THE INFLUENCE OF GENDER ON DISASTER VOLUNTEERS: AN EXLPORATORY STUDY OF MENNONITE DISASTER SERVICE

By

JESSICA FERNANDES-FLACK

Bachelor of Arts in Sociology and Political Science

Oklahoma State University

Stillwater, OK

2010

Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate College of the
Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the Degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE
December, 2012

THE INFLUENCE OF GENDER ON DISASTER VOLUNTEERS: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF MENNONITE DISASTER SERVICE

Thesis Approved:

Dr. Duane Gill

Thesis Adviser

Dr. Brenda Phillips

Dr. Michael Long

Dr. Tom Shiver

Dr. David Neal

Name: JESSICA LEE FERNANDES-FLACK

Date of Degree: DECEMBER, 2012

Title of Study: THE INFLUENCE OF GENDER ON DISASTER VOLUNTEERS: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF MENNONITE DISASTER SERVICE

Major Field: SOCIOLOGY

ABSTRACT:

There is a substantial amount of literature concerning volunteerism, particularly the relationship between volunteerism and women. Researchers theorize that volunteerism, gender, and faith are positively correlated. Much remains to be discovered about the roles of women within faith-based volunteer organizations like Mennonite Disaster Service (MDS). This study examines the evolution of changing gender roles within MDS using archival data and an extensively deployed survey (n=852). Data from the 2010 MDS survey is used in OLS regression and binary logistics regression models to examine the association between volunteerism and gender.

Overall, survey data and archival evidence support the notion that women's roles in MDS have evolved considerably over time, albeit unevenly. It appears that when controlling for socio-demographic variables, level of orthodoxy, and importance of faith, the effect of being female does significantly influence the number of times volunteered. Furthermore, being female does significantly influence holding a leadership position on a MDS project site. Historically, women were not able to volunteer as much as men because of domestic duties and today women still volunteer significantly fewer times than do men. Furthermore, while women historically have permeated some leadership roles such as committee members; today, they are still significantly less likely than are men to hold a leadership position on MDS project sites.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Table Page

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Page

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 2005, Hurricane Katrina uprooted an estimated 700,000 residents of New Orleans (Von Drehle and Salmon 2005). Displaced victims depended on volunteers for food, shelter, and reassurance. Less than a month later, thousands on the Gulf Coast experienced Hurricane Rita and found themselves in need, once again, of immediate and long term assistance. In the aftermath of a disaster, individuals and various organizations such as faith-based organizations come to assist with recovery efforts, a phenomenon known as convergence (Fritz and Mathewson 1957, Barksy, Trainor, Torres and Aguirre 2007). Individuals seeking to aid disaster victims, or volunteers, often come unannounced, in large numbers, and with the willingness, but at times not the ability, to help in whatever way possible. Volunteers can arrive on an individual basis, with a small group, or an affiliated organization.

Managing this large range of volunteers in a manner that benefits disaster survivors in the most efficient way possible can be a daunting task. Who coordinates this necessary but complex endeavor of returning communities to a state of normality? A large body of literature indicates that women tend to volunteer more often than do men.

Despite this, women rarely hold positions of authority within these volunteer organizations (Cable 1992, Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen 1991, Perkins 1990, Thompson 1993, 1995). Leadership roles such as project managers of volunteer organizations are, in fact, typically male-dominated (Cable 1992, Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen 1991, Perkins 1990, Thompson 1993, 1995). This study examines the influence of gender on disaster volunteers, particularly within the Mennonite Disaster Service (MDS) utilizing archival and survey data.

Studies examining women volunteers tend to approach factors impacting volunteerism in two distinct ways. A large collection of studies assess several demographics indicative of volunteering and volunteer work, i.e. they answer the question "*Who volunteers*?" (Wilson and Musick 1997a, Gallagher 1994, Argyle 1991, Negrey 1993, Wilson 2000). Commonly explored demographic characteristics include gender, age, employment status, education, race and ethnicity, socio-economic status, and marital status. This group of studies frequently examines these demographics for volunteers as a whole to gain an understanding of what influences individuals to commit their resources for the benefit of others. They further explore how these demographic characteristics relate to women volunteers specifically. A second, smaller collection of studies explores the motivations behind volunteerism, i.e. the answer "*Why do individuals volunteer?*" (Michel 2007, Janoski, Musick, and Wilson 1998, Cnaan, Kasternakis, and Wineburg 1993, McAdam and Paulsen 1993). This group of studies typically highlights religiosity and social networks as two primary sources of motivation behind volunteering. These two approaches look at the impacts of being a woman, having higher education, being married, and employment on volunteerism. The results of almost all of these

