Women's Organizations are Different: Their Response to Shifts in Canadian Policy

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Women's voluntary organizations are different:
Their response to shifts in Canadian public policy[1]

There are an estimated 200,000 nonprofit, nongovernmental organizations in Canada today offering a wide array of services to all segments of the population, ranging from food banks, women's shelters, children's aid societies, and immigrant service organizations to environmental protection agencies, opera companies and sporting societies (Browne, 1996).   A significant, but unknown, percentage of voluntary organizations are led by women and governed by boards that are predominantly made up of women.[2] Despite the pervasiveness of these organizations, there has been little research focusing on them. We seek to redress this neglect by comparing 351 women's voluntary organizations to 294 'other' (gender neutral) voluntary organizations. Specifically, this paper investigates whether there are differences in attitudes, behaviours and perceptions between the leaders of women's voluntary organizations and the leaders of 'other' voluntary organizations regarding: 1) perceptions of the environment; 2) outlook for the future; 3) perceptions of the impact of the external environment on the organization; 4) organizational changes made in response to environmental pressures; and 5) collaborative behaviour and attitudes.

Setting the Context: Canadian Social Policy and the Voluntary Sector

The earliest recorded voluntary organization in Canada dates back to 1685 (Scott, 1992). However, the sector became an economic force only in the last 35 years, as it grew in tandem with the emerging welfare state forged following World War II, reaching its peak of growth in the 1970s and 1980s (Tucker, House, Singh & Meinhard, 1984; Tucker, Singh & Meinhard,1990). During this time, voluntary organizations became part of an elaborate social welfare system, that involved a matrix of programs and services delivered by both the public sector and nonprofit organizations. Not only did voluntary organizations receive approximately 64% of their funding from government sources (Hall & MacPherson, 1997), but more importantly, they also gained legitimacy to represent and serve their various constituencies (Tucker et al., 1990). Thus, voluntary organizations became allies of the state, extending specialized services that the government was uninterested in or unable to provide. This collaborative infrastructure provided a munificent and stable environment, encouraging the rapid growth of the sector.

Since the mid 1980s, the social welfare liberalism of the post-war era is being replaced by a neo-conservative philosophy that espouses "small government" and embraces competitive market forces, even in the third sector (McBride & Shields, 1997). One manifestation of this is the state's withdrawal from direct service provision. In their belief that social services should be provided by private for-profit or nonprofit organizations, and not by public agencies, federal and provincial authorities are engaged in downloading responsibilities onto third parties (Pal, 1997). This is accompanied by a decrease in both federal (Tester, 1996) and provincial support (Torjman, 1996), with the expectation that voluntary organizations will supplement their revenues from private sources, user fees and other strategies (Pal,1997). Expected to pick up the slack even as their budgets are being cut, voluntary organizations in Canada are in turmoil (Scott, 1992; Rice & Prince, 2000).

In this research, we investigate the responses of different types of voluntary organizations to the changes in Canada wrought by this neo-conservative shift in policy. While the impact of the new social and fiscal reality may be pertinent to all organizations, we propose that women's organizations will react differently and choose different strategies when responding to the new situation. The reasons for this expectation are elaborated below.

The Uncharted Cohort: Women's Voluntary Organizations

A vast array of organizations make up the voluntary sector. These organizations are often categorized into subgroups according to mandate, structure, purpose, clientele, ideology or composition, to name but a few. In recent years, there has been a growing focus on women's voluntary organizations - their history, their prevalence, their role and position in the various societies they serve, their difficulties and challenges, and their structure and governance. However, there is no consensus across studies as to what exactly constitutes a women's organization. If, as articulated in organization theory, organizations are vehicles for the achievement of individual and /or collective goals that can be attained more efficiently and effectively through group rather than individual action (e.g. March & Simon, 1958; Abrahamsson, 1993), then women's organizations could be defined in one of several ways: a) as entities in which a number of women get together for the purpose of achieving goals, any kind of goals; b) as entities in which a group of individuals, regardless of sex, get together for the purpose of achieving goals related to women's issues and/or causes; or c) as entities in which a group of women get together for the purpose of achieving goals related to women's issues and causes. Riordan for example defines women's organizations as "specific sites for the articulation of women's needs and the application of women's solutions"(p. 64). Generally speaking, the terms "women's organizations", "women's associations", "women's clubs" and "women's nonprofit (or voluntary) organizations" are loosely used in the literature to refer to organizations *run by women, for women*. In some studies, they refer specifically to organizations that are part of the women's movement - groups concerned primarily with the status of women and their rights (e.g. Minkoff, 1997; Clemens, 1999). In others, they encompass both feminist organizations and non-feminist organizations (e.g. Tyyska, 1998; Bordt, 1997). Some researchers include only "separatist" organizations such as radical feminist groups in this category (e.g. Staggenborg, 1995) or organizations that serve women exclusively (e.g. McPherson & Smith-Lovin, 1986). Others include organizations that are not exclusive to women, but are predominantly comprised of women (e.g. Selle, 2001).

In our study we categorize any organization with a female executive director and a governing board whose composition is at least two-thirds female as a women's organization. We do not stipulate that the organization's goals must be to serve women or advance their causes, thus not all the women's organizations in our sample are "run by women, for women". Approximately one-third of them do not deal specifically with women's needs and issues (e.g. Child Life Enrichment, Outreach for Hunger). Of the remaining organizations, roughly half identify as feminist in orientation (e.g. Communities against Sexual Abuse, County Women's Centre), while the other half do not (e.g. Professional Women's Network, Women's Musical Club). More detail about the sample is provided in the methods section of this paper.

Women's voluntary organizations have long played an important role in women's lives as a window on broader public issues, a source of skills development, and a vehicle for contributing to society (Clemens, 1999). Until the turn of the 20th century, a woman's domain was almost exclusively in the domestic realm.[3] Voluntary association was one of the few socially sanctioned extra-domestic activities available to women. Thus for many, volunteerism played a liberating role in their lives, giving women their only experience in the public realm (McCarthy, 1990)[4]. However, as long as decision-making and funding remained in the hands of men, these voluntary activities continued to keep "women in their place." Participation was encouraged, but control was withheld (Kaminer, 1984). Frustrated, women in North America began forming their own associations, and by the mid-1800s they were administering organizations in the fields of philanthropy, the arts and sciences, and social reform (Clemens, 1999).

The predominance of segregated organizations (both racial and sexual) continued until the two great liberation movements of the 1960s changed the American civic landscape (Skopcol, 1999). Paradoxically, while these movements led to the racial and gender desegregation of many existing organizations, they also spawned the exponential growth of women's and Black organizations (Minkoff, 1997). Although the racial situation in Canada is very different from that in the US,[5] the women's movement in Canada followed a pattern similar to the one in the US, inspiring the formation of numerous women's organizations.

But, even as large national voluntary organizations were opening their doors to women, to the extent that 16 percent of them have women executive directors (O'Neill, 1994), women still favour joining women's organizations. McPherson and Smith-Lovin (1982, 1986) found that fully half the organizations they studied were exclusively female as opposed to only 20 percent that were exclusively male. In a more recent study, Popielarz (1999) found that women are less likely than men to belong to integrated organizations as evidenced by the fact that 67 percent of women volunteers are members of women's organizations. In a sample of 233 voluntary groups, 68 percent were gender segregated, with women's organizations outnumbering men's by two to one (Popielarz, 1999). The National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC), an umbrella organization representing the concerns of women and women's organizations, reported that it had more than 600 organizations on its membership list, a number representing a mere fraction of women's organizations in Canada (NAC, 1996).

The preference by women for participating in women's groups can be explained in part by the literature investigating voluntary affiliation. The question of why people volunteer has long intrigued researchers. Although "helping others" is the most frequently cited reason given for voluntary affiliation (Carter, 1975; Duchesne, 1989), more probing investigations suggest that altruism represents only a minor factor (Gluck, 1975; Lang, 1986; Smith, 1982). Social catharsis (Langton, 1982), and collective identification for a "good cause" (Duchesne, 1989; Kramer, 1981) are other reasons that have been advanced. Olson (1965) suggested that affiliation can best be explained by the pursuit of tangible rewards offered by the organization to potential members. Knoke (1986) recommended broadening the definition to include both affective incentives (eg. friendship; Flynn & Webb, 1975; Gluck, 1975) and instrumental benefits (eg. acquiring skills; Clark & Wilson, 1961; Flynn & Webb, 1975; Masi, 1981).

This broader "selective incentives" paradigm may be particularly germane in explaining women's affiliation in all female organizations. Although Masi (1981) found that women "define voluntarism in terms of selflessness" (p. 59), research suggests that many women, in fact, use the experience gained from voluntary

activity as a stepping stone for acquiring jobs (Flynn & Webb, 1975; Kaminer, 1984; Masi, 1981). In addition, involvement in exclusively female organizations provides women with experience in leadership and management (Clemens, 1999; Popielarz, 1999). Such opportunities are seldom available to them in mixed settings, as evidenced by the absence of women in top administrative positions, even in organizations in which they are a majority (Kaminer, 1984; Masi, 1981; Shaiko, 1996; Zane, 1999). A recent study of a cross-section of nonprofit human service organizations confirmed the continued existence of the glass ceiling phenomenon (Gibelman, 2000). Not only do women in all-female organizations have the opportunity to fill leadership positions, but they also do not feel constrained by a need to adopt male, hierarchical, task-oriented leadership styles, as women in mixed settings so often feel forced to do (Eagly, 1987; Kanter, 1977). Thus, in all-female organizations, they can practice a leadership style more in tune with their natural tendencies to inclusiveness and process orientation.

