the forces of disruption. The member for whom the IODE performed instrumental functions would have been prepared to go to almost any legal ends to carry out her patriotic responsibility.

Similarly, the question of nation identity, perhaps the framework within which the flag debate can be best understood, would surely have been of considerable concern to the norm-oriented/instrumental IODE. The structure of a Canadian identity and the strength of Canadian unity, the argument would have run, lie in the traditional links that Canada has had with England and the Commonwealth. Only by preserving and further elaborating these links could success in the venture be ensured. In short, the problems that beset Canada in her search for individuality, would have been capable of solution, for the IODE, only on the normative level, and the participant orientation of the members of the Order would have been all the more instrumental as the issue was serious.

The subsequent analysis demonstrates that neither the responses of the movement nor those of the participants measured up to those hypothesized for a norm-oriented/instrumental voluntary association, when faced with the contemporary issue of Canadian unity and identity.

World War 1

As has been demonstrated in the previous chapter the IODE arose

as a norm-oriented/instrumental type of voluntary association. Let us first turn to the official pronouncements and actions of the Order during the second great threat with which the British Empire was faced in the twentieth century, that we might ascertain what we have termed the 'movement orientation'. The answer to the question concerning the place of the IODE in an Empire at war was not significantly different in 1916 to that declared in 1900. The National President, at the Annual Meeting in Toronto in 1916 exclaimed:

> Every member of the Order should labour with one purpose in view: to act well her part. And we shall not have laboured and suffered in vain if, by our efforts, we have helped the verdict of history to be, that in the great war, along with our Empire and her grand Allies, Canada, too, has found her soul. 1

Of this, education was an extremely important component. As before, this was not merely education for its own sake, but for a very definite purpose, and education primarily in a specific set of topics. Canadian children should be taught about "British ideals and institutions" and of the great men and women who have contributed to the concepts and actuality of "freedom...justice...and human brotherhood which are the outstanding characteristics of the British Empire today."[2]

The problems and the strains that the IODE recognized in 1916 were clearly interpreted on the normative level. This is <u>not</u> to say that the ladies did nothing and restricted their activity to grand statements on the conference floor, but that on the conference floor the orientation of the movement, that is, where the IODE stopped the 'restructuring of the components of action' of which we have spoken, * was clearly normative.

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* See above, Chapter II, pp. 50-9

Further evidence for this statement may be derived from the way in which most if not all of the smaller problems of the day were seen in terms of their relevance to the normative fulfillment of the patriotic duty of each and every member of the Order. We find numerous cases of this: an essay competition, for example, was won by an entry entitled 'Striving to increase farm products is practical patriotism'; the editor of Echoes warned that over-production of the magazine "would be a useless expense at a time when patriotic men and women should use every dollar wisely."[3] An amendment to a resolution at the Annual Meeting in 1916 with reference to the death of Nurse Edith Cavell, suggested "that the word 'murdered' be changed to 'martyred!" This was carried unanimously.[4]

One writer in Echoes applauds the Settlement Houses as a great help in "Canadianizing the foreigner, and impressing patriotic ideals upon his children."[5]

Therefore, we conclude that the IODE was equally as norm-oriented in 1916 as it was at the time of its foundation.

We shall again examine each of the three aspects of the instrumental-expressive dimension--i.e.,gratification,etc.--in order that we might arrive at some reliable evaluation of the participant orientation of the members of the IODE in 1916, during the First World War. An examination of an internal controversy in the IODE in 1916 will provide us with some material with which to carry out this task.

A Mrs. Colin Campbell from one of the prairie provinces had

caused a commotion in 1916 by her actions in attempting to prevent the passing of the National Charter Bill on the grounds that it passed over all the control to the National Chapter in Toronto. Mrs. Campbell, a firm proponent of provincial autonomy, had interfered independently through Ottawa and had succeeded in having the Bill shelved. It passed, and the Charter was granted, in 1917 as noted above, but in 1916 many officers in the National Chapter who had put in a great deal of work for the Bill, were extremely annoyed with Mrs. Colin Campbell. The stage was set, therefore, for an impassioned speech by Mrs. C ampbell at the Annual meeting, in defence of her actions. A long extract from her remarks will serve the purpose of illustrating one type of participant orientation present in the IODE at the time: Speaking of the Order, she said:

> When it was organized sixteen years ago it was a crusade, an educational crusade - a crusade for Imperialism, to strengthen those silken cords and make them stronger than steel. Lo - what a change - after sixteen years have passed what do we find? Today, 350,000 of our splendid Canadians are in arms...Do you not think the Constitution should grow with our work? We are only in our infancy. What do I see in the Order? I see in it the greatest opportunity for women's service to their country that ever was. 6
> The President: So it has been proved.

Mrs. Campbell's statement shows at least three aspects of her involvement in the IODE. First, in speaking of it as an "educational crusade" and seeing its development into "the greatest opportunity for women's service to their country that ever was" there is little doubt that the activities, though perhaps pleasant in themselves, were carried out

for some less immediate gratification, with some other justification than the derived gratification itself. Second, the sphere of work specifically mentioned includes over a quarter of a million Canadian soldiers, and thus the activities are obviously oriented to people not in the group. Third, the activities are means to an end, the end embodied in the ideals of "Imperialism". Mrs. Colin Campbell's was certainly an instrumental orientation to the voluntary association of which she was a member. That she apologized for her actions and continued to work for the Order suggests in no small measure that the orientation of participants may be just as important in the analysis of voluntary organizations as the authority structure, (the controversy betwen Mrs. Campbell and the National Officers was plainly part of a power struggle.) This is, of course, one of the basic assumptions of this study.

That Mrs. Campbell was not an atypical member of the IODE in this respect is shown by other examples. An observer at the Annual Meeting of 1916 reported that the keynote of the occasion was "loyalty in its highest forms," not friendship, nor pleasurable events, but "loyalty."

An article in Echoes in this year looks forward to the end of the War, and warns of the dangers of the great material prosperity that was then predicted for Canada. A response to this challenge which is perhaps a model of instrumental orientation, concludes:

> And ours must be the women's task to preserve the high ideals-ideals which shall be in keeping with the sacrifices we have endured- a simpler life- less ostentation and display-less luxury, which shall leave us more fit in body and mind for serious effort and reflection. 7

On the basis of the evidence available, we feel justified in claiming that the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire maintained its norm-oriented/instrumental character during the First World War.

We shall now turn to the time of the Second World War, twenty-five years later, and we shall note various changes that took place in both the movement orientation and the orientation of the members.

World War II

The years of the Second World War presented perils and strains to Canada and to the women of the IODE no less than those of the First World war. The responses, however, were not the same. It is our intention in this section to show how the slow but nevertheless perceptible changes in both the orientation of the Order as a social movement and the orientation of the participants in this voluntary association went hand in hand over this period of time. It must be remembered that instrumental and expressive orientations are dimensional rather than polar concepts, and we shall see how a shift in the movement orientation of the IODE is accompanied by the emergence of a more mixed type of participant orientation than has previously been noted.

In the Presidential address delivered at the Annual Meeting in 1944, an attempt was made to describe the development of the Order as fitting into three distinct phases. The first was termed the "Experimental" stage, lasting from 1900 till 1914. Next, the four years of war service, from 1914 till 1918, constituted the "Constructive" phase, and

the third, from 1918 till 1944, the "Expansive" phase.[8] The first great achievement of the Order, according to the National President, had been the War Memorial, a "patriotic, educational Monument given in memory of those who gave their lives for their country."[9] Several points stand out from this Presidential address of 1944. Experimental, constructive, and expansive are all fairly businesslike terms, especially in comparison with the crusade, the labour to find the soul of Canada, and the frequent references to idealism that we have seen to characterize the orientation of the IODE at the time of the First World War.