studies suggest that gender, age, occupational status, education, socio-economic status, and marital status greatly affect volunteerism. Further, these results cumulatively point out that female volunteers are impacted differently and to a greater extent than men by these characteristics. Women under age 60 are more likely to volunteer than are men (Wuthnow 1995). Employment decreases women's volunteering as women "bear disproportionate responsibility for raising children, caring for the ill, disabled, and elderly, and meeting the family's daily needs" (Phillips and Morrow 2008: 29). Education does not determine women's volunteer efforts; however, women who volunteer have higher levels of education than non-volunteers (Bowen et al. 2000, Gerard 1985, Hettman and Jenkins 1990). Studies show that women are more likely than are men to be in families with low incomes, and women's volunteer work is more affected by family income. Women would volunteer more if they had the same amount of human capital as men (Wilson and Musick 1997, Gallagher 1994, Rosenthal et al. 1998).

Liberal feminist theory informs much of contemporary disaster social science research (Phillips and Morrow 2008). It suggests "barriers to women's participation in community planning for emergencies or in political decision making effectively limit women's capacity to exercise full citizenship rights" (Phillips and Morrow 2008: 5). Disaster organizations often evoke stereotypical notions of femininity limiting women's career potential or work roles in relief efforts (Phillips and Morrow 2008). Past research has drawn on feminist theory, in part, to examine the role of women in volunteerism, highlighting their underrepresented voice and perspective (Wilson and Musick 1997a, Gallagher 1994, Argyle 1991, Negrey 1993, Wilson 2000, Cable 1992, Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen 1991, Perkins 1990, Thompson 1993, 1995). These studies, however,

have not examined the influence of religion on the roles of women volunteers, or the combined impact of volunteer motivations and demographic characteristics on volunteerism. More specifically, how does gender and religiosity influence trends in volunteerism? Liberal feminist theory strives to achieve conditions guaranteeing all women equal opportunities in life. Liberal feminists contend the inequality that does exist between men and women is understood to be socially produced rather than innate biological differences. The core commitment of liberal feminism is to develop gender equality by increasing women's opportunities in the social, political, and economic aspects of life. Here, I utilize liberal feminist theory as an approach to bring forth the missing voice of women as disaster volunteers and to empower women to achieve a more gender equal environment. At this point, there have not been any published studies exploring the role of women within the Mennonite Disaster Service (MDS). For the purposes of this study, I employ liberal feminist theory as my overarching paradigm to frame my research regarding gender differences within MDS, a volunteer group whose modest and humble theological foundation defines their actions in contemporary society. This volunteer group includes members from three Anabaptist descendent communities—the Mennonites, the Hutterites, and a previously unreachable population, the Amish.

Over the past 60 years, MDS, a faith-based organization (FBO), has assisted disaster victims during recovery, particularly those who are poor, elderly, have disabilities and are in need of assistance. MDS is a grassroots organization that began in 1950 in Hesston, Kansas. A majority of volunteers are of Anabaptist descent and identify as Amish or Mennonite. MDS began as the Men's Service Organization (MSO) in

1950.The motivation behind the initiation of MSO was to "respond in time of a national crisis and also do something constructively helpful in our own and surrounding communities when opportunities presented themselves" (MSO Talk 1952). The purpose of MSO as set forth in its Constitution is as follows:

(1) To promote the Christian ideals of peace and service.
(2) To promote a corporate group for mutual inspiration and stimulation.
(3) To activate the principles of peace and service in a constant program when and where needed.
(4) To provide for personnel, equipment and provisions of short notice in any disaster whether by force of nature or by war.

In 1951, MSO worked with the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) to provide a well-organized, systematic way of bringing volunteers to disaster areas. This cooperation between the two organizations led to MSO's transition into MDS. During this transition, women began to find roles within the organization. Historical MSO documents identify women performing gender-traditional tasks. For example, in April 1951, the MSO Constitution first mentions the involvement of women as members of the service auxiliary in charge of "distribution of food and clothing." After a 1951 Kansas flood, records show women and girls helped to "scrub and clean" affected homes. MSO appreciated women's contributions and highlighted their efforts at the Conference on Lay Evangelism at Goshen College as follows:

"The Auxiliary committee always stood ready—bringing sandwiches and coffee for weary men—helping in clean-up work—taking muddy laundry home to be returned to flooded families fresh and clean."