Recent historical studies in North America point to the importance of women's voluntary organizations both for the achievement of women's rights, and for the benefit of society as a whole (O'Neill, 1994; A. Scott, 1990; Lewis, 1994; Odendahl, 1994). The social history of Canada is replete with examples of women organizing to help the needy in their communities. During early Canadian settlement, women in religious orders provided for the needy, establishing hospitals for the sick, and housing for the poor and for orphans. Later, lay women in parishes across Canada organized into sisterhoods to raise funds for the provision of food and medicine and the construction of schools and hospitals (Martin, 1985). Women from different ethnic and racial groups also organized to address issues in their communities. In southern Ontario and Nova Scotia, as early as 1840, Black women formed all-female benevolent societies to help fugitives from slavery (Sadlier, 1994). Later, they organized for fair treatment in their communities (Wharton-Zaretzky, 2000). Today's Black women's organizations provide a myriad of services including educational, legal and financial aid (Hill, 1996; Spencer, 1998). In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Jewish women formed all-female organizations to support Jewish schools, summer camps, and orphanages. Later they formed their own Zionist organizations to bolster the social, educational and health-care infrastructure of the fledgling Zionist enterprise (Hadassah Organization of Canada, 1927; Karinsky, 1979; Vineberg, 1967). The end of the 20th century bears witness to a multitude of women's organizations representing the ethnic and cultural mosaic of Canada (NAC, 1996).

In the years following Canadian Confederation in 1867, women's organizations dedicated to social reform realized that without representation in Parliament their reform agendas would never be a high priority. This gave rise to organizations such as the Toronto Women's Literary League formed in 1886, which devoted themselves to the cause of women's suffrage (Cleverdon, 1978). In 1891 the powerful Women's Christian Temperance Union of Canada joined the struggle for suffrage. By 1918 the women of all Canadian provinces, save Quebec, were enfranchised.[6] Much of the societal power women had in the 19th and early 20th centuries, they achieved through participation in these organizations, which gave voice to their concerns and needs at a time when they were still disenfranchised (O'Neill, 1994; Clemens, 1999; Cleverdon, 1978). In fact, the National Council of Women in Canada was considered "the parliament of women" (Boag, 1976).

Even after they gained the vote, women's groups continued to agitate for societal and legislative changes in women's status. However, it was not until the early 1970s that women's concerns were officially recognized by the Government of Canada. In 1972 the federal government gave the National Action Committee on the

Status of Women (NAC) its first grant, in support of a conference dedicated to "effecting change in the status of women in Canada" (http://www.nac-cca.ca/about/his_e.htm). A year later the government created the office of Status of Women Canada with a mandate to support women's organizations and others "seeking to advance equality for women" (http://www.swc-cfc.gc.ca/wmnprog/guidtxte.html). In 1985, the long struggle for equality finally bore fruit. A clause guaranteeing equal rights for women and men in Canada was enshrined in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, a part of Canada's Constitution (http://www.infocan.gc.ca/facts/women_e.html). These legitimating actions by government further spurred the proliferation of women's organizations.

Today, in Canada, as in other parts of the world there are thousands of women's organizations, large and small, supporting causes and providing services that are important not only to women but also to society as a whole (Riordan, 2000).

Conceptual Perspective

The overarching purpose of this paper is to determine whether women's organizations are different from 'other' (gender neutral) organizations in their perceptions and reactions to the changing environmental situation in Canada. There are several reasons to expect women's organizations to be different. First, women's organizations operate in different environments, both in terms of funding, and in terms of services provided. Thus, they may be affected by changes in different ways. Second, the leaders of women's organizations are women whose socialization experiences are different from men's. This may affect not only how they perceive the environment, but also how they react to the new, more competitive demands placed on their organizations. Third, there is evidence that women's organizations are structured differently, and this may have an impact on both organizational and interorganizational strategies.

Environmental Differences

Although the thousands of diverse women's organizations that have emerged across the world in the past twenty years have been a "driving force in local action" (EFILWC, 1992, p. 86) and "have changed the face of social service provision" (Riordan, 2000, p. 65), women's organizations often find themselves in a precarious situation (Karl, 1995; Perlmutter, 1994; Riordan, 2000). Riordan's research (2000) established that women's organizations are chronically underfunded, understaffed, and marginal to mainstream economic and social development. Summarizing Moser's (1991) observations, Riordan (2000) writes that, "because the work which genuinely seeks to empower the powerless is potentially challenging to those in power, women's organizations which aim to empower women remain largely unsupported both by national governments and bilateral agencies"(p. 67).

This is exacerbated by the fact that women's organizations are not perceived to be prestigious targets for donors (Bradshaw, Murray & Wolpin, 1996). Women's needs rank low in the "establishment's" evaluation of what is important (Useem, 1987). An example of this is the difficulty that women's organizations in Canada still face in getting appropriate funding for research for their specific health concerns (Waserman, 1998). The tendency of women and women's groups to place a higher priority on benevolence and social

issues (Myyry & Helkama, 2001; Riordan, 2000; Smith & Schwartz, 1997; Women's Communication Centre, 1996) means they give voice and aid to the marginalised and excluded members of our society such as: Aboriginal women, women of colour, immigrants and refugees, single mothers, and the poor in general (NAC, 1996; Stewart & Taylor, 1997; Yasmin, 1997). These are all groups that are not high in the consciousness of major donors, who concentrate their efforts on the more prominent health, educational and cultural organizations (Useem, 1987). Corporations led by men are not generous in funding women's causes (Useem, 1987). Even large philanthropical gifts made by women, are not directed to women's organizations (Nonprofit World, 1999). Capek (as reported in Nonprofit World, 1999) suggests several reasons for the failure of women's organizations to attract funding. First, their non-hierarchical, experimental structures may seem risky for donors. Second, their general failure to stake out niches that differentiate them from other organizations espousing similar causes creates confusion in the eyes of potential donors. And finally, having to deal with chronically meagre budgets detracts from an organization's energies to invest in fundraising strategies. Furthermore, women board members have fewer overlapping board memberships (Moore & Whitt, 2000). This may disadvantage their organizations in the quest for resources. In a Canadian study, Bradshaw and her colleagues (1996) found that with fewer funding sources available, women's organizations were highly dependent on government grants. Such dependence makes them more vulnerable in times of governmental cutbacks.

From the above, we expect <u>leaders of women's voluntary organizations to experience the current environmental changes more deeply, both as it affects their organizations and their clientele, and to be more severe in their judgments of the current situation and more pessimistic about the future.</u> We explore this proposition by investigating responses of organizational leaders to a series of questions dealing with a) the responses of their organizations to the current environment, b) their outlook for the future, and c) their perceptions of the impact that these environmental shifts are having on their organizations and their constituents.

Different Socialization Patterns of Women Leaders

Much has been written about differences between male and female behaviour. It is not uncommon to read that men and women are socialized in and inhabit different worlds. According to these researchers, males are taught to be competitive, hierarchical and independent (Harragan, 1977; Henning & Jardim, 1976; Lever, 1978, Tannen, 1990), whereas females are encouraged to be nurturing and relationship-oriented (Grant, 1988; Rosener, 1990; Tannen, 1990). Although socialization differences are often superseded by situational exigencies when males and females enter the workplace (Kanter, 1977), there is evidence to indicate that these socialized behaviours carry over to the organization (Fondas, 1997).

Studies indicate that while there are no differences between men and women on several management measures, there is one area in which women are consistently different. Women are more likely than men to be democratic, process-oriented, transformational leaders who value information sharing and collaboration (Bass, Avolio, & Atwater, 1996; Helgesen, 1990; Rosener, 1990, 1995). When it comes to relationships they are more inclined to deal fairly with their clients (Dawson, 1997), and to consider the common good and the needs of others, even those whom they don't represent (Halpern & Parks, 1996). Recently, Walters and his colleagues (1998), in a meta-analysis of the role of gender in negotiations, found consistent results to indicate that women are more cooperative in negotiations. Although the differences

were often smaller than expected, "it is clear that men and women share information differently, and research needs to acknowledge that fact, rather than simply assuming that there is one general way that information is shared in groups by all human beings" (Deal, 2000, p. 722).

From the above we expect that <u>leaders of women's voluntary organizations will be less competitive in their orientation, will consider more inclusive and collaborative strategies and will be more likely to eschew strategies that could harm their clients or colleagues</u>. We explore this proposition by investigating the strategic changes that voluntary organizations are undertaking in response to the environmental shifts.

Different Organizational Structures

Given their different socialization, and their focus on process and relationships, it is not surprising that there is increasing evidence to suggest that women organize differently with different board structures and different *modi operandi* (Bradshaw et al., 1996; Foster & Orser, 1994; Odendahl, 1994; Odendhahl & Youmans, 1994; Perlmutter, 1994; Schein, 1975). Even in mixed gender technology-based companies, the higher the representation of women in the organization's founding period, the lower the formalization and bureaucratization evident in later years (Baron, Hannan & Burton, 1999). Historically, women's organizations tried to distance themselves from male hierarchical structures (Clemens, 1999) and were early adopters of collectivist organizational structure (Bordt, 1997). However, over time, strong forces of institutionalization led to the evolution of traditional hierarchies in many women's organizations (Bordt, 1997; Clemens, 1999; Odendahl & Youmans, 1994). Despite this, it seems that a majority of women's voluntary organizations, while not embracing the collectivist model, are desisting hierarchical structures for hybrid forms that are less formalized and more inclusive, consensual and empowering (Bordt, 1997; Lott, 1994). This finding is in contrast to observations by Marsden and Cook (1994) who found that, in general, nonprofit organizations have more formalized structures. At the moment, there is no definitive comparative research to indicate whether the less formal, hybrid forms are more prevalent in women's nonprofits than in others, but Bordt's work is suggestive. Open, inclusive and decentralized structures allow for greater information sharing and collaboration. Such internal structures may predispose members to favour external collaborations as well.

From the above, we expect that <u>in terms of collaborative behaviour and attitudes, women's organizations will be more open to collaborative options in dealing with the changing situation and will be more involved in interorganizational activities</u>. A series of questions probing attitudes towards collaboration and investigating the extent of interorganizational activity provides the basis for examining this proposition.