It is also noteworthy that the great achievement that was selected for prime of place was not an abstract, normative improvement that had been wrought on Canada, not the success of the Order in instilling the ideals of patriotism and Imperial service into the Canadian population, but rather something quite tangible and real such as a fund for the education of the children of war veterans. We are not claiming that simply because the National President made some remarks in 1944 that may be interpreted as referring to a lower level component of action than the normative, that this is sufficient evidence for a statement of change in the movement orientation of the IODE. What we are claiming, however, is that the tone and general appearance of the Order in 1944 is sufficiently different to that in the 1900 to 1918 period, to merit further examination of the movement orientation, and especially to material that does not seem to be overly concerned with the normative aspects of the work of the Order.

The Annual Meeting of 1942 will provide some support to the general appearance that we have just noted. The address of the National President is outstanding for our purposes in contrast to some previously cited addresses. She said:

> It is not expected of us, nor could we possibly do it, to tidy up the whole world, but to square up to the major responsibilities that logically lie on our doorstep. 10

The significance of this statement lies not so much as in what it actually says, (there can be no doubt that the IODE could not change the world), but in the manner in which the sentiment is expressed and the difference between it and earlier statements by the National officers. In the space of a quarter of a century the tone of the movement had thus shifted from one in which "the verdict of history" was to be influenced, to one in which the problems "on our own doorstep" rather than those of the world, were to be tackled. And this doorstep is Canada, rather than the whole Empire or Commonwealth of nations, now. Earlier in the same address the President had referred to "the magnificent contribution to the war effort of Canada" that the Chapters had made, and there is little reference to influence that the members might exert <u>outside</u> their own country. We must draw a distinction here between practical help in the many and variegated forms that the IODE extended to several parts of the world, and the original idea of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire as an international body exerting patriotic and pro-British influence in all parts of the globe.* The definite trend towards a sort of

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* See above, page 94

ideological insularity in the IODE most probably began with the realization of the impracticality of the all-Empire scheme and the agreement with the Victoria League in England "to the effect that neither would encroach upon the other's priority by forming chapters or societies."[11] This manifested itself clearly during the Second World War, and, as we shall see, even more clearly yet in later years.

Therefore, we may tentatively consider that this period in the history of the Order marks a turning-point in its orientation in that the generalized belief under which the members were mobilized for action no longer involved an unequivocal reconstitution of the normative component of action, but was more concerned with the lower level components, namely the mobilization for motivation or/and the facilities levels.

This statement is borne out by reference to other pronouncements of major and authoritative officials at this time. In 1943, in the height of the war, Princess Alice, the Honorary President of the Order could not be present at the Annual Meeting. Her post was not a sinecure, and in a message of apology for her absence the Princess spoke of the current important work of the Order. It is significant that the message contained not one mention of the war, but instead the heart of it read:

> I am the more sorry to be absent at this gathering, because I would have liked to speak to you again on the subject of the construction of homes for our lowest wage earners.[12]

There is, of course, no insinuation that the provision of homes for the poor is not in every way a most worth-while objective; our argument concerns the fact that this very objective, couched in the terms that Princess Alice employed, in time of great Imperial danger, indicates

a change in the movement orientation of the IODE. This is even more strongly indicated by the words of the National President in the same year, 1943. Speaking of the battles that would lie ahead, and the emergencies for which the members would have to gird themselves, she concluded:

> Comforts for our Fighting Forces will be needed in an ever increasing quantity, both here and in England, so back to our knitting needles we must go in order that our men shall lack nothing in the way of help that we can possibly supply.[13]

The norm-oriented element that was so prominent in the position of the Order in the first two decades of the century has, in this instance, all but disappeared. The problem to be solved, the strain to be reduced, is perceived purely in technical and practical terms here. The troops need warm socks for the cold weather, let us knit! The emergency is not directed at the hearts, the minds, or the souls of men, but at their physical well-being. Just as in a panic, where people run unthinking to the nearest exit, intent only in fleeing the danger that threatens without the need for a "deeper" rationale, the statement of the National President in 1943 serves as a formalized "exit". Danger threatens and the solution to the problem lies in reconstituting the facilities level of the components of action, for it is not deemed necessary to go about the restructuring of the normative level. The panic, we are thus suggesting, is sociologically analogous to the facilities-oriented voluntary association in the same way that the norm-oriented movement is analogous to the reform type of voluntary association.

We must now turn to an examination of the participant orientation

present in the IODE at this time, and through this we may begin to see why, in fact, the facilities or mobilization oriented voluntary association, the direction in which the IODE was going, did not nurture panic episodes of collective behaviour.

The structure of the Order at the outbreak of the Second World War was such that the local chapters were able to maintain a high degree of individual autonomy. For a project to be initiated by some local chapter, in the name of the Order, the former had only to outline the general proposal to the National Executive, and once approval was obtained the chapter was on its own to carry out the project. As far as the records show, no project of a local chapter has ever been vetoed by the National Executive. At the beginning of the War in 1939, the National Executive met in special session to decide on the ways in which the challenge of the war was to be met. In examining the various projects and activities of the local chapters during the war, we must accept the point that some suggestion, if not direction, did come from the Executive Committee, but in the absence of direct evidence on the participational orientation of the members, a perusal of these local activities must suffice.

The volume of work and the variety of projects undertaken by the local chapters is very large indeed. In itself, crudely measured, it is almost all of an instrumental nature--in times of war and other national emergencies the activities of even the most expressive associations will veer towards the instrumental end of the continuum or be considered suspect by the involved population.[14] However, the general trend of the IODE projects, those which are cited in the literature of the Order as being of special importance, will tell us something of the orientations

of the individual members, for the activities that the members will select bear a close relation to the functions that the group has for him or her.

In a summary of the War work done by the Order, contained in the Golden Jubilee Book, almost two thirds of the space is taken up by an account of the Service Libraries' Department.[15] This work involved the supplying of purely recreational reading to the Armed Forces of Britain and the Allies, and was organized on a very large scale, nearly one and a half million books being distributed between 1939 and 1946. The other major projects undertaken appear to be those concerned with the provision of comforts, clothing, etc. to both military and civilian personnel in Europe. These account for over half of the five million dollars collected by the IODE in Canada during the War. In addition, a great deal of both organized and informal hospitality was extended by the members to the many War guests in Canada at the time. It is with relation to the last-mentioned activities that an element of a more expressive nature than we are used to observe in the work of the IODE, intrudes.