Women are more apt to take on domestic roles such as administrative, clerical, or cooking positions while men act as project site managers and perform traditionally "masculine" duties such as construction. Today, close to half of MDS volunteers are female, but their roles within the organization have evolved unevenly compared to men.

This paradox leads to the principle research problem addressed in this study: Why are fewer women in leadership positions within MDS as compared to men? Thus far, there have not been any studies examining the role of women in MDS at any level or studies examining Anabaptist volunteers such as the Amish. To address this problem, two research questions are asked (1) *Have the roles of women in MDS changed within the organization since its establishment in 1950*? And (2) *How are the roles of women different from the roles of men within MDS in 2010*?

This research will add to the literature in the field in three ways. First, this study will build upon past findings on volunteerism and women with a unique sample, including data from MDS volunteers and historical MDS documents. Second, it incorporates the Amish, a previously unstudied volunteer group, into the sample. Lastly, it explores the evolution of gender role within the organization. Particular attention is given to the demographic variables that influence time volunteered and holding leadership positions within MDS such as education and degree of orthodoxy. In terms of applied practice, this study contributes to gender equality efforts but, more specifically, it can provide forward mobility for women as leaders and volunteers within MDS. If gender is determined to be an agent of change, MDS organizational leaders can advocate policy changes to facilitate women in leadership positions. Furthermore, the MDS organization will gain an in-depth understanding of volunteerism from a woman's perspective and can adapt current volunteer recruitment efforts to better suit women. As leaders, women will be better able to convey their perspective on disaster recovery and empathize with female disaster survivors. Introducing a female perspective in authority roles or as volunteers can enhance and speed the recovery process for disaster survivors. The welfare of the disaster

survivor is the top priority of the organization and improving themselves in any way possible is of the utmost importance. MDS organizational leaders strive to better understand how women think, act, and behave in terms of volunteer service and want to encourage women to continue their volunteer service.

Participants are MDS volunteers who participated in relief efforts post Hurricanes Katrina, Rita, and Ike. Volunteerism is defined in four ways: days volunteered on a project site, number of times volunteered at project site, leadership positions on a MDS project site, and leadership positions within the MDS organizational structure. Independent variables are divided into socio-demographic characteristics and substantive variables. Gender is the main independent variable of interest. The study controls for socio-demographic variables including employment status, race and ethnicity, socioeconomic status, geographic location, age, and education. Substantive variables include religious orthodoxy and importance of faith.

The broader implications of this study relate to the organizational structure of MDS. Historically, Anabaptists have intertwined their religious beliefs into their everyday lives and actions. This religious influence has an overwhelmingly positive influence in terms of volunteer efforts in disaster recovery. Gender roles have evolved at a slower pace. Traditionally, the Anabaptists have structured the various parts of their lives around I Corinthians 11:3-12, where Apostle Paul spells out a divine order of headship authority: “God, Christ, man, woman” (Kraybill 2010: 95). Women’s roles in MDS have evolved considerably over time, albeit unevenly. This study will examine the evolution of changing gender roles within MDS using primarily an extensively deployed survey (n=852) and archival MDS documents. There is a wide diversity of Anabaptists;

some consider themselves more liberal, while others are more orthodox. The historical foundations of Anabaptism generally limit the leadership roles of women within the church, but recently, women's roles have begun to expand. Compared to men, the overall progression of women in leadership roles has been slow. Organizations such as MDS recognize the importance of women's perspectives in disaster recovery and seek methods to advance women in leadership positions.

The overall intent of this study is to fill a niche within the literature by examining the influence of gender on disaster volunteers, particularly within MDS. It describes women's roles in MDS historically, and in the context of recent disasters, specifically Hurricanes Katrina and Rita. Most importantly, this study will help MDS better utilize women as assets to their organization and to fulfill their overall mission. Chapter 2 describes the theoretical framework for this study and provides a review of the literature surrounding gender, volunteerism, and Anabaptism. It describes the historical and theological background of Anabaptism as well as the roles of women within the three primary Anabaptist communities: the Mennonites, the Amish, and the Hutterites. An understanding of this background sheds light on the evolution of women's roles within MDS over time. Chapter 3 includes the methodological approach utilized in this study and extensively illustrates the archival documents and survey data. Chapter 4 presents findings from the archival documents and then reports statistical results along with a brief discussion of the analysis. This chapter ends with a brief discussion of the combined results and a particular focus on the association between gender and the number of times volunteered on MDS project sites, and leadership positions on MDS project sites. Lastly, Chapter 5 incorporates this study's overarching paradigm, liberal feminism, with the

evolution of women's roles within MDS. It includes limitations, broader implications of this study, and possibilities for future research.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