Method

Purpose of the Study

Despite their numbers and their unique characteristics, very little research has focused on the concerns and issues of women's voluntary organizations. This study attempts to rectify years of inattention by comparing women's voluntary organizations to non-women's voluntary organizations. The specific question that this paper will answer is whether there are differences between the leaders of women's voluntary organizations

and the leaders of non-women's voluntary organizations in the way they perceive, interpret, and respond to changes in the environment.

Design

A telephone survey was conducted with the presidents or executive directors of nonprofit organizations located in every province of Canada.

Sample

This study was conducted on a sample of 645 organizations from across all provinces in Canada. The sample was drawn from three separate population pools:

- Women's organizations that were affiliated with the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC). NAC is an umbrella organization representing the concerns of women and women's organizations. NAC espouses a feminist ideology and is deeply concerned with issues of equality and social justice. (In the tables this group is referred to as NAC.)
- Women's organizations that were not affiliated with NAC. The reason for differentiating between groups of women's organizations is that although NAC is the largest coalition of voluntary organizations in Canada, it does not represent all women's organizations. In fact, some women's organizations are vocal opponents of NAC's advocacy of abortion rights, its anti-war/anti-nuclear stance and its criticism of neo-conservative economic policies. (In the tables, this group is referred to as Non-NAC.)
- Organizations that did not fall into the defined category of a women's organization. (In the tables, this group is referred to as Other.)

Sampling targets were 300 women's voluntary organizations, equally divided between NAC organizations and NON-NAC organizations, and 300 non-women's voluntary organizations. To qualify for inclusion in the sample, organizations had to fulfil the definitional requirements of a voluntary organization (Johnson 1981:14): a) that the organization does not owe its existence to statutory authority, but consists of a group of people who have come together voluntarily; b) the organization is self governing and decides its own constitution and policy; and c) the organization is non-profit making.

To be classified as a woman's voluntary organization, the Executive Director of the organization had to be a woman and two thirds of the board members had to be women as well. In surveys of board memberships, men outnumbered women on boards by approximately 55% to 45% (Pynes, 2000; Moyers and Enright, 1997), thus boards with a two thirds majority of women are definitely indicative of a female dominated organization. To further validate our definition of a women's organization, we compared the percentage of female paid staff serving women's organizations with female paid staff in non-women's organizations. 96% of all staff were female in women's organizations as opposed to only 73% in other organizations. A Mann-Whitney U test confirmed the significance of this difference (Mann Whitney U =18242.00, p<.001). The 73% female staffing in other organizations in our sample is slightly higher than the 60-70% average reported in other studies (Pynes, 2000; Moyers and Enright, 1997).

The sampling framework was based on a proportional representation of nonprofit organizations from the larger provinces, Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia, and a minimum of at least 25 organizations from the smaller provinces in the Maritimes and the Prairies. Table 1 illustrates the final sampling breakdown according to province and organization type.

Table 1. Sampling distribution: Organization Type by Province

Province	Organization Type			Total	
	NAC	Non-NAC	Other	N	%
Alberta	8%	7%	7%	45	7%
British Columbia	16%	13%	11%	82	13%
Manitoba	4%	5%	5%	33	5%
New Brunswick	6%	8%	8%	47	7%
New Foundland	4%	4%	4%	25	4%
Nova Scotia	7%	6%	8%	45	7%
Ontario	29%	30%	27%	182	28%
Prince Edward Is	4%	5%	3%	26	4%
Quebec	16%	15%	21%	116	18%
Saskatchewan	7%	7%	7%	44	7%
Total % N	100% 167	100% 184	100% 294	645	100%

In order to control for organizational size and organizational mandate, both of which might have an effect on perceptions of and responses to environmental changes, we tried to ensure that there would be a proper distribution of small, medium and large organizations in each subsample, as well as a proper distribution of social/community service, health and education/advocacy organizations in each subsample.

Size can be measured in several different ways. Kimberly (1976) identified four conceptually independent aspects of organizational size: a) physical capacity, b) personnel available, c) inputs / outputs and d) discretional resources available. The choice of measurement depends on the objectives of the research. Since this study focuses on organization-environment transactions, resource availability, as measured by annual revenue, was chosen as the criterion for size. The sample was stratified on the basis of what we learned about size distribution in the pilot study (Meinhard and Foster, 1998), by selecting 30% small (less than $100,000) 50% medium ($100,000 - $800,000) and 20% large (more than $800,000) organizations from each of the population pools. The final distribution is displayed in Table 2. The actual sample didn't quite

reach these ideal proportions, however there is good enough distribution of all the sizes in all three subsamples to be able to run statistical controls.

Table 2. Sampling Distribution: Organization Type by Size

Size	Organization Type			Total	
	NAC	Non-NAC	Other	N	%
Small (under $100K)	27%	33%	21%	168	26%
Medium ($100K - $799K)	62%	55%	50%	351	54%
Large (more than $800K)	11%	12%	29%	126	20%
Total % N	100% 167	100% 184	100% 294	645	100%

From our pilot study, we found that most women's voluntary organizations fall into one of three basic categories: social services (e.g. Elizabeth Fry Society), health services (e.g. Women's Health Clinic), and a cluster that we label education/advocacy/lobbying (e.g. National Anti-Poverty Organization). Although these often overlap, each organization has a primary mandate in one of these areas. Since the majority of women's organizations fall into the social services category, we set a 60% quota for social service organizations, a 20% quota for health service organizations, and a 20% quota for education/advocacy/lobbying organizations. Table 3 presents the distributions for each of the subsamples. With the exception of NAC organizations, the distribution of organizations closely approached the designated quotas. As with the size variable, the distributions are large enough in each category to be able to run statistical controls.

Table 3. Sampling Distribution: Organization Type by Mandate

Mandate	Organization Type			Total	
	NAC	Non-NAC	Other	N	%
Social and Community services	41%	58%	58%	346	54%

Health Services	19%	17%	19%	117	18%
Education/advocacy/lobbying	41%	25%	23%	182	28%
Total % N	100% 167	100% 184	100% 294	645	100%

Sampling procedure

Since there is no comprehensive list of nonprofit organizations in Canada, several sources were used as a basis for contact lists:
- NAC membership list for the NAC organizations
- Revenue Canada list of Charitable organizations
- Community Blue books
- Internet listings

Using a table of random numbers, lists of organizations were generated for each province and distributed to our team of interviewers. Each interviewer called the organizations on their lists. They explained the purpose of the study and asked whether the organization would be interested in participating. If there was interest, the interviewer proceeded to ask a few screening questions to verify whether the organization qualified, according to our definitions and quota requirements of provincial location, organization size and organization mandate. If the organization qualified, the interviewers would set up an interview time and call back at the appointed day and hour to conduct the 45 minute interview.

Sampling proceeded until quotas were reached, or at least approached. With the three different quota requirements, it was hard to match all targets. It took 8 months to complete all interviews. Tables 1 through 3 present our final sample. Though ours is not a true random sample, we feel that we achieved a representative sample, by including such a variety of organizational types.

Questionnaire

A 120 item questionnaire, consisting mostly of 5 item Likert scales, was constructed on the basis of in-depth interviews with 35 Executive Directors of nonprofit organizations (Meinhard and Foster, 1998). These interviews produced rich and varied responses which were used for delineating the key issues facing voluntary organizations and which provided the basis for developing answer categories for the various sections of the questionnaire. The questionnaire contains eight sections:

1. Background information including size of organization, mandate, sources of funding, clientele served and organizational structure.
2. Perceptions of the environment: 7 items describing different aspects of the environment scored on a five-point scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree".

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3. Changes in cooperative and competitive aspects of the environment: 13 items describing various aspects of competition and collaboration, scored on a nominal scale as increased, decreased or remained the same.

4. Impact of environmental changes on the organization: 9 items describing impacts that environmental changes had on the organization, scored on a five-point scale ranging from "feel not at all" to "feel very strongly".

5. Organizational changes made in response to the impacts reported: 14 items describing various changes, scored on a five-point scale ranging from "not at all" to "substantially".

6. Inter-organizational activities (count of all interorganizational activities) and the reasons for engaging in them: 8 items describing various reasons for engaging in inter-organizational behaviour scored on a five-point scale ranging from 'not very important" to "very important".

7. Opinions regarding collaboration and competition: 11 items about different aspects of collaboration and competition scored on a five-point scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree".

8. Future outlook: 14 items describing various future scenarios scored on a five-point scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree".

In addition, in each section there were opportunities for open-ended responses and elaboration.

Data Collection

A telephone survey was considered to be the best method to collect the data and secure the quotas for the varied sample. In our pilot study (Meinhard and Foster, 1998), we found that organizational leaders were eager to participate in the research, with three quarters of the women contacted agreeing to be interviewed. This was a much higher response rate than can be achieved by mailed questionnaires.

Nine interviewers were used during the course of the study. Each interviewer underwent a two hour training session. The interviewer contacted prospective interviewees, determined whether the organizations matched the study criteria, and set up an interview time. At the designated time they re-contacted the respondent and conducted the interview. The response rate using this method was 67%.

Data Analysis

SPSS Version 9 was used to create scale scores and analyze the data. Some scales were simple additive scales based on the sum of individual item responses. For most scales, factor analysis was used to identify clusters of related variables. Comparisons between women's and non-women's voluntary organizations were analyzed using one-way analyses of variance. The impact of control variables was measured using univariate analysis of variance.

Results

We investigated differences between women's voluntary organizations and 'other' organizations in five distinct areas: perceptions of the environment, outlook for the future, perceived impact of the environmental

changes, responses to the environmental pressures and interorganizational behaviour and attitudes towards collaboration. The first three areas of investigation relate to our first proposition, the fourth to our second proposition and the last to our third proposition. In this section, we present the findings separately for each of these areas and in the Discussion section, we consider their implications according to the three propositions elaborated above.