The description of one such project is worth quoting:

> In November 1942, realizing the necessity for providing entertainment on Sundays for Service men and women in the larger cities the question of special Sunday movies was explored with the authorities, including the Lord's Day Alliance, with the result that certain theatre managers accorded free shows on Sundays during the balance of the war.[16]

Further, reports of several local chapters according "help and friendly advice" to the families of servicemen training in Canada, are not infrequent. Another similar account tells of how "87 wedding outfits were secured...to be distributed on loan to British Service women, that they might be married in the traditional manner."[17]

The significance of these activities lies not so much in their intrinsic qualities as instrumentally or expressively oriented, but in their relation to the types of orientations that we have previously accorded to the members of the IODE. We note a tendency to select and participate in activities that seem to be more immediately gratifying than before: the collection and sorting of recreational books, the hospitality to War guests, the provision of bridal attire, are all not unpleasant tasks, and the latter two, at least, would certainly have provided immediate gratification and would have seemed to be ends in themselves. There is little mention of the patriotic or external purpose to these activities in the available literature. Indeed, a short passage at the end of the account of this war work, provides us with an excellent statement of the orientation of the mixed instrumental-expressive type:

> ...the real worth of the work lay not in its material values, but in <u>the spirit which inspired and sustained the members</u> through the years of the war. An organization composed of patriotic women which has the power to rally other patriots in a time of national emergency, is a power in the land.[18] (Emphasis added)

We do not wish to give the impression that, during the Second World War, the participant orientation of the IODE changed drastically and clearly from the instrumental to the expressive type.* We do wish to suggest, however, that a process of change in the orientation of the participants can be detected. This reservation also applies to the

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* For every piece of evidence that can be derived at this time for the expressive orientation, one can be derived for the instrumental. The important point, however, is that the reverse does <u>not</u> hold true for the earlier periods in the history of the Order. This also applies to movement orientation.

movement orientation analyzed at the beginning of this section. The IODE did not suddenly change from a norm-oriented movement to another type; nevertheless we can see a shift in the orientation of the movement in the direction of a change to a lower level component of action.

In bringing the story of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire up to the present day, to the Annual Meeting of June, 1965, we may see that the changes that were beginning to appear during World War Two have, in fact, developed into major alterations in both the movement orientation of the IODE and the orientation of its members.

The Debate on National Unity, Identity, and Culture. What the nineteenth century had been to America, the twentieth century was to have been for Canada. It is not the business of this study to enquire as to why there was nothing like as much immigration or development of natural resources in Canada as there had been in the United States. It will suffice to note that Canada today is critically underpopulated, that much of its natural wealth lies unexploited, and that around the council tables of man it occupies a place that is hardly influential. Whether the lack of a single and unambiguous national identity is the cause or effect, or both, of these conditions of Canadian life, is a question that has been occupying Canadian writers for years, and at no time with greater intensity than the present.[19] The category "Canadian" is not to be found even in the Census reports of Canada. One may have any national or ethnic origin, Italian, Ukrainian, Jewish, Eskimo, but not Canadian.[20] In the United States Census, on the other hand, one can be a Canadian, though a distinction is made between "French-Canadian" and "Canadian-Other".[21]

The concept of national identity is, of course, particularly elusive in a country like Canada, where a large proportion of a comparatively small and thinly spread population is either first or second generation immigrant.* In an attempt to promote national unity and thereby, presumably, to encourage the development of a national identity rooted within a peculiarly Canadian culture, the Liberal government of Mr. Pearson initiated two important projects. The first was the introduction of a new flag to replace the Red Ensign, a symbol of British interest and a constant reminder of the Dominion status of Canada. The second was the setting up of a Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism. We shall examine the responses of the IODE to each of these events.

The Flag Debate. On January 15, 1965, Mrs. McGibbon, the then National President of the IODE, was reported in the Hamilton Spectator as having greeted the news of the adoption of the maple leaf flag with the following words: "We fought the good fight and we lost. I would like to think if we had won, those who opposed the Red Ensign would be as agreeable as we are." What, then, did the "good fight" consist of?

The first mention of the issue to appear in the editorial columns of Echoes, came in the Winter edition of 1963. The reasons given for the retention of the Red Ensign included no direct mention of the terms "patriotism" or "Imperial unity", but were couched in fairly muted tones.

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* This point was brought home with particular clarity to the present writer in an interview conducted as part of a study of Urban Renewal in Hamilton during the summer of 1965. A woman who had been born in Ontario, whose parents had been born in Ontario, whose husband had been born in Ontario, and who had never lived outside of Ontario, was asked: If someone asked you your nationality, what would you say? Her answer was: "German."

The unity that was striven for was Canadian national unity, not world unity or even unity of the whole British Commonwealth of nations. "What better memorial to those early settlers could we have than the shield on the Ensign," the Editorialist says, thereby giving an impression that the major reason for the maintaining of this flag is to be found in Canadian history rather than in the history of the association of peoples that was the Empire. There is no defence of the Red Ensign and the Union Jack that is an integral part of it, in norm-oriented terms, there is no clear statement to the effect that the Flag contains the essence of the Nation, that to give it up will involve giving up all that has gone into making the Country what it is today, the sacrifices, the martyrdom, the hardships that were endured would thus have been endured for nothing. There is no mention of the great Imperial or Commonwealth purpose behind it all, and if this is missing in the debate over the Flag, surely one of the most powerful symbols in the history of man, then where should we expect to find it in the contemporary IODE? What we do find is a reference to the fact that both French and other Canadians fought together during the two World Wars of the twentieth century under the one flag, and so this flag should inspire us even more today.[22] The next editorial reference occurs almost a year later, and is notable for the offhanded way in which the matter is treated. The editorial says:

> Unity--this word is becoming increasingly important to each one of us everyday. There are those who say a new flag will unite Canada; others that a more general knowledge of the French language is the answer or greater tolerance on the part of the English Canadians. <u>All these factors may help</u> but they will never be enough while we continue to think of ourselves as individual provinces.[23] (Emphasis added.)

Now, not only is the full symbolic force of the Red Ensign as a normative influence neglected, but the official IODE publication in its editorial goes so far as to say that a new flag "may help" in the unification of Canada. There is no doubt that this position on the flag issue represents a considerable change in the orientation of the Order towards such matters. One can hardly imagine that the movement at its foundation or at the time of the first World War would have manifested such a mild attitude in a situation of similar significance.

The final decision of the IODE on the whole matter is reported by one newspaper, from an account of the deliberations of the 1965 Annual Meeting in Winnipeg as follows:

> When the Union Jack is displayed at social events, local chapters may decide whether the Canadian flag should also be displayed. However, the Canadian flag should be displayed, not carried, at national, provincial and municipal...meetings... It is placed to the right of the Union Jack and must not be lower than the British emblem.[24]

It is difficult to find many references to the actual "campaign" that the IODE carried out officially in its attempt to persuade Canada that it should retain the Red Ensign. Echoes is a glossy style magazine which contains about sixty pages in quarto. It is ideal for the powerful, mass media type of appeal that would arrest the eye with striking layout and illustration. A brief look at the magazine over the past few years suggests that this approach is neither repugnant nor foreign to the staff of Echoes: some excellent features have appeared on projects that have been carried out. In the summer issue of 1964 we find a two inch square picture of a fluttering Red Ensign, with a short message in normal typeset beneath. The message ends with the words: "A Canadian Red Ensign on every

IODE home across Canada would make an impressive showing. How about putting yours up today!!!"[25] Apart from the Winter Issue of 1963 to which we have already referred, and whose cover was a colour picture (the cover is always in colour) of the Ensign, this appears to be the extent of the "campaign" waged by Echoes.