There is a substantial amount of literature confirming the relationship between women and volunteerism (Wilson and Musick 1997, Gallagher 1994, Cable 1992, Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen 1991, Perkins 1990, Thompson 1993, 1995). A growing body of literature surrounding the association between faith-based organizations and disaster response and recovery also exists (Haski-Leventhal and Cnaan 2009, McAdam and Paulsen 1993, Michel 2007). There is gap in the literature, however, exploring how the role of female volunteers has changed since faith-based disaster response organizations such as MDS were first established. Women's roles range from domestic to professional duties and are constantly impacted by their surrounding cultural, economic, and social environment. Obtaining a better understanding of the central research questions, (1) *Have the roles of women in MDS changed within the organization since its establishment in 1950*? and (2) *How are the roles of women different from the roles of men within MDS in 2010*? depends first, on understanding factors related to this issue. The following sections explore some of the various cultural, theological, and social factors that could potentially impact a woman's role in an organization.

This chapter consists of three sections intended to fully explore the literature surrounding gender within faith-based disaster response organizations. The first section provides an in-depth understanding of liberal feminism theory, the overarching paradigm utilized to frame the research question and hypotheses. The second section describes an in-depth understanding of volunteerism. It answers fundamental questions such as "*What is a volunteer*," and "*What motivates people to volunteer?*" This section addresses specific demographic characteristics of volunteers including gender, age, employment status, education, race and ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and marital status. The third and final section of this chapter describes the Anabaptist faith—the faith that serves as the theological and structural foundation of MDS. This section sheds light on the evolution of women's roles within the MDS by presenting a historical and theological background of Anabaptism. Overall, the goal is seek to understand relationships between gender and intersecting cultural, economic, and social relations and institutions.

Section 1: Liberal Feminism

The overarching paradigm that provides the best method for exploring gender and volunteerism is feminist theory, particularly liberal feminism. Wollstonecraft, Mill and Taylor developed liberal feminist thought in the nineteenth century. Bryson points out that "between them [they] cover virtually all the ideas of mainstream feminism during this period" (1992, 37) and Tong identifies them as key liberal feminist theorists (1989, 13). Liberal feminist theory strives to achieve conditions guaranteeing all women equal opportunities in life. Liberal feminists contend the inequality that does exist between men and women is understood to be socially produced rather than innate biological differences. The core commitment of liberal feminism is to develop gender equality by

increasing women's opportunities in the social, political, and economic aspects of life. Jaggar states "the main thrust of the liberal feminist's argument is that an individual woman should be able to determine her social role with as much freedom as does man" (1977, 6-7). Furthermore, a number of theorists have stated:

> "The major expression of gender inequality theory is liberal feminism, which argues that women may claim equality with men on the basis of an essential human capacity for reasoned moral agency, that gender inequality is the result of a sexist patterning of the division of labor, and that gender equality can be produced by transforming the division of labor through the re-patterning of key institutions –law, work, family, education, and the media" (Jaggar 1977:6-7).

Contemporary feminist theory separates into five distinct theorizing categories: gender difference, gender inequality, gender oppression, structural oppression, and interrogating gender. For the purposes of this study, gender inequality and its corresponding paradigm, liberal feminism, provide the best lens through which to frame our hypotheses. Gender inequality contends "women's location in most situations is not only different from but also less privileged than or unequal to that of men" (Lengermann and Niebrugger 2010: 461). In this perspective, women are unequal to men because they receive less of the material resources, social status, power, and opportunities for self-actualization than men due to a multitude of factors. Feminists identify class, race, occupation, ethnicity, religion, education, nationality, or any intersection of these as factors contributing to women's inequality. It is important to note that this inequality is not caused by biological differences between men and women, rather women are situationally less empowered than men are.

Contemporary liberal feminist thought explores central topics such as the National Organization for Women (NOW) and Betty Friedan's *The Feminist Mystique.* Bryson describes Friedman's work as "the clearest and most famous expression of American

liberal feminist" (Jaggar 1992: 60). Liberal feminism commonly addresses definitive issues such as women's suffrage, access to education, and equal treatment at work (Kensinger 1997). Liberal feminism places particular emphasis on gender inequality and achieving gender equality. It shares it roots with feminist theory; therefore, it is beneficial to discuss various facets of feminism theory as a whole in order to gain a better understanding of liberal feminism.