We present findings both for individual scale items and for global indices that were constructed on the basis of variable extractions by factor analysis. All significant differences were controlled for organizational size, mandate, community size, number of revenue sources and province[7]. Operational definitions of organizational size and mandate were provided in the Methods section. Six categories, ranging from village (population less than 10,000) to metropolitan area (population more than 800,000) define community size. Number of revenue sources is defined by three categories: less than 3 sources, 4 to 5 sources and 6 to 8 sources. Sources include: government, foundations, corporate donors, individual donors, United Way, membership/user fees, special events and commercial sales.

Perceptions of the environment

The first series of questions we analyzed focuses on how voluntary organizations perceive the changes taking place in their environment. Respondents were asked to rate the extent of their agreement to seven items on a 5-point Lickert scale, ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree". Table 1 lists the statements, the mean scores for each statement by total sample, WVOs and OVOs, and the results of the one-way analysis of variance testing the differences between WVOs and OVOs. Women's organizations are significantly more critical of the environmental changes than 'other' organizations on four of the seven statements listed in Table 4. An additive index was constructed from the 7 items, reversing the score where necessary. The range of possible scores was 7 to 35. The higher the score, the more negative the perception. The index midpoint is 21. The overall mean score on the index, 27.2, is well above the scale midpoint, indicating a general dissatisfaction with the changes taking place. Women's organizations, as expected, score significantly higher on this general index. The differences remain significant when controlling for province, organization size, community size, revenue sources and organization mandate. However, a significant interaction with province was revealed. In two of the smallest provinces the trend is reversed; WVOs' perceptions are less negative than OVOs'.

Future Outlook

This series of questions probes beyond respondents' current perceptions of the environment to investigate how they view the future. Fourteen items describing various future scenarios were presented to the respondents for their opinion. They were asked to indicate extent of agreement on a five-point scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree".

The items were factor analyzed to give a more comprehensive picture. Five factors, explaining 59% of the variance, were identified using principle component analysis with varimax rotation converging in seven iterations. We created additive indices by combining the variables extracted for each of the factors and labeled them according to the sentiment described by the variable clusters. The five resulting indices are: Pessimistic Outlook, Community Activism, Optimistic Outlook, Partnership and Management Strategy.

Table 4. Perceptions of the Environment: **Mean scores for the total population and the two sub-samples**

Statements about the environment	Total	WVO	Other	F	Df	P
It is a positive move that the responsibility for the provision of social services is being shifted to the local community level.(a)*	2.76	2.55	3	17.3	1/624	0.00
The provincial government is not obtaining community support as a necessary condition before implementing a major policy change.(b)	3.89	3.98	3.77	4.8	1/620	0.03
In the province, the differences between those who have benefitted from the current economy and those who have not is becoming more marked.(c)	4.46	4.55	4.35	7.7	1/629	0.01
The provincial government continues to be committed as it always has been to its role as the major funder of social services.(d)	2.34	2.28	2.42	2	1/630	0.16
Canada can no longer afford to pay for all the services that have traditionally been part of its "social safety net".(e)	2.07	1.96	2.21	6.52	1/631	0.01
People in the province see voluntary organizations as an essential component of the social safety net.(f)	4.04	4.03	4.05	0.1	1/633	0.81
Corporations in the province are not making donating to the voluntary sector enough of a priority.(g)	3.97	4.01	3.93	1.01	1/620	0.32
INDEX (With items "b", "c", and "f" reversed)	27.2	27.8	26.5	18.1	1/585	0.00

* Letters in brackets indicate the original order of the items on the questionnaire.

Table 5 lists the mean scores and F-tests on all variables and derived indices. From the means of the total sample, and the scores in relation to the scale midpoint, we see that overall, our respondents: a) are pessimistic about the future; b) believe that in the future, there will be greater community activism; c) disagree with the optimistic statements; d) think that partnerships will be more prevalent in the future; and e) believe that voluntary organizations will adopt more business-like behaviours. One way analyses of variance on each of these indices revealed that only the pessimism index differentiates significantly between WVOs and OVOs.

As expected, the Executive Directors of women's organizations are significantly more pessimistic. This difference is manifested in three of the four individual items comprising the pessimism index. WVOs are significantly more likely to agree that in future, there will be fewer small organizations, that the situation

for marginalized groups will become worse, and that governments will try to exert more control over the actions and priorities of the voluntary sector. There is no difference in the belief that more organizations will be merging in the future (Refer to Appendix 2,A.) The differences are sustained when controlling for mandate, community size, organizational size, revenue sources and province.

Table 5. Statements about the Future: Mean scores for the total population and the two sub-samples

Statements About The Future	Total	WVO	Other	F	Df	P
Factor 1. Pessimistic outlook (midpoint = 12)	14.2	14.9	14	33	1/615	0.00
In the future, fewer smaller organizations will exist.(h)*	3.26	3.46	3.04	17	1/632	0.00
In the future, the situation for the marginalized groups in society will only get worse.(i)	3.85	4.05	3.63	25	1/636	0.00
In the future, more organizations will be merging.(j)	3.44	3.5	3.36	2.8	1/627	0.09
In the future, the government will try to exert more control over the action and priorities of the voluntary sector.(f)	3.64	3.82	3.43	17	1/632	0.00
Factor 2. Community activism (midpoint = 9)	10.9	11	10.9	0.9	1/594	0.35
In the future, more voluntary organizations will be taking an active role in political action on behalf of the sector.(g)	3.76	3.85	3.65	6.7	1/631	0.01
In the future, clients will be more involved in the decision-making process of voluntary organizations.(m)	3.55	3.52	3.59	0.7	1/624	0.39
In the future, voluntary organizations devote more time and effort toward building a civil society.(d)	3.65	3.65	3.65	0	1/614	0.97
Factor 3. Optimistic outlook (midpoint = 6)	5.89	5.82	5.97	1.2	1/620	0.28
As the economy gets better, governments will revert back to their previous levels of support for the voluntary sector.(e)	2.31	2.28	2.33	0.4	1/626	0.55
In the future, there will be a greater appreciation of the contribution of the voluntary sector in the community.(l)	3.58	3.53	3.64	1.8	1/635	0.18
Factor 4. Partnership (midpoint = 6)	7.12	7.04	7.22	2.3	1/626	0.13
In the future, more voluntary organizations will be formally working together to strengthen each others' activities.(b)	3.88	3.4	3.86	0.4	1/636	0.52
In the future, the corporate sector will become more involved in partnerships with voluntary organizations.(k)	3.24	3.14	3.36	6.9	1/630	0.01
Factor 5. Management Strategy (midpoint = 9)	9.98	9.9	10.1	0.6	1/626	0.43
In the future, voluntary organizations will have to be involved in commercial ventures that generate profits.(n)	3.48	3.52	3.48	1.1	1/635	0.31
In the future, voluntary organizations will put more focus on management control, marketing and entrepreneurship.(c)	3.68	3.57	3.82	8.9	1/637	0.00

Although traditionally organizations in the voluntary sector have been advocates for the common good, in the future they will have to narrow their focus to concentrate on serving their own members and constituents.(a)	2.81	2.81	2.82	0	1/632	0.94

* Letters in brackets indicate the original order of the items on the questionnaire.

Impact on the organization of the changes in the environment

A third series of questions explores how organizational leaders perceive the impact of these environmental changes on their organizations. From the pilot study conducted by Meinhard and Foster (1997), it was clear that one of the consequences of the changes in the environment was an increase in competition for ever scarcer resources. Eleven areas of competition were identified: competition for donations from individuals and corporations, competition for grants from government and foundations, competition for contracts from voluntary organizations and for-profit organizations, competition for human resources including staff, board members and volunteers, competition for image including media attention and local community support. Respondents were asked whether the amount of competition in each of the areas increased, decreased or remained the same. OVOs report significantly more areas of increased competition than do WVOs ($\bar{x}_o$ = 4.90, $\bar{x}_w$ = 4.48, F=4.12; df=1,643; p=.043). This finding is contrary to our expectation. We expected women's organizations to experience more competition because of the precarious nature of their organizations. The difference however, is not sustained when controlling for revenue sources, organizational size and community size, Large organizations and those in large communities are more likely to experience an increase in competition than smaller organizations and those in smaller communities. Organizations with more revenue sources also report an increase in competition.

Other impacts experienced by the organizations are listed in Table 6. Respondents were asked to indicate how strongly their organizations feel these impacts, from "feel not at all" to "feel very strongly" on a five point scale. From Table 6, we ascertain that the most strongly felt impact resulting from devolution and funding cuts is an increased demand for services from client groups. This is followed by increased demands for accountability, a recognized need to make better use of staff skills, and an increased sense of vulnerability. As expected, women's organizations are significantly more likely to report an increased demand for services, and an increased sense of vulnerability.

The three items that are ranked lowest reveal differences between WVOs and OVOS not only in intensity, but also in direction. OVOs, by scoring below the midpoint on all three of these items, indicate that they do not feel forced to collaborate or amalgamate, they do not feel a need to cover service areas that were once the purview of other organizations, and they do not feel that their clients are a low priority in the eyes of funders and donors. However, as Table 6 indicates, women's organizations, by scoring above the scale midpoint on all of these variables, indicate that they are experiencing these issues.

When controlling for province, revenue sources, organizational size, community size and mandate, all but one of the five significant findings are upheld. When controlling for province, the item on forced amalgamation is not sustained, and increase in demand for services and need to cover services become only marginally significant. There are interactions between province and organization type on several of the items. In the three smallest provinces, contrary to the general trend, WVOs report less of an increase in

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demand for services and less of a need to cover services previously taken care of by other agencies, than do OVOs. There is an interaction between province and an increased sense of vulnerability as well, even though the main effect of organizational type remains strong. In this case, the cause of the interaction is a pattern reversal in one province, where OVOs feel an increased sense of vulnerability and WVOs do not. In all other provinces, the opposite is true.