The Annual Meetings of 1963 and 1964 had concerned themselves to some degree with the flag debate. In 1963 a resolution had been carried urging the government to drop the idea of the new flag, and the National Executive were reported to have sent letters to this effect to the political parties of Canada. In 1964 a recommendation that the Canadian people should be given the opportunity of a plebiscite on the flag issue was passed. At this late stage when the debate had reached a temporally advanced state in Parliament, the National Secretary announced the details of the practical fight that the Order was sponsoring. Two letters had been written to the Prime Minister and the leaders of the opposition parties in the last year on the matter, and:

> every member had been urged to write, telephone or talk to her own electoral Member of Parliament, stressing her distinct preference for the Ensign. Also, in support of the Red Ensign, funds made available by an anonymous donor had been used to purchase flag stickers, letterhead stickers, and pamphlets from the Canadian Patriotic Association for distribution to every chapter in Canada.[26]

The terms of this opposition to the introduction of the new flag do not reach up to the normative level of protest. Judging from this issue and the response to it, therefore, we may claim that the IODE was no longer a norm-oriented movement, that its orientation was more concerned with the lower level components of action. The solutions to problems and the

eradication of strains was attempted at the levels of facilities and the mobilization of motivation for the fulfillment of roles.

We must now turn to an analysis of the orientations of the participants in the IODE at this time in order to ascertain if the change in the movement orientation of the Order was accompanied by a change in the participant orientation.

In itself, in the context of the participant orientation dimension with which we are dealing, the flag debate seems an ideal vehicle for the promotion of instrumental type orientations. If the participant orientation to the IODE had not changed from the highly instrumental condition of the first quarter of the century, we should have expected, at the least, a flood of letters from the members to the correspondence columns of their own magazine, Echoes. From 1960 to 1965, the widest limits of the flag debate, there was precisely one letter that referred to the flag, there were none at all concerning any other aspect of patriotism, nor were there any in this period that could even broadly be considered political.*

An excerpt from a letter written in the autumn of 1963 will show the preoccupation of one member from British Columbia, at the time when the new flag was becoming a distinct possibility:

> everyone wants to be happy in her personal and community life, and to do this we must make sure that every new member is made to feel she belongs and be given something to do. As a member who can look back over forty years, I feel that today new members have to wait a long time before they "sit up front" or are asked for their opinions.[27]

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*For a breakdown of all the letters written to Echoes since the beginning of its correspondence column in 1949, see Table 4, page 135 below.

This is an important statement of an expressive nature, one that does not have, or need in this context, a justification. In the following year, in the very thick of the flag debate, Echoes published the winning entry in a competition for the best article on "What the IODE offers to young members", and once again the issue is prominent by its absence. What the article does say, however, is very interesting for our purposes. Let us summarize its main points. Membership, it is said, gives an opportunity for holding responsible positions; one can derive feelings of pride through helping others; one derives a feeling of belonging; one may learn handicrafts and home arts; one gains respect in the community; one has a great deal of fun; one can show loyalty to the Queen; one can show patriotism by "repeating the Prayer of the Order."[28] Eight items are thus evident from the evaluation of one young member of the IODE. Of these, all but the last two can be considered to have some expressive content, while all but perhaps the third and fourth have instrumental content. Patriotism in general, though considered important, is by no means offered as the raison d'etre of the Order, there are certainly many other reasons, and not minor reasons, for which the members participate. The flag debate in particular is not deemed sufficiently important for mention, or perhaps it is considered irrelevant. In either case, there seems to be little doubt that a shift has taken place in the participant orientation of both the writer and the judges of the winning article in the competition, and this shift is in the direction of the expressive pole of the instrumental-expressive dimension.

The case of the flag debate with reference to the participant

orientation of the members of the IODE has rested on circumstantial evidence. What we are claiming is that because the members did not take advantage of a potentially instrumental situation, one that would have given an excellent opportunity for their movement to fulfill instrumental functions for them, this strongly suggests that the participant orientation of the members of the Order was no longer of the instrumental type, that it was the expressive needs of their participation that they required to fulfil, or be fulfilled.

Therefore, with relation to the flag debate, we may claim to have found that the change in the movement orientation of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire was accompanied by a change in the orientation of the participants. Further, the directions of these changes are located in the movement orientation from the normative to the lower level components of social action, and in the participant orientation from the instrumental to the expressive.

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. (Hereinafter the B & B Commission.) Our task is made somewhat simpler here than in the preceding section, by the existence of a clear and concise brief that the IODE prepared for the Commission in July, 1964, and which contains the official movement attitudes to the various issues under discussion.

There can be no doubt about the movement orientation to the task of the B & B Commission. The brief states positively that:

> It is our hope that the Commission is aware that Bilingualism and Biculturalism are matters of taste and necessity and not matters that can be imposed by legislative action. Compulsion or legislative action from the "top down" will not solve the "problem."[29]

This is a rejection of a solution at the normative level, for as Smelser specifically states, norm-oriented movements typically resort to action aimed at "passing a law".* It will be worth our while to carefully examine the five actual recommendations that the IODE made to the Commission, in order that we may determine the component or components of action at which they were aimed.**

The first recommendation was that Ottawa be created a Federal "District", in order that it might the more easily develop into a bilingual city. This is a purely practical suggestion and one which lies at the facilities level of social action; making Ottawa a Federal "District" would have the effect of changing the situational facilities available for the solution of the problem.

Next, the Order recommended that priority should be given to bilingual Civil servants, pari passu, who come into contact with the public. This response to the strain brought about by the problems of national identity, is on the mobilization level, as it concerns role performance and capacity.

The third point suggests that instantaneous translation service be provided for all Federal Commissions when needed. This is clearly a technical solution at the lowest, most specific level of the facilities component of social action.

The fourth recommendation was the one cited above to the effect that no legislation be enacted on the matter, and as was noted, this is a denial of the normative orientation.

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* See above, chapter 3, footnote 13.

** See table 1, page 52 , as a guide to the following analysis.

The last recommendation consisted of a plan to create a Council of Education Ministers that might facilitate the standardization of the Canadian school system and thereby make bilingualism and thus biculturalism more possible. This suggestion is an attempt to correct the stressful situation at the mobilization of motivation for organized action component. The creation of new roles or allocation of people to specific roles or organizations, such as an education council thus falls short of a normative solution to the problems.[30]

In the light of the evidence offered there can be little doubt that, in the context of the B & B Commission and problems of national unity and identity, the IODE displayed a markedly non-normative orientation. The movement orientation of the Order towards this issue was a mixture of the facilities and the mobilization types.

The dearth of correspondence on any issue makes it once more difficult to ascertain directly the participant orientation of the members of the Order to the activities involved in the work for the B & B Commission. That the National Executive composed the aforementioned brief was probably less due to organization oligarchy or membership apathy than to the fact that the Daughters of the Empire were mostly busy with other projects, and were quite content to permit the duly elected National officers to speak for them in this instance. Only one piece of direct evidence can be offered for the participant orientation to the specific problems of the commission. This is contained in a letter to Echoes from an Ontario member on her experiences with the Eskimos over two summers. "I went up strictly on my own because I am

very interested in and fond of these people," she said, and continued, "it was a most satisfying experience and I was proud to say they were my friends."[31] This, then, is how "one member of the IODE is trying in her small way to reach out the hand of friendship to a truly fine race of people."[32]

The orientation of this member of the Order to this activity in which the IODE was certainly involved was plainly expressive. She obviously derived immediate gratification from the visits, and there was no insinuation that the activity was a means to some further end. Friendship with the Eskimos was an end in itself, needing no further justification. Only with respect to the point that the activity involves persons outside the group does it bear some instrumental function, but even here the outsider is not some faceless beneficiary or nameless stranger, but a valued friend. There is no indication in the literature of the IODE that any participant feels very much different about these activities.