Feminist theory strives to give voice to the voiceless. In doing so, each provide a theoretical extension of the feminist movement into academia. Historically, women and their perspectives have been discounted, misrepresented, and ignored all around the world. Even in the U.S., a nation well-known for its emphasis on democracy, a woman's right to vote was denied until 1920. Within sociology, the prominent paradigms that evolved early on were formulated by white, elite males. Sociology aims to understand human behavior at both the micro and macro level, but ironically, it failed to do so as it inherently disregarded over half of the world's population, women. This neglect perpetuated the prejudice and discrimination against women, especially minority women, both in and outside the world of academia. In the later part of the 1900s, the work of Dorothy E. Smith and Patricia Hill Collins established the foundation for prominent feminist theory. Smith's idea of "standpoint theory," emphasized that men and women perceive the world differently; they have different ways of thinking and that the dominant ways are inherently masculine (Coser 1989). Collin's concept of the "matrix of domination," highlighted the idea that there is an "overarching structure of domination in society comprised age, religion, race, class, and gender" (Collins 1990). Each of these

concepts illuminated blind spots within sociology and paved the way for the more contemporary, groundbreaking work of R.W. Connell and Judith Butler.

Feminist theory refers to a multitude of research, studies, and works produced by movement activists and academics in a variety of disciplines and include: "normative discussions of how societies and relationships out to be structured, their current inequities, and strategies to achieve equity; and explanatory theories of the relationship between gender and various social, cultural, economic, psychological, and political structures and processes" (Chafetz 1997: 97). Feminist theory has been defined in various ways by activist and scholars, but generally addresses four criteria (a) "gender comprises a central focus or subject matter of the theory; (b) gender relations are viewed as a problem…feminist theory seeks to understand how gender is related to social inequities, strains, and contradictions; (c) gender relations are not viewed as immutable; and (d) feminist theory can be used…to challenge, counteract, or change a status quo that disadvantages or devalues women" (Chafetz 1997: 98).

Here, feminist theory will be defined as "a generalized, wide-ranging system of ideas about social life and human experience developed from a woman-centered perspective" (Lengermann and Niebrugger 2010:454). It is 'woman-centered' in two ways. First, its research begins with the situation and experiences of women in society. Second, it "describes the social world from the distinctive vantage points of women" (Lengermann and Niebrugger 2010: 454). Feminists contend that there has been an "omission and distortion of women's experiences in mainstream social science [including disaster research], the tendency to universalize the experience of men (and relatively privileged women), and the use of science to control women" (DeVault 1999:26). In

addition, feminists view the "apparatus of knowledge production as one site that has constructed and sustained women's oppression" (DeVault 1999:30).

In an attempt to remedy these infractions and address the women-centered perspective, feminism theory asks three basic questions (1) "*And what about the women?*" (2) "*Why is all this as it is?*" and (3) "*How can we change and improve the social world so as to make it a more just place for all people?*" (Lengermann and Niebrugger 2010: 454). By asking "*And what about women*?" feminist scholars have been able to address the sociological problem of inequality. The image of society as portrayed in history and academia reflects masculine experiences, particularly white, elite males and their interests in the abstract, organizations and power. Intellectually, the worlds of women have not been legitimized in academia and this lack of legitimization is a prime example of discrimination. Feminist theories highlight that the experience of women in society is not the same as that of men (Appelrouth and Edles 2011:314). They aim to understand the nature of gender inequality and examine women's social roles and lived experiences. In a broader sense, feminists critique various social aspects of women in society including oppression, patriarchy and objectification. Feminist theorists play dual roles: (1) as scholars, they explore and critique gender inequality and (2), as activists, they promote women's rights and interests and a more egalitarian society (Appelrouth and Edles 2011). Among notable scholars such as Dorothy Smith, Patricia Hill Collins, R.W. Connell and Judith Butler, there is an overall shared critical theory approach to examining women in society, but a shift from essentialism to non-essentialism in contemporary theory. Early feminist theorists Smith and Collins were essentialists and assumed that there are inherent differences between men and women.