Table 6. Impact of Environmental Changes: **Mean scores for the total population and the two sub-samples**

As a result of the current environment, does your organization feel.....?	Total	WVO	Other	F	Df	P
an increased demand for services from client groups (a)*	4.04	4.16	3.89	9.03	1/636	0.00
increased demands for accountability and measurable outcomes from funders (d)	3.94	4.01	3.86	1.95	1/634	0.16
the need to make better use of staff skills (g)	3.77	3.76	3.78	0	1/615	0.84
an increased sense of vulnerability (e)	3.55	3.77	3.3	19.8	1/641	0.00
a greater need to address inefficiencies in the organization (b)	3.4	3.34	3.48	1.71	1/632	0.19
the need to participate in for-profit activities to support nonprofit work (i)	3.14	3.17	3.1	0.36	1/627	0.55
that funders do not think the needs of your clients are a priority (h)	2.99	3.17	2.79	10.4	1/625	0.00
the need to cover service areas previously taken care of by other agencies (f)	2.98	3.16	2.75	11.5	1/625	0.00
forced to collaborate or amalgamate with other organizations in order to access funds (c)	2.86	3.05	2.65	11.4	1/637	0.00

* Letters in brackets indicate the original order of the items on the questionnaire.

Organizational changes made in response to the changing environment

The first three series of questions focus on attitudes and perceptions of the relationship between the external environment and the voluntary sector. The fourth series of questions investigates actions that have been

taken as a result of these perceptions and attitudes. Respondents were asked to indicate, on a five point scale from "not at all" to "substantially" whether they had undertaken any strategic or organizational changes in the past two years in response to the environmental shifts. Significant differences between WVOs and OVOs are revealed on all but 4 of the 14 individual items. In order to achieve a more meaningful analysis, the 14 items were factor analyzed to determine underlying relationships among the variables.

The factor analysis, using principle component analysis and varimax rotation converged in eight iterations to reveal four factors. These factors explain 50% of the variance. (Three items load almost equally on three factors and are not included in any of the four indices.) As above, indices were created on the basis of these factors. The four indices describing different organizational actions are: Strategic Staffing, Downsizing, Business Orientation and Revenue Strategies. By looking at scores falling above or below the scale midpoint in Table 7, we see that overall, organizations are engaging in strategic staffing and are adopting a business orientation. We also see that downsizing is not an option with most organizations and revenue strategies are not being pursued.

Although not a frequently used option, women's organizations are still significantly more likely to downsize. However, they are significantly less likely to adopt a business orientation and to pursue new revenue strategies. There are no significant differences between WVOs and OVOs in propensity to engage in strategic staffing. Table 4 also indicates that WVOs are increasing the time spent on political action, whereas OVOs are not and WVOS are less likely to be increasing their staff complement.

Table 7. Organizational changes made in response to the impacts: Mean scores for the total population and the two sub-samples

In the past two years have you been or are you currently......?	Total	WVO	Other	F	Df	P
Factor 1. Strategic staffing issues (midpoint = 12)	12.5	12.4	12.5	0	1/594	0.87
reassessing criteria for staff hires.(h)*	2.67	2.6	2.75	1.76	1/604	0.19
putting more emphasis on volunteer recruitment.(j)	3.09	3.05	3.13	0.52	1/638	0.47
putting greater emphasis on performance evaluations.(l)	2.97	2.92	3.02	0.9	1/626	0.34
working more closely with other organizations.(k)	3.65	3.8	3.47	12.5	1/640	0.00
Factor 2. Downsizing (midpoint = 6)	3.81	4.08	3.48	10.3	1/610	0.00
reducing the number of full-time staff.(a)	1.97	2.08	1.85	3.96	1/611	0.04
reducing or narrowing the services you offer.(b)	1.84	2.01	1.65	14.4	1/641	0.00
Factor 3. Adopting business orientation (midpoint = 9)	9.7	9.28	10.2	14.9	1/625	0.00
increasing your focus on marketing activities and public relations.(e)	3.74	3.66	3.83	3.13	1/641	0.08

|						
working more closely with corporations and other private sector organizations.(f)	2.76	2.57	2.98	15.7	1/639	0.00
actively seeking board members who have specific business skills.(g)	3.23	3.08	3.41	8.08	1/628	0.01
Factor 4. Developing revenue strategies (midpoint = 6)	5.59	5.34	5.88	10.8	1/626	0.00
engaging in for-profit commercial ventures (n)	2.03	1.9	2.17	6.6	1/631	0.01
diversifying your funding sources.(i)	3.56	3.43	3.71	7.25	1/635	0.01
Items loading equally on 3 factors						
increasing the time spent on political action.(c)	2.81	3	2.59	13.6	1/638	0.00
keeping a low political profile because you fear reprisals from funders.(d)	1.81	1.86	1.76	1.24	1/626	0.27
increasing the number of full-time staff.(m)	1.84	1.56	2.17	3.91	1/610	0.00

* Letters in brackets indicate the original order of the items on the questionnaire.

When controlling for province, organizational size, revenue sources, community size and mandate, the significant differences between WVOs and OVOs are sustained for all of the indices. However, there is a significant interaction between province and business orientation. This interaction is caused by an exaggerated difference between WVOs and OVOs on this factor in five of the ten provinces, where WVOs score well below the average, indicating a very low propensity to adopt business practices.

Interorganizational relations

The last series of questions explores collaborative behaviour and attitudes. Respondents were asked a series of questions about whether they engage in interorganizational relationships ranging from occasional discussions, regular meetings, membership in an umbrella organization, participation in a network, short term coalitions, long term joint ventures and finally, mergers. A count was taken of all the different kinds of interorganizational activities reported by each organization. A higher score on this variable not only indicates that organizations are engaging in more collaborations, but also that these relationships are more interconnected and formalized.

Figure 1. Interorganizational Activities by Organizational Type (WVO = dark bar, OVO = light bar)

Interorganizational Relations
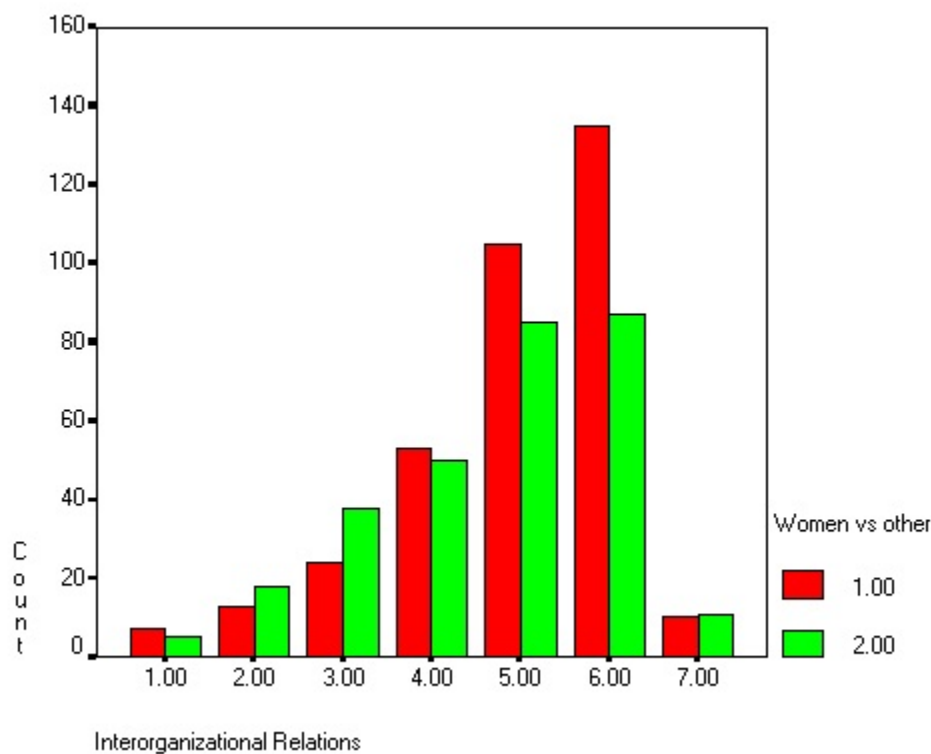
Women's organizations report a significantly higher number of interorganizational relationships than 'other' organizations (F=6.85; df=1.639; p=.009). However, because the assumption of homogeneity of variance, using the Levene statistic, was rejected, we re-examined this variable using two different nonparametric methods, Chi Square and Mann Whitney U. These tests confirm the significant difference in interorganizational relationships between WVOs and OVOs. (Chi Sq = 12.62, df=6, p=.049; Mann Whitney U=44917.50, p=.007). The Chi Square analysis reveals that 38 percent of 'other' organizations, as opposed to 28 percent of women's organizations, report up to 4 types of interorganizational activities, and 69 percent of women's organizations compared to only 58 percent of 'other' organizations report engaging

in 5 and 6 types of interorganizational activities. (See Figure 1.) Thus 'other' organizations tend to engage in fewer and less formalized relationships, while women's organizations report more frequent collaborative activities, in more complex relationships. The differences are sustained when controlling for organizational size, community size, revenue sources, mandate and province.

We were not only interested in the extent of interorganizational behaviour, but also in learning what motivates organizations to seek collaborations and partnerships. Out of a list of eight items presented to the respondents, the three key motivating factors for both groups are: gaining attention for causes through strength in numbers, achieving greater community involvement and providing more integrated services. The item ranked lowest as a motive for collaboration is: becoming more independent of government. The only two items on which there are substantial discrepancies between the two groups are: reducing current operating costs which is less important to WVOs, and sharing the risk of start-ups with others, which is less important to OVOs.   Two other items, keeping all organizations solvent and satisfying government requirements for funding are inversed. The discrepancies in ranking are insightful. The two items that WVOs consider more important, keeping all organizations solvent and sharing risks are related more to communal strategies for survival, whereas the two that are more important to OVOs, cost reduction, and satisfying government requirements are related more to individual, instrumental strategies.