The work of the IODE in helping new immigrants is especially relevant to an understanding of the participant orientation towards activities involved with national unity and identity. It is obvious from a report on Naturalization Court ceremonies that the IODE was represented far more frequently at these ceremonies than any other Canadian organization.[33] This representation was the work of the local chapters, whose members looked after, in varying ways, the immigration courts in their own districts. By examining the types of activities in which the members indulged in this context, we shall arrive at an evaluation of the

participant orientation of the members of the IODE in their dealings with immigrants.

Much of the work of the local chapters seemed to consist of preparing the new Canadian for the technical requirements of the court ceremony. As the Citizenship Council report explains:

> The local IODE Chapter, with the assistance of the Court House, sends each applicant the necessary information. Immediately prior to the Court hearing, a class is called in the Court House where IODE members explain the material and acquaint candidates with Courtroom procedure.[34]

Intrinsically, this is fairly instrumental activity. It does, probably, involve deferred gratification though there is no real indication of what the future gratification might be in the statement. It deals with persons outside the immediate IODE group, though in fact the Order does attempt to gain members from these activities. Finally, the activity represents a means to the end of putting immigrants successfully through the Naturalization ceremony. However, relative to the history and the tradition of the IODE, the activity takes on a new light. Neither in the report cited nor in any recent IODE literature do we find any reference to a further end of this activity than the proper and dignified conducting of the ceremony itself. There is no indication that the work of the Order here will make the immigrant a better or a more patriotic citizen.*

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*In the minutes of the Annual Meeting for 1965 of this IODE department there is no mention of the terms 'patriotism' or 'national unity'. The major achievements are of the genre of the distribution of 14,045 Greeting Cards to new immigrants.

There is no reason to believe that the IODE does not think that its work does contribute to helping immigrants to be more patriotic, it is not mentioned, we surmise, because it is no longer relevant to the present members as it would have been to their predecessors in the Order. This particular example shows a mixed instrumental-expressive orientation to the immigration activity of the Order.

Two further incidents show an even greater degree of expressive orientation to these ceremonies. In one, it was reported that in a local account of the ceremony the members of the IODE who had been present received the attention, and the new citizens were all but ignored.[35] The other example is even more striking. The Citizenship Council pamphlet describes it thus:

> the IODE wanted to bring a Union Jack into the courtroom to place beside the Queen's picture and the Judge refused to allow the flag to be used. This has caused quite a controversy towards the ceremony.[36]

This latter citation gives the clear impression that the members of the IODE were as much, if not more concerned with self-gratification in the ceremony, as they were with the immigrants' welfare. The incident scores high on all of the three aspects of the expressive participant orientation. The gratification sought was immediate, the activity was an end in itself, and the activity seems to have been directed mainly to the group rather than the others present. That the naturalization ceremony is perceived as less of a political than a social activity, is also an important pointer to the expressive functions that this activity fulfils for the members of the Order. A great deal of thought has gone into arranging successful social gatherings immediately following the

ceremonies, and "IODE sponsors...had found it preferable to extend invitations also to men and women of the community so that there is a two-way exchange of sociability...a musical item is arranged followed by one speaker, the presentation of IODE cards and light refreshments."[37]

From this evidence, there can be little doubt that the participant orientation towards the activities examined were more expressive than instrumental. Not only with reference to meetings with new immigrants can this assertion be made, but also for official IODE Annual meetings.

In fact, the emphasis on immediate gratification appears with the frequency that once characterized loyalty and patriotism. In the report of the 1963 Annual Meeting the following statement is to be found:

> An innovation in Victoria was the Friendship Room, manned continuously... Delegates and members were urged to drop in at any time and to make "Friendship" the keynote of the meeting. This room functioned so easily and so well that it was a tremendous success.
>
> The many social events indicated that much thought and preparation had gone into the plans for our pleasure and relaxation.[38]

Thus, we may contrast the statements that "the keynote of 1916 was loyalty in its highest forms" with that asserting the intention in 1963 "to make Friendship the keynote of the meeting". The direction of participant orientation change is undeniably from the instrumental to the expressive over time.

In the two examples of issues facing the IODE, the flag debate and the problems of national identity and unity, we have presented evidence to show that as the movement orientation of the Order became more and more concerned with components of social action at a lower level than the normative, these changes were accompanied by changes in the

orientations of the participants in this voluntary association from the instrumental to the expressive type. The evidence available for the substantiation of the latter claim is more indirect than that for the former, and so we have scoured the IODE literature for some further corroboration of our statements on the contemporary participant orientation of the members of the Order.

An examination of all the letters written to the correspondence columns of Echoes from 1949 when the column started to the summer issue of 1965, shows that almost two hundred letters appeared,* and these may be distributed into seven categories, of which two are plainly indicative of the fact that instrumental functions are being fulfilled by the Order for the writer, two are mixed instrumental-expressive categories, and the remaining three are almost purely expressive.

Table 4

Letters received between 1949 and 1965

	Instrumental		Mixed		Expressive		
Categories	political & patriotic	IODE projects	'Empire' letters	sugges-tions	local news	thank you letters	praise of Echoes
Number of Letters	11	21	6	21	46	18	71
Category Totals	32		27		135		

This measure of participant orientation favours overwhelmingly the interpretation that the members of the IODE are more liable to have

* In a personal interview with the editor of the magazine, the writer was informed that every letter received is published. The editor added that often she has had trouble in keeping the column going, due to a general shortage of material. No censorship is applied, or, presumably required.

expressive needs fulfilled for them by their voluntary association than instrumental needs. Even if we leave out the largest single category, that which includes the letters of congratulation that the members were frequently sending to the editor for her work, (in the year 1961 when a new format was introduced 18 out of the total of 25 letters for the four issues were in this category), the same pattern remains. The letters of an expressive nature still outnumber by two to one those of either an instrumental or a mixed nature.

In this respect, therefore, our statements about the increasingly expressive participant orientations of the members of the IODE are supported.

The content of Echoes will also supply some relevant information on this question. The assumption was made that the proportion of space devoted in Echoes to items, (a) of immediate gratification, (b) that could be considered as ends in themselves, and (c) that had particular orientation to members of the group, is a fair indicator of the functions that the association fulfils for its members, insofar as the members buy the magazine and have easy recourse to criticism. Therefore, we examined the amount of space given to fashion and cookery material as a percentage of the total magazine space for four randomly selected periods between 1900 and 1965. The results of this analysis are shown in Table 5 below.

We may derive two conclusions from this table. Firstly, that measured in this manner, the participant orientation of the members of the IODE is about three times more expressive at the present than it was

Table 5

Expressive Content in Echoes for Four Time Periods.*

Time Period	1921-25	1932-36	1947-51	1961-65
Expressive Content of total pages.	4%	6%	11%	12%

at the end of the first World War. Secondly, that the significant change in the orientation, perceived in this way, took place during the Second World War. This is a further corroboration of the argument set forth in the second section of the present chapter.

With the extra backing of the evidence contained in tables 4 and 5, we now feel that a firm base has been laid for the establishment of the propositions and the corroboration of the remaining hypotheses of this study.

Let us deal first with the hypothesis concerning the movement orientation of the IODE, hypothesis 3.** As we demonstrated in the last chapter and in the first section of the present chapter, the movement orientation of the IODE, in the first decades of the century, was of a decidedly normative character. Our appraisal of the responses of the Order to the problems and strains of the Second World War and to the contemporary issues of Canadian identity has shown that the solutions sought by the IODE have been increasingly directed to the facilities and the mobilization levels of action.