Table 8. Reasons for Collaboration: Ranking of variables

How important a motivator is_____	Rank Order		
	Total	WVO	Other
a) achieving greater community involvement.	2	2	2
b) reducing current operating costs.	5	6	4
c) providing more integrated services.	3	3	3
d) satisfying government requirements for funding.	7	7	6
e) keeping all the organizations providing similar services alive and solvent.	4	4	5
f) drawing more attention to an issue or problem through strength in numbers	1	1	1
g) sharing the risk when starting a new program or project.	6	5	7
h) becoming more independent from the government.	8	8	8

We were also interested in how respondents perceive collaborations. What do they actually think about different aspects of collaboration? In order to find out, we asked them to rate a series of 11 statements about various aspects of collaboration on a five-point scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree". Factor analysis was used to find underlying commonalities among the various items. Principal component analysis using varimax rotation converged in six iterations, identifying four factors that explain 58% of the

variance. As with the other sets of variables, additive indices were created from the extracted variables. The four indices are: Predisposing Conditions for Collaboration, Structural Bias, Collaborative Complementarity and Beneficial Effects of Competition.

Table 9. Interorganizational Relations: **Mean scores for the total population and the two sub-samples**

Statements About How Organizations Relate to Each Other	Total	WVO	Other	F	Df	P
Factor 1: Predisposing Conditions for Collaboration	6.64	6.72	6.55	0.96	1/624	0.33
Collaborative arrangements are less appealing to organizations when times are good.(h)*	3.28	3.32	3.23	0.95	1/634	0.33
Collaborative enterprises are less important for organizations that are financially independent.(i)	3.36	3.39	3.33	0.33	1/627	0.57
Factor 2: Structural Bias	8.47	9.06	7.75	34.1	1/583	0.00
It is easier to collaborate with an organization mostly run by women, because hierarchy and control are less important to women than to men.(a)	2.69	3.02	2.27	53.1	1/624	0.00
Organizations that have a collective structure are better partners than those with a hierarchical structure.(f)	3.05	3.2	2.88	9.87	1/612	0.00
Partnerships are a way for large organizations to build empires.(g)	2.69	2.82	2.55	6.95	1/627	0.00
Factor 3: Collaborative Complementarity	11.4	11.5	11.2	3.7	1/630	0.06
The most important ingredient in a successful collaboration is shared purpose.(b)	4.54	4.61	4.45	6.75	1/642	0.00
As long as collaborating organizations share common values, it is easy to compromise on the means to reaching the desired ends.(d)	3.63	3.66	3.58	0.76	1/623	0.38
Large organizations can collaborate well with small organizations because they have complementary skills.(c)	3.23	3.28	3.18	1.2	1/633	0.27
Factor 4: Competition	6.63	6.23	7.11	30.6	1/622	0.00
Having to compete for scarce resources can have a positive influence on an organization.(k)	3.02	2.7	3.39	75	1/636	0.00

To survive in this climate, organizations must look for a competitive edge.(j)	3.6	3.52	3.7	3.16	1/636	0.08
Small organizations do not like collaborating with large organizations because they fear amalgamation.(e)	2.82	2.76	2.9	1.81	1/619	0.18

* Letters in brackets indicate the original order of the items on the questionnaire.

Two of the four indices differentiate between WVOs and OVOs. There is a significant difference between WVOs and OVOs on the Structural Bias index. Perhaps this is not surprising since 51 percent of women's organizations (as opposed to only 39 percent of other organizations) define their structure as non-hierarchical or collective. WVOs score above the scale midpoint of 9, indicating general agreement with the statements; OVOs score below the scale midpoint, indicating that they were in general disagreement with these statements. WVOs agree with the first two items of this index: it is easier to collaborate with women's organizations and it is easier to partner with collectives , whereas OVOs do not agree. While there is little agreement in either subgroup that large organizations use partnerships to build empires, OVOs were even less likely to agree. The difference on the index is sustained when controlling for province, revenue sources, organizational size, community size and mandate.

Women's organizations score significantly lower on the index measuring the beneficial effects of competition. They unequivocally disagree with the notion that competition can have a positive impact, although they do not differ significantly in their agreement that organizations must look for a competitive edge to survive. The difference between WVOs and OVOs on this index is sustained when controlling for province, organizational size, revenue sources, community size, and mandate.

NAC vs. Non-NAC Organizations

In this study, we deliberately sampled for two types of women's organizations: those belonging to the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC), a feminist umbrella group, and those not belonging.[8] We found that the non-NAC organizations fall somewhere between the NAC and 'other' organizations on all significant measures. Moreover, non-NAC organizations differ significantly from 'other' organizations on all but four of the variables that remained significant after controls. This, despite the fact that the disparity between their scores and those of the OVOs are not as pronounced as those between NACs and OVOs. Three of the four variables that fail to show significant differences measure perceived impact of the changes on organizations and their constituents. Non-NAC organizations do not differ significantly from 'other' organizations in reporting an increased demand for service, a need to cover other service areas and the feeling that their clients' needs were not a priority for funders. Thus, it seems that the more feminist NAC organizations experience the impact of the changes more keenly than non-feminist ones. Surprisingly, when it comes to interorganizational activity, the non-NAC organizations, although still reporting more activity than 'other' organizations, do not differ significantly from OVOs. The implications of this finding are considered in the next section.

Table 10 summarizes the results reported in this section, indicating which variables are significant, how OVOs and WVOs respond, whether the significant findings are sustained after controlling for organizational

size, revenue sources, community size, mandate and province, and whether there is an interaction with controlling variables. A brief note on the effect of revenue sources is warranted. Although the control variable revenue sources wiped out the effect of organization type in only one instance - experiencing increased competition, it had independent significant effects on nine of the variables in Table 6. Clearly the number of revenue sources available to an organization is an important factor in how it perceives and reacts to its environment. This is a topic for future research.

Table 10. Summary of results

Variable	OVOs' response	WVOs' response	Effect of Control Variables
Perceptions of the environment **	negative	more negative	Significance sustained. Interaction- in 2 provinces trend is reversed.
Pessimism about future**	pessimistic	more pessimistic	Significance sustained.
Experienced increased competition	report increases	report fewer increases	Significance not sustained. Large organizations report greater increases.
Experienced increased demand for service	yes	stronger yes	Significance weakened. Interaction- in 3 provinces - WVOs report less increase
Experienced increased demand to cover for other organizations	no	yes *	Significance weakened. Interaction- in the same 3 provinces - WVOs report less increase than OVOs
Experienced an increased sense of vulnerability**	yes	stronger yes	Significance sustained. Interaction- in one province OVOs feel more vulnerable
Experienced pressure to collaborate**	no	yes *	Significance not sustained. Provincial differences greater.
Felt clients needs not a priority for funders	no	yes *	Significance sustained.
Response: downsizing**	not much	a bit more	Significance sustained.
Response: adopting business orientation**	yes	less	Significance sustained.

Response: developing revenue strategies**	somewhat	less	Significance sustained.
Response: political activity**	no	yes *	Significance sustained.
Interorganizational activity	fewer	more	Significance sustained.
Attitude: structural bias with respect to collaboration**	no	yes *	Significance sustained.
Attitude: Complementarity of organizations important for collaboration**	agree	agree more	Significance not sustained. Large organizations and those from large communities do not think complementarity is important.
Attitude: competition can be positive**	agree more	agree	Significance sustained.

* Difference in direction, not only degree.

** Non-NAC organizations differ significantly (p<.05) from OVOs.

Discussion

Based on what we have learned from the literature, we had certain expectations regarding our data, which we elaborated in three propositions. We discuss our results in the framework of these expectations. On the whole, the findings reported in this paper support our expectations and suggest that, although the voluntary sector shares common concerns and outlook, women's organizations feel the impact of the changes more acutely and are more cautious in their responses.

Environmental Impact

The review of literature outlined several reasons to expect women's voluntary organizations to react differently to the fiscal and policy shifts affecting the sector. Observers have noted that women's organizations often tend to serve in poorer niches among the marginalized of our society (Karl, 1995; Moser, 1991; NAC 1996; Riordan, 2000). For these and other reasons elaborated in the Conceptual Perspectives section, they operate in a different funding climate where they are at a disadvantage in competing for both government grants and private donations. This led us to propose that the leaders of women's voluntary organizations would experience environmental changes more deeply, both as it affects their organizations and their clientele, and that they would be more severe in their judgments of the current situation and more pessimistic about the future.

From the results, it is clear that all organizations in our sample are unhappy with the changes taking place. However, women's organizations are more critical of both the devolution of services and the way in which it had been implemented. They are also more sensitive to the growing gap between the haves and have-nots in society, and are more adamant than others in their beliefs that Canada can afford to continue paying for

the social safety net. Women's organizations are also significantly more pessimistic than 'other' organizations about the future.

Since their inception in North America, women's organizations have been the venues through which women have agitated both for changes affecting their lives and for the improvement of society as a whole. Women were motivated to join voluntary organizations not simply to function as a marginal force desirous of advancing their own cause, but also to be an integral contributor to community values and the common good (Yasmin, 1997). Through their lobbying, they laid the foundations of the modern welfare state (Clemens, 1999; O'Neill, 1994) and the voluntary sector as we know it (Lewis, 1994; Odendahl, 1994). It stands to reason, therefore, that any policies perceived to jeopardize these hard-fought achievements would be viewed negatively. Thus, not only are women leaders more discouraged about the present, but they are also more pessimistic about the future. They are not too disheartened however, to give up the good fight. Women's organizations in our sample are much more likely to report spending increased time on political action. This is in line with Minkoff's (1995, as reported in Scopkol, 1999) observations that there has been a steady growth in the number of women's political advocacy groups since the 1960s.