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* This does not include other expressive content such as film notes, book reviews, local photographs (of which there are very large numbers), or 'gossip-type' columns. Impressionistically, we conclude that the Instrumental content has decreased even more than Expressive content has increased.

** See above, pp. 71-2 , for the propositions and hypotheses of this study.

Therefore, as hypothesis 3 states: There has been a shift over time in the movement orientation of the IODE down the scale of the components of social action.

Likewise, we have shown that the participant orientation of the members of the Order, analyzed comparatively for the two World Wars, as well as for the time of the foundation of the voluntary association and the present, though still in some respects instrumental, has certainly become more expressive over the years.

Therefore, as hypothesis 4 states: The participant orientation of the members of the IODE has, over time, become more expressive.

Hypothesis 5 attempted to find some theoretical basis for the existence of the voluntary association that fulfills both instrumental and expressive functions for its participant members. We have pointed out in our analysis of the process of change in the IODE that there was no drastic reversal of participant orientation, that the change was directional rather than absolute.

Therefore, as hypothesis 5 states: The IODE is an example of the mixed instrumental-expressive type of voluntary association at the present time.

These hypotheses, along with the two concerning the origin of the IODE as a norm-oriented/instrumental voluntary association which were substantiated in chapter 3, suggest three general propositions on the process of change in voluntary associations.

From hypotheses 1, 2, 3, and 4, we note that a change in the movement orientation of the IODE was accompanied by a change in the participant

orientation, and that the evidence strongly suggests that these two factors are causally linked. The decision as to the direction of this causal link is outside the limits of this thesis, but we should tentatively assert that the relationship between movement and participant orientations is of a dialectical nature, changes in each might affect the other, and perhaps that a change in one requires a change in the other before either of the changes are effectively felt.

Therefore, from the case of the IODE, there is considerable support for the theoretical statement of proposition 1: As the movement orientation of a voluntary association moves down the scale of the components of social action, then the participant orientation of the members will become more expressive.

Though the case of the IODE can give no direct support to it, the structure of our argument suggests the feasibility of proposition 2: As the movement orientation of a voluntary association moves up the scale of the components of social action, then the participant orientation of the members will become more instrumental.

Our approach has emphasized the slowness and gradual character of the changes that take place, and has attempted to show that, especially with reference to the participant orientation of the members of a voluntary association, the transitional stage between a high degree of instrumental orientation and a high degree of expressive orientation, may last a considerable length of time. Therefore, from the empirical evidence that corroborated hypothesis 5, we may infer proposition 3: During the time when a change in the movement orientation of a voluntary association is taking place, a mixed instrumental-expressive participant orientation will be found.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 4

Review of Some Supporting Sources. In order that additional credence may be lent to the general propositions of this study,* we shall briefly examine three voluntary associations, The Townsend Movement, the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, and Feminism.

The Townsend Movement. On New Year's Day, 1934, a Doctor Francis Townsend of California, announced officially the details of a plan that was to provide two hundred dollars each month to every American over sixty years of age with the provision that all the money would be spent within one month from receipt. Thus the problems of the American economy would be solved.[39] Later in 1934 an office was established in Washington and "the major effort was directed towards influencing Congress to provide the Plan by legislation."[40] Thus the Townsend Movement as originally conceived falls into the class of norm-oriented movements and indeed Smelser deals with it in this manner throughout his work. What of the functions that the Townsend movement fulfilled for its members? "The Plan," Cantril states, "would theoretically provide security, employment in congenial tasks, medical care, education."[41] There is little doubt that expressive orientations played a part in much of the participation in the movement in its early years, but the instrumental function, the fact that something was to be derived from participation over and above participation itself, is undeniable.

Messinger has given a pointed account of the ways in which the movement has changed since the 1930s, and in our terms, we note that the

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* Only propositions 1 and 2 will be involved in this section, as corroboration of proposition 3 would take a much more complete analysis than this section permits.

change in the movement orientation in this period has been accompanied by a change in the participant orientation. When the Social Security Act was passed in 1935 part of the major objective of Townsend's plan was, in fact realized, though it must be remembered that Townsend had been campaigning for $200 per month and the Act provided only $85.* The objectives of the movement, however, underwent radical changes. The emphasis moved from the normative goal of national legislation for correcting the weaknesses in the American economy and abolishing the perceived injustice to the elderly, to a preoccupation with holding the organization together, action at the mobilization level, and ensuring practical, financial support, mainly by the sale of consumer goods. This latter response to the problems of the association is clearly at the facilities level of the components of social action.

The participant orientation, as described by Messinger, is clearly expressive. Membership meetings have now the characteristics of purely social gatherings, and social rather than political purposes seem almost exclusively to dominate most of the movement's activities. The story of the ideologically vocal 'Townsendite' who failed to achieve re-election as President of a group in California in 1953, strongly reinforces the interpretation that the previously instrumental orientation of the participating members of the Townsend Movement has changed largely in the expressive direction.

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* Actually the figure was from a minimum of $10 to a maximum of $85. per month. See E. M. Burns, Towards Social Security, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1936, p.16.

The example of the Townsend Movement, as a voluntary association, thus corroborates our first proposition.

The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. (NFIP). In its thirty year history the NFIP has all but successfully accomplished its major objective: the elimination of epidemic infantile paralysis.[42] We may say that the Foundation originated as a mixed facilities and mobilization-oriented movement, for as it is pointed out by Sills in his remarks on the early years of the NFIP, the objectives were practical and technical; in the terms of our thesis, the solutions to the problems that the disease presented were not perceived to be located at the normative or value levels but at the lower levels on the scale of the components of social action. The participant orientation of the volunteers working with the Foundation over time is not available from Sills' book, though we may make some tentative statements on the basis of what he says on the types of people who joined, his typology of recruits. In this, four categories emerge: humanitarian, certainly indicative of instrumental orientation; polio veterans and good citizens, probably encompassing persons with mixed orientation; and joiners, the most expressive of the four categories. The percentages fitting into each type of Sills' sample of 234, were respectively, 12, 18, 28, and 42. The distinction between self and other oriented that Sills introduces does not help our analysis.[43] Thus, on the indirect evidence available, we suggest that the NFIP can be regarded as a voluntary association fulfilling mixed instrumental-expressive functions for its members.

The change in the NFIP is hypothetically predicted by Sills in

the conclusion of his study. Aspects of its work which might well play a significant part in the future of the Foundation include:

> new concepts of fund-raising, of patient care, and of community responsibility...It is therefore highly probable that...it will expand its operations by adopting a goal which has even more relevance for American society than that of eliminating infantile paralysis as an epidemic disease. 44

The highly suggestive phrase "even more relevance" leads one to the conclusion that the foremost student of the NFIP expects it to concern itself in the not too distant future with matters of wider significance than the problems of a particular disease. The Foundation, Sills asserts, is no longer a special purpose association. In our terms, we should expect the NFIP to become a norm-oriented movement.

The orientation of the volunteers has plainly become more instrumental with the processes that have led to the hypothesized changes in the movement orientation. Thus, as Sills argues:

> These characteristics of the Foundation have led many Volunteers to perceive the organization as a "social movement", and have thus provided Volunteers with an ideological rationale for their own participation... the activities of Volunteers...have in themselves been instrumental in bringing other ends in view. 45

The term "instrumental" as used by Sills is accidental but noteworthy. It suggests that the functions that the NFIP is now more likely to fulfil for its participating members will be of an instrumental nature, pointing to ends beyond the immediate satisfaction in helping others, and implying that the activities so carried out have significance for the wider society as a whole rather than some segment of it.