In today's climate of retrenchment, it is not surprising that many nonprofit organizations in our sample are feeling vulnerable and experiencing competitive pressures. Not only has there been a six year trend of funding decreases for nonprofit organizations in nine of the ten Canadian provinces (Meinhard & Foster, forthcoming), but also multi-year operating grants in many provinces have been replaced by project grants and service contracts, all contributing to growing environmental uncertainty. As a result, nonprofit organizations are faced with the challenge of finding creative ways to deliver programs and services with fewer resources.

They must do this in a climate of increased competitive pressures coming from both inside and outside the sector. First, the tendering of contracts for service provision has replaced, to a large extent, the issuing of operating grants to nonprofit agencies. Governments are inviting for-profit firms to compete in service areas previously the sole domain of nonprofit organizations. This is perceived as a major threat to the existence of many nonprofit organizations. Second, decreases in government funding to the large institutional players such as universities and hospitals, have forced these quasi-public organizations to enter the fundraising field in a more serious way. With their resources, large fundraising campaigns and attractive causes, they are muscling out the smaller players in the fundraising game. Although all organizations report feeling vulnerable, women's organizations, already in a weak position because of their strong reliance on government funding and their lack of attractiveness to many donors, feel even more vulnerable.

Women themselves have always been more vulnerable in society. Their social, economic, political, and personal needs have not been adequately represented in the power structures of most nations (Stein, 1997, Women's Communication Centre, 1996). Their roles and responsibilities in society are undervalued and their priorities in caring for both the young and the old are taken for granted by governing bodies (Waring, 1999). In the US, it is estimated that more than seventy percent of the care for older persons is provided by women family members (Montgomery & Datwyler, 1990). With the cutting of services, expectations increase that women, the "natural nurturers", will step into the breach. In Ontario, for example, the Premier prefaced his budgetary slashing by invoking communities and families to become more involved in caring for the young and the elderly, and by suggesting that daycare can be worked out among neighbours.

Devolution and the restructuring of the welfare state "affects women in a double sense: it threatens their paid care-giving work and increases their unpaid care giving work" (O'Connor, 1996, p. 104).

As government programs are being withdrawn, voluntary organizations are, predictably, experiencing an increased demand for services by client groups. Women's organizations are more likely to experience an increased demand for services, as well as a need to cover service areas that were previously the purview of other agencies. Unfortunately, in many cases the increased demand for services is not accompanied by a commensurate increase in funding (Meinhard & Foster, 1997). It is interesting to note a difference between NAC and Non-NAC organizations on these two measures. Non-NAC organizations do not experience increased demands significantly more than 'other' organizations do. This suggests that environmental changes are having a greater impact on organizations serving women and their causes. Although in the present study, we did not probe for explanations for the increase in demand, information from in-depth interviews in an earlier study point to two possible reasons for this increase. Our respondents speculated that a) in times of recession and hardship, women and children are increasingly targets for violent outbursts by disaffected men; and b) many small women's organizations, totally dependent on government funding, failed to survive the cutbacks and their clients had to be served by the remaining organizations (Meinhard & Foster, 1997).

Women's organizations are also more likely to complain that funders do not view their clients' needs as a priority. This is another area in which non-NAC organizations did not differ significantly from 'other' organizations. Women's organizations involved in other causes This supports previous findings by Bradshaw and her colleagues (1996) and Useem (1987) that women's causes do not have high prestige for corporate funders making decisions about supporting charitable endeavors. The more pessimistic attitude of women's organizations about the current situation and future opportunities appears to be a combination of a real difference in the impact of recent policy changes and historical disadvantages resulting from championing certain causes and groups.

Other pressures that organizations in our sample feel strongly are an increased demand for accountability, and an increased need to make better use of staff skills and to improve organizational inefficiencies. With fewer slack resources available, governments and private donors want more control over how their money is being spent and whether their money is helping to achieve the goals for which it was solicited. Thus, increased accountability has become the newest canon in the nonprofit sector. In order to increase accountability, an organization has to demonstrate that the money it receives is spent on furthering its cause effectively, and not misspent through organizational inefficiencies and poor use of staff. It is not surprising therefore, that organizations rank these items highly. There are no differences between women's and 'other' organizations on these measures.

Organizational Strategies

In an intriguing article, Fondas (1997) identifies the new management strategies touted in textbooks as reflections of "feminine qualities" (p.257). The textbooks argue that because of the changing nature of work and the workplace, today's managers need to be coordinators, facilitators and coaches, "supporting and nurturing their employees," qualities identified as distinctly feminine (p.258). These qualities stand in direct contrast to the hierarchical, mechanistic, technically rational, controlled approach of traditional management

science. Fondas' article, following in the tradition of others (e.g. Helgeson, 1990; Rosener, 1990, 1995), recognizes that women's management styles digress from the more structured, hierarchical, authoritarian manner of traditional management. Other studies confirm that women are more collaborative (e.g. Walter, 1997; Deal, 2000). This led us to propose that the leaders of women's voluntary organizations would be less competitive in their orientation, would consider more inclusive and collaborative strategies and would be more likely to eschew strategies that would harm their clients or colleagues.

Our expectations were only partially confirmed. At first, we were surprised to find that, even though downsizing is not a preferred strategy for any organization, women's organizations are more likely to downsize. We expected that, given their focus on inclusiveness, they would be more reluctant to lay off staff. In another paper which investigated revenue diversification, we ascertained that women's organizations in our sample have fewer alternative sources of funding than 'other' organizations (Foster & Meinhard, 2000a), a finding consistent with other Canadian research (Bradshaw et al., 1996). In the absence of alternative sources to substitute for lost government funds, it is not surprising that a larger number of women's compared to 'other' organizations downsize. Given their lack of alternatives, one would expect that women's organizations would pursue new revenue generating strategies, but our data indicate they have not been as successful at diversification as OVOs. For example, they are not venturing into commercial activities at all. While this is not a major focus of many organizations in the sector at this time, it is even less evident among women's organizations.

Women's organizations were also less likely to adopt a business orientation, which includes working more closely with corporations, seeking members with business skills and focusing on marketing activities. They are particularly unlikely to interact with corporations. This may be because they associate the business world and business practices with male, hierarchical power, and do not seek out these kinds of relationships. Indeed, in our sample, women's organizations evince a structural bias, when they agree that collaborations are easier with less hierarchically structured organizations and with organizations run by women. On the other hand, the dearth of relationships with corporations may be, as the literature suggests, because the causes women's organizations espouse have little appeal to corporations. So even if they were interested in partnerships with corporations, they may not succeed in attaining them.

Women's organizations show greater interest in collaborations and see little that is positive about competition, which a business orientation may require. Even their motivations for collaboration are focused more on the communal good, than on the instrumental advantages collaboration can garner for their own organizations. This is in line with our expectations and is supported by the literature that points to the more relationship-oriented socialization of women (Helgesen, 1990; Rosener, 1990; Tannen, 1990) versus the more competitive socialization of men (Harragan, 1977; Henning & Jardim, 1976; Lever, 1976, 1978).

There are some business-like behaviors that are embraced by all organizations, such as marketing and seeking board members with business skills. This is similar to results reported in other studies (Alexander, 2000; Foster & Meinhard, 2000b). Strategic staffing and volunteer recruitment are also priorities for all organizations.

Interorganizational Relations

As noted in the literature review, the emphasis on collectivist structures in women's organizations has waned over the years, and many women's organizations adopted formal, hierarchical structures as they became more established (Clemens, 1999). However, the majority of them have some kind of hybrid form (Bordt, 1997). In our sample, 51% of women's organizations report having nonhierarchical or collectivist structures as opposed to only 31% of 'other' organizations. These more informal and open organizational structures, along with the aforementioned tendency of women to be more relationship-oriented, led us to propose that women's organizations would be more open to collaborative options in dealing with the changing situation and would be more involved in interorganizational activities.

This expectation was supported by the results. While 'other' organizations agree that competition can have a positive influence, women's organizations are focusing on collaborative relationships. This confirms observations that point to the embedment of women's organizations in a network of community agencies (Stewart & Taylor, 1997; Yasmin, 1997). Collaboration has served women's organizations well in the successful achievement of their causes. For example, collaboration with other organizations, both men's and women's, was an integral component towards achieving suffrage (Clemens, 1999), and Tyyska (1998) reports that establishing a network of relations was a major determinant of success in the campaign of women's organizations to establish a national day care program in Finland.

The finding that non-NAC organizations do not differ significantly from 'other' organizations in the extent of interorganizational activity contradicts our expectations that the more open, relationship-oriented attitudes of women are the primary causal factors in interorganizational activity. Leaders of non-NAC organizations do differ significantly from leaders of 'other' organizations on attitudinal measures of collaboration. It appears therefore, that the determinants of interorganizational activity are more complex and involve more than just attitudes. In a paper investigating interorganizational collaborations, we found that perceived environmental impact is a powerful intervening variable in explaining interorganizational behaviour (Foster & Meinhard, 2001). As our results indicate, Non-NAC organizations are less sensitive to the impact of environmental changes on three measures: increased demand for service; increased need to cover services; and low funder priority. Since perceived environmental impact is a predictor of interorganizational activity, it follows that they would report fewer interorganizational activities.

This having been said, collaboration is a strategic choice of all organizations. It seems as if, along with the adoption of business strategies, voluntary organizations in Canada are also exploring the advantages of collaboration and partnerships. There is a realignment taking place between the state and civil society (Pal, 1997). New federal government initiatives for strengthening the third sector in Canada involve creating a web of interlocking networks that include all three sectors (Seidle, 1995).