Therefore, in some ways a mirror image of the IODE in the direction

of the changes that appear to be taking place in both the movement and the participant orientation, the case of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis corroborates our second proposition.

Feminism

In treating Feminism in Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a single social movement rather than a series of pressure groups, the Banks' have given us the opportunity to utilize our first proposition.[46] The most militant wing of the movement, the suffragettes, were unquestionably women with marked instrumental participant orientations to a norm-oriented movement. The major objectives were legislative and concerned with regulatory agencies to enforce norms, those of political and social emancipation of women. The activities, such as chaining themselves to public places and street-corner harangeing, were obviously of an instrumental nature.

The Feminist movement today, the Banks' liken to the vegetarian or nudist movements, and this judgment appears to be accurate in light of the fact that women's rights associations in contemporary Britain rarely attempt to achieve their objectives through the courts, but limit their activities to the more technical levels of action, usually the facilities level in our scheme. They continue that "the absence of sex equality in itself has not been sufficient either to prolong the life of feminist organizations or to give rise to a new movement."[47] People are far more liable to drop out of voluntary associations that are fulfilling expressive functions for them than those that are fulfilling instrumental

functions for them. The reasons for this assertion are obvious; expressive needs are a priori more diffuse than instrumental needs, there are very many more agencies available in society to fulfil the former than the latter. Indeed, a hypothesis that might follow from this study is that "persons with instrumental orientations to a voluntary association (or social movement) are more liable to remain in the organization, especially under conditions of social opposition, than are persons with expressive orientations." The question of why, once women have gained entry to occupations they seem content with a subordinate position to the men in the occupation, is posed by the Banks', and the very issue suggests its own answer in the terms of our general proposition. Where the movement orientation has moved down the components of social action, it is accompanied by a change from instrumental to expressive participant orientations. The fulfillment of expressive functions can be better carried out by other voluntary associations than the Feminist movement, which does not enjoy very widespread popular approval, and so the movement has declined. The same type of explanation could be given for the drastic slump in the membership of the Townsend movement.

Therefore, our theoretical statements, the propositions of this study, appear to have some explanatory value for the prediction of change, decline, and, we should expect, success of voluntary associations.

Our purpose here has been modest. We have attempted to show that evidence from other case studies does not contradict the types of explanations that we have offered for the changes that have taken place

within the IODE in the body of the thesis. Brick by brick, the structure that is a theory of social behaviour is built, but this structure, to be a scientific theory, can never be complete. By combining elements of a theory of collective behaviour with work from the field of voluntary associations, and by applying the results of this theoretical synthesis to a case study of a voluntary social movement, we have laid the foundations to such a structure in the hope that a small part of the cosmic complexity that is social life may thereby be illuminated.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER 4

1. Reported in Echoes, 3, 1916, p. 18.
2. Report on Educational Work, ibid., p. 24.
3. Ibid., 1, 1916, p. 7.
4. Minutes, 1916, p. 30.
5. 3, 1916, p. 42.
6. Minutes, 1916, p. 9.
7. 3, 1916, p. 39.
8. Minutes, 1944, pp. 9-15.
9. Ibid., p. 10.
10. Minutes, 1942, p. 11.
11. Golden Jubilee Book, op.cit., p. 12.
12. Minutes, 1943, p. 10.
13. Ibid. p. 12.
14. See, for example, the Nazi view of the British Boy Scouts, in William L. Shirer, The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960, p. 784.
15. Golden Jubilee Book, op.cit., pp. 69-87; 11 out of the 19 pages are devoted to the work of the libraries' department.
16. Golden Jubilee Book, op.cit., pp. 73-74.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., p. 76.
19. See, for example, W. L. Morton, The Canadian Identity, Madison; University of Wisconsin Press, 1961; F. H. Underhill, The Image of Confederation, Toronto: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, n.d.; and George Grant, Lament for a Nation, Toronto: Hollinger House, 1965. These books give the Conservative, Liberal and "mixed traditionalist" views of the problem, respectively.

20. Census of Canada, Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961, Series 2.1.

21. U. S. Department of Commerce, Enumerator's Reference Manual, Washington: Bureau of the Census, 1950, p. 35.

22. Echoes, 4, 1963, p. 3.

23. Ibid., 3, 1964, p. 2.

24. Toronto Daily Star, May 31, 1965.

25. Echoes, 2, 1964, p. 2.

26. Ibid., 3, 1964, p. 55.

27. Ibid., 3, 1963, p. 4.

28. Ibid., 4, 1964, p. 18.

29. IODE Presentation, Toronto: 1964, p. 3. (Mimeographed).

30. Ibid., p. 4, and passim.

31. Echoes, 3, 1964, p. 4.

32. Ibid.

33. Canadian Citizenship Council, Naturalization Court Ceremonies, Ottawa: 1958, (mimeo.), p. 3.

34. Ibid., p. 14.

35. Ibid., p. 18.

36. Ibid., p. 19.

37. Ibid., p. 10.

38. Echoes, 3, 1963, p. 4.

39. See Hadley Cantril, The Psychology of Social Movements, New York: Wiley, 1963, Ch. 7; Bruce Mason, "The Townsend Movement", Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, 35(1954), pp. 36-47; Richard L. Neuberger and Kelley Low, "The Old People's Crusade", Harper's Magazine, March, 1936, pp. 426-38; and Messinger, op.cit.

40. Mason, op.cit., p. 38.

41. Cantril, op.cit., p. 201.

42. Sills, The Volunteers, op.cit., p. 69. This section on the NFIP is based entirely on Sills' study.

43. Ibid., p. 102, and Chapter 3 passim.

44. Ibid., pp. 266-69.

45. Ibid., p. 271.

46. J. A. and Olive Banks, "Feminism and Social Change - A Case Study of a Social Movement", in Zollschan and Hirsch, op.cit., 547-69. See also Robert Graves and Alan Hodge, The Long Weekend, New York: Norton, 1963, Chapter 3, for some interesting background material.

47. Banks, op.cit., p. 556.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The objective of this thesis has been to explain the changes that have taken place in the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, a Canadian women's patriotic voluntary association, during its sixty-five year history. We first reviewed at some length the sociology of voluntary associations and traced out the development of this field, showing the incidence of at least two important trends, namely the relations between the association and its social environment, and between the association and the participation patterns of its membership. The latter of these, measured on the instrumental-expressive dimension, and modified by relativisation in the face of situational factors, supplied one of the two major conceptual bulwarks of the thesis.

The second conceptual bulwark was derived from Smelser's theory of collective behaviour, and we applied the general framework of this theory to the field of voluntary associations. The basic assumption involved here is that voluntary associations represent the formalized aspect of collective behaviour, and may thus be analyzed within the same conceptual categories.

Therefore, by synthesizing the participant orientation of the

members of a voluntary association, (on the instrumental-expressive dimension), with the movement orientation of the association to which they belong, (value, norm, mobilization, or facilities oriented), we were able to generate a series of general propositions with relation to the process of change in voluntary associations.*

With this foundation of a theory of voluntary associations to guide us, we found that, on the basis of a good deal of comparative, documentary evidence, there did, in fact, appear to be some relationship between changes in the movement orientation of the IODE and changes in the orientations of its participants.** The specific hypotheses of the study, those with direct relevance to the changes in the IODE, were corroborated in chapters III and IV. A very brief section at the end of chapter IV lent further support to propositions 1 and 2, from an examination of secondary sources.