An increasing number of organizational researchers are advocating the importance of creating permeable organizational boundaries to allow an increased flow of interorganizational communications. (Kanter, 1994; Wheatley, 1992). Collaboration may even provide the organization with a competitive edge. "The ability to create and sustain fruitful collaborations gives companies a significant competitive leg up" (Kanter, 1994, p. 96). Rosener (1995), whose research indicates women practice a more collaborative approach to leadership, claims that America's competitive secret lies in hiring more women to lead organizations in order to foster collaborative relationships.

Summary and Conclusions

This study was designed to address the paucity of research on women's voluntary organizations in Canada. We deliberately sampled 351 women's organizations, and matched a sample of 'other'(gender neutral) organizations to it on the basis of size, mandate and provincial location. Using a stratified quota sampling procedure, we feel that our final sample, comprised of 645 organizations, is fairly representative of the non-faith based voluntary sector in Canada. The data were obtained by interviewing the Executive Directors or Presidents of the organizations, thus the measures are self-reports, and not behavioural observations.[9]

The findings paint a portrait of a sector that is unhappy with current policies, and pessimistic about the future. The sector's organizations find themselves contending with the challenging combination of intensified competition for increasingly scarce resources and growing demands made by clients and funders alike. In response to these challenges, voluntary organizations are adopting business-like strategies while simultaneously recognizing the importance of intra- and inter-sectoral collaborations. Responses of women's voluntary organizations are, on the whole, similar in direction to those of gender-neutral 'other' organizations, but different in degree. Compared to 'other' organizations, women's organizations in this study are more critical of current policies and more pessimistic about the future. They are less likely to embrace a business orientation or develop new revenue strategies. They are also less accepting of the positive values of competition and more inclined to collaborate.

In addition, there are some differences that are more than just differences in degree. Women's organizations are more likely to report that they have had to take over the delivery of services of organizations that had become defunct. They also feel that the needs of their clients are not a funding priority, whereas leaders of 'other' organizations do not have this sense. One of the most interesting differences to emerge from this study is that women's organizations spend time engaging in political action, whereas 'other' organizations, on the whole, do not. This follows in the long tradition of women's organizations agitating for their own rights as well as those of the needy and downtrodden.

These differences between women's and 'other' organizations are even more telling when we note that in our primary analysis, we considered all women's organizations as a single cohort, defined by the gender composition of their board and staff, and the sex of their leader. This means that not all women's organizations in the sample actually serve women directly. Close to one third of all women's organizations in our sample report their primary clients to be children, families, the general public or other groups. Despite this, there are still significant differences between women's and 'other' organizations. This suggests that organizational composition, and the cultural dynamic it engenders, may be an important contributory factor in addition to ideological disposition, in explaining the differences between women's and 'other' organizations. Using the NAC/nonNAC differentiation as a proxy for ideological versus compositional subgroupings of women's organizations (see endnote 8), we can make a crude comparison of the relative strength of ideological and compositional factors in explaining differences in response between women's and 'other' organizations. The distinction between NAC (representing a feminist ideology) and 'other' organizations is more marked than that between non-NAC (non-feminist) and 'other' organizations. This partially confirms findings by Thomas (1999) indicating that feminist ideology was the single most important factor in determining the direction of organizational change. However, our findings imply a more complex relationship between ideology and organizational composition and how they influence perceptions of and

responses to the environment. Further research into the relationship between ideology and structural composition would be instructive.

We also found some interesting interactions when running our controls. In some provinces, women's organizations respond in a manner opposite to their counterparts in other provinces. Thus, in some provinces women's organizations do not feel an increased demand for services, nor an increased need to provide services previously provided by other organizations, nor an increased sense of vulnerability. Nor do they report feeling forced collaborate. Is it current provincial policies or historical background that leads to such divergence? In a forthcoming article (Meinhard & Foster, forthcoming), we note the significant role that provincial history plays in organizational responses, even when current provincial policies are similar. That investigation, however, did not look into the differences between women's and 'other' organizations. It would be interesting to determine whether the differences unearthed while controlling for province are related to current provincial policies or whether they are a reflection of the historical position of women's organizations in particular provinces. This is a topic for future investigation.

In summary, we set out to investigate whether women's organizations are a distinct subset of the nonprofit sector. We conclude that, despite strong shared sectoral trends, there is evidence to affirm that they are. Even though many of the differences we found are in intensity only, they need to be acknowledged because they corroborate both women's different societal perspectives, and the different realities facing their organizations. These differences have added weight in a sector, sometimes dubbed "maternal" (Clemens, 1999), that holds many of the same values attributed to women: compassion, concern for the welfare of others and a relationship orientation.

The distinctions are even more pronounced when the women's sample is segmented into NAC and non-NAC categories. Thus, the study underlines the importance of viewing the voluntary sector as composed of heterogeneous segments. Other researchers have noted the importance of recognizing differences in mandate (e.g. Kramer, 2000), and specialism versus generalism (e.g. Tucker et al., 1990). This research segments the population with respect to the gender composition and feminist underpinnings of organizations, thus adding to the body of knowledge about the complexities of the third sector.

As the first large scale comparative study investigating women's voluntary organizations in Canada, the findings add new information to the growing body of knowledge about women's organizations in general and women's voluntary organizations in particular. They raise interesting questions for future exploration. For example, what is the role of feminist ideology versus the role of organizational composition in determining perceptions and responses? Most research does not separate these two issues, yet they have implications for gaining a deeper understanding of gender differences in organizations. Kanter (1977) discussed the role of situational context in explaining gender differences in individual behavior within the organization. How does working in a women-dominated organization affect organizational attitudes, culture and behaviour? Does ideology drive organizational and interorganizational differences or are observed differences the result of different ways of behaving based on socialization? The voluntary sector is a fertile site in which to examine these issues because it has a larger number of women-dominated organizations to provide data.

This study also provides benchmark information on key attitudinal and behavioural characteristics of the sector in Canada. This can form the basis for long term trend studies as well as analysis of short term

responses to and impacts of specific policy initiatives. Currently, public policy in Canada is undergoing intense re-examination, questioning some of the basic tenets of the social safety net. A new accord between the federal government and the voluntary sector underlines the importance of collaborative policy formulation. The findings from this study can help inform policy makers, and perhaps even persuade them to consider the position of women's organizations separately in their deliberations. From a practical perspective, this study may help leaders of voluntary organizations to identify the issues that have to be addressed for survival and success in the current environment.

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Endnotes

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2. 54% of volunteers in Canada are women, and they contribute 51% of the total time spent volunteering (Canadian Centre for Philanthropy, 2000). There are no readily available data to determine the percentage of organizations that can be defined as women's organizations. The Government of Canada Information page estimates that "there are almost 70 national women's organizations in Canada and thousands of provincial, regional and local women's groups" (http://www.infocan.gc.ca/facts/women_e.html). In our study, we had no difficulty finding organizations that met the requirements of our definition.

3. At the turn of the 20th century there was a sharp increase in the number of young, unmarried female workers in teaching, nursing, secretarial, retail and factory work (Bates, 2001). Still, the percentage of women in the labour force in Canada was only 14.4%. By the middle of the century (1951) it increased to 24.4%. It wasn't until the 1991 census that the percentage of women in the labour force broke the 50% mark (http://www.swc-cfc.gc.ca/whm/whm2000/whmstats-e.html). Today, 55% of women in Canada work outside the home (http://www.statcan.ca/english/Pgdb/People/Labour/labor20b.htm)

4. Whereas this statement is true for the majority of women in Canada in the 19th and early 20th centuries, the experience of immigrant women and women of colour was different. Many of them came to Canada as domestic workers with few rights. They too were relegated to the domestic realm, but with even fewer public privileges. The groups they organized fought for fair treatment in their communities (Wharton-Zaretsky, 2000).

5. Although it may be appropriate to identify subgroups for Black and Hispanic organizations in the US, where Blacks and Hispanics each comprise close to 13% of the total population, such categorizations do not apply in Canada.   The 1996 census (Statistics Canada, 1999) was the first to survey according to visible minority (i.e. non-Caucasian, non-white). Canadians identifying themselves as Blacks comprise only 2% of the total population and make up only 18% of those identifying themselves as a visible minority. Latin Americans comprise less than 1% of Canada's population. (http://www.statcan.ca/english/Pgdb/People/Population/demo40a.htm).

6. The women of Quebec had to wait until 1940 and Native women until 1960, for the privilege to vote.

7. All of these variables can have an impact on organizational perceptions and responses. Work by Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) clearly indicates that size affects organizational dependency on the environment and their strategies for reducing that dependence. According to resource dependence theory extent of resource diversification, measured in our study as the number of revenue sources, would affect an organization's relationship to the environment. Mandate is an important control variable because the funding environment is different for different organizations, depending on their mandate. For instance, in Canada, the health sector consistently receives more money from both government and donors than the social services sector (Hall & Macpherson, 1997). Community size was added as a control variable because organizations in small communities operate under different conditions which could affect several variables such as competition, collaboration, resource acquisition. Province was added as a control variable because of differences in social and fiscal policies in the various provinces. These differences and their impact on the responses of voluntary organizations are reported in a forthcoming paper by the authors entitled "Responses of Canada's voluntary organizations to shifts in social policy: A provincial analysis."

8. This is considered to be a crude proxy measurement for organizations with a feminist ideology vs. those without. Organizations that are members of NAC are assumed to identify with NAC's policies which are explicitly feminist. Not belonging to NAC doesn't necessarily rule out an organization's self-identity from being feminist. However, almost 50% of non-NAC organizations state that their primary clientele are not women, compared to 10% of NAC organizations. In other words, almost half the non-NAC organizations are women's organizations by composition only, run by women but not necessarily for women.

9. These reports represent the perceptions of the respondent and may diverge from the perceptions of other members of the organization. However, since they are the leaders of their organizations, they are privy to the most accurate information and would be familiar with presenting an organizational perspective on issues.