The relation between directly testable hypotheses and general propositions is rarely simple. In this study the hen and egg problem applies. Certain theoretical devices encouraged the writer to look for particular empirical phenomena, and the conjuncture of events or processes further suggested the form of the theoretical synthesis articulated in propositions 1 and 2. The empirical evidence from our case study, the IODE, corroborated our theory and it may be further tested with little difficulty. If, for example, the movement orientation of a voluntary

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* See above, page 71.

** See above, pages 71-2.

association is shown to have moved down the scale of the components of social action, and no accompanying shift in the expressive direction of the participant orientation is discovered, then the theory expounded here will have been falsified.

Limitations of the Study

The main limitation of the study is that the most direct method of ascertaining the participant orientations of members of the IODE over time, has not been available to us, and that we have had to rely generally on indirect evidence. It is just possible, though not at all likely, that the documented sources from which we have extracted the participant orientation of members of the Order, have concealed the "real" orientations; however, as Nadel points out in the context of anthropological fieldwork, the method of direct verbal enquiry, which may of course include the questionnaire method, is open to the same type of limitation.[2] It is our submission that a deep immersion in the history and literature of a voluntary association will give the investigator a satisfactory basis for judging the relative intensities and directions of changes in the participant orientations of its members.

The second limitation of this study is that space has not been available to test the validity of the general propositions in the case of voluntary associations apart from the IODE. The secondary sources cited* support the propositions, but the theory requires more evidence before

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* See Appendix to Chapter IV.

its proper explanatory powers can be fully demonstrated.

Thirdly, proposition 3, concerning the notion that the mixed instrumental-expressive orientation of participants will be found in voluntary associations undergoing change in movement-orientation, is considered to be the most tentative of the propositions put forth. That it requires some modification is clear from the case of, for example, the norm-oriented and expressive type of voluntary association. Were some change down the scale of action components to take place, then propositions 1 and 3 would, in their present form, conflict. A resolution of this dilemma might take the form of limiting proposition 3 to what we might term, borrowing from Etzioni, <u>congruent</u> types of voluntary associations.[3] These would be those associations that combined a value or normative movement orientation with an instrumental participant orientation, or alternatively a facilities of mobilization with an expressive orientation. Thus, in our typology of voluntary associations, the congruent types would occupy cells 3, 4, 5, and 6.* The presumption would be that all other types of voluntary associations would be straining towards one of the congruent types, that, in a sense, a mixed instrumental-expressive participant orientation will be unsatisfactory for the membership. There will come a time when the participants will have to chose between the two types of orientations, and if our theory has any predictive power, we should expect that this decision will bear an important relationship to the changes that take place in the movement orientation of the voluntary association, and <u>vice versa.</u>

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* See above, Table 2, page 68.

Our approach to voluntary associations, emphasizing their voluntary character in preference to their organizational character tends to ignore much excellent work that has been carried out in the sociology of organizations. The reason for this is not a low regard for such studies, but our view that they are not especially relevant for our purposes. Blau and Scott, for instance, classify all organizations on the criterion of the "prime beneficiary",[4] which might either be the membership, the owners, the clients, or the public-at-large. Voluntary associations are therefore not distinguished as such in this classification, and might fit into at least three of the four types, (voluntary associations do not usually have owners).

Etzioni distinguishes two types of voluntary associations within his general typology of organizations.[5] The basis of the distinction is that some associations require active participation and high commitment to function properly, whereas others can only do so as long as there is low commitment and participation. This would result in the mass political party and the choir on the one hand; and the tennis club with limited facilities and a large membership and the oligarchical union on the other hand being classified together. This crude distinction is clearly unsatisfactory for our purposes.

Finally, a recent paper by two students of voluntary associations purports to deny that they are a special type of organization at all.[6] This, however, does not prevent them from constructing a typology of voluntary associations on the basis of the 'assumed value function' of

their activities. Four types emerge, viz., performance, sociable, symbolic (or ideological), and productive, and though the authors reject the instrumental-expressive dimension implicitly[7] the assumed value function, as a function of the association for the members, appears to be simply a less incisive or more diffuse version of the dimension that we have used throughout this study.

What we have attempted to show, therefore, is that the process of change in voluntary associations need be neither a problem of power nor authority relations, but may be fruitfully analyzed in terms of the participant orientation and the movement orientation.

Possible Developments of the Thesis

The contents of this thesis are in the form of theoretical suggestions for or the foundations of a theory of change in voluntary associations. The first and obvious development of this study would be to subject the propositions to extensive testing, by forming hypotheses about various types of voluntary associations. Such cases as the changes in the labour unions of the United States, those in the left of centre political parties of Europe, and the growth of the Peace Movement, would appear to be particularly susceptible to the kind of analysis that we have put forward in the body of the thesis.

The study of fan clubs and recreational bodies of one sort or another may also be undertaken by means of the conceptual categories used here, and our theoretical statements will prove useful where change has

to be explained for these voluntary associations.

Further, we have provided a more comprehensive and discriminating typology of voluntary associations than we have come across in our detailed analysis of the literature in the field. Thus, we may now classify all voluntary associations on sociological criteria, and there might also exist the possibility of utilizing this classification for organizations that are not normally considered voluntary. Our typology might, for example, illuminate some of the differences that can be found among religious bodies, especially the Protestant denominations, and perhaps the groups within the Jewish faith. We may hypothesize that as the movement orientation of the religious group moves down the scale of the components of social action then the participant orientation of the worshippers will become more expressive. That is to say, the less crusading and more concerned with the supplying of services a church or synagogue becomes, then the more liable are the members to see the activities of the religion as ends in themselves, as immediately gratifying, and as relevant to and concerned with the in-group.

Therefore, it can be seen that the conceptual framework within which we investigated the process of change in the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, is readily applicable to a wide range of voluntary and perhaps other types of associations.

Voluntary associations are the main stuff of no society, yet they are probably present in one form or another in almost all societies. The enormous variety of these forms often confounds the student of social

behaviour, but the task of social science is to select from the total complex, and to order the selection in some meaningful fashion. The art of science is to do this without the loss of all the richness and subtlety of social life. It is fitting that we should conclude this analysis of the changes that have taken place in the IODE over the past sixty-five years, with a couplet from Yeats' "A Prayer for my Daughter":

> It's certain that fine women eat
> A crazy salad with their meat.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER 5

1. cf. N. S. Timasheff, "Order, Causality, and Conjuncture", in L. Gross, (ed.), Symposium on Sociological Theory, Evanston, Ill.: Row, 1959, pp. 145-164, esp. pp. 150-59.

2. S. F. Nadel, The Foundation of Social Anthropology, London: Cohen and West, 1963, pp. 35-39.

3. Amitai Etzioni, op.cit., pp. 87-88.

4. Peter M. Blau and W. Richard Scott, Formal Organizations, San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1962, pp. 42-5.

5. Etzioni, op.cit., p. 23.

6. Charles K. Warriner and J. E. Prather, "Four Types of Voluntary Associations", Sociological Inquiry, 35(1955), pp. 138-148, esp. p. 138.

7. Ibid., p. 139.

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