Women are present in most social situations and where they are not, it is not because they lack ability or interest but because there have been deliberate efforts to exclude them (Lengermann and Niebrugger 2010). Lengermann and Niebrugger go on to say:

> "Yet though women are actively present in most social situations, scholars, publics, and social actors themselves, both male and female, have been blind to their presence. Moreover, women's' roles in most social situations, though essential, have been different from, less privileged than, and subordinate to the roles of men. Their invisibility is only one indicator of this inequality (2010:455)."

The second basic question, "*Why is all this as it is?*" has led to one of feminist sociological theory's major contributions—the development of the concept of gender (Lengermann and Niebrugger 2010: 455). Beginning in the 1970s, feminist theorists made distinctions between biological attributes and socially learned behaviors associated with males and females. There is no question that men are men and women are women, and each has different worlds. Women's worlds are more concrete and include senses, feelings and the physical body while men's worlds are more abstract. Smith argues the world of women has been overlooked, and her standpoint theory states that (1) what we experience is limited by our position, and (2) ontologically, women have been underrepresented (Appelrouth and Edles 2011). By asking this essential question, feminists agree, "gender is a social construction, something not emanating from nature but created by people as a part of the processes of life" (Lengermann and Niebrugger 2010: 454). The third question asked by all feminists, "*How can we change and improve the social world so as to make it a more just place for all people*?" highlights feminists' commitment to social transformation. Because of this commitment, feminist scholars constantly ensure that their research will improve the daily lives of the individuals they are studying.

As feminist scholarly research has developed over time, a newer, fourth question addresses diversity by asking: *"And what about the differences among women?"*

> "The answers to this question lead to a general conclusion that the invisibility, inequality, and role differences in relation to men that generally characterize women's' lives are profoundly affected by a woman's social location—that is, by her class, race, age, affectional preference, marital status, religion, ethnicity, and global location" (Lengermann and Niebrugger 2010:454).

Feminism's theoretical questions have altered our understanding of the world. If women's natures and activities are equal to that of men, the theories should reveal women's lives with just as much clarity and detail as the lives of men (Harding 1986). In contemporary society, what we previously thought of as universal knowledge of the world, is knowledge largely derived from the elite, white males of society. This new view forces society to acknowledge the 'underside' of society, "women, who in subordinated but indispensable 'serving' roles have worked to sustain and re-create the society we live in" (Lengermann and Niebrugger 2010: 456). Overall, feminist theory criticizes recognized societal perspectives by showing a masculine bias and acknowledging gender as a social construct.

Feminist theories acknowledge the absence of women and the subsequent presence of injustice in history and academia. Women's stories have not been told or analyzed in sociology to the extent that men's have. In fact, the majority of what we as scholars consider to be classical sociology is, in actuality, the sociology of men. As a result of this failure to legitimize women's perspectives, feminist and gender theorists are primarily women. This does not mean men cannot be feminist theorists. However, it is important to note the epistemology that underlies feminist and gender theories. In male-dominated sociology, only masculine-geared questions were asked and only masculine problems were addressed. Feminist theory was inspired by the realization of this

inequality and feminism was and is viewed as a correction to this injustice. Feminist and gender theorists strive to fill in the blanks of history and to fill in the blanks of the future. In terms of gender and sexual identity, for example, feminists, particularly Butler, have shown how to utilize a multitude of theories and paradigms as a lens to get close to the true image of sexuality and gender. Ultimately, feminist and gender theories are progressive. They recognize the movement of knowledge—the movement of one idea to another and use this as a theoretical tool to inch closer and closer to true reality.

Section 2: What motivates people to volunteer?

Volunteers are individuals seeking to aid disaster victims (Phillips 2009). Religious participation repeatedly predicts volunteerism (Michel 2007). Understanding why this is so involves examining several dimensions of religiosity. For example, one standard measure of religiosity, religious attendance, predicts volunteerism. Belonging to a service organization increases one's exposure to acquaintances and facilitates the flow of information, thereby providing additional opportunities for volunteer work (Janoski, Musick, and Wilson 1998). Church attendance alone does not increase volunteerism, but the social ties developed at church creates networks of volunteers. Researchers suggest that rather than strict attendance, it is social interaction experienced because of attendance that increases time spent volunteering (Cnaan, Kasternakis, and Wineburg 1993). Many denominations have FBOs focused on disaster volunteers. Based on social resources theory, belonging to a voluntary organization increases the opportunity to learn about volunteer activities (McAdam and Paulsen 1993). Individuals who feel that donating their time will have a greater impact are more likely to feel personally

responsible to help that those who feel their time will have less of an impact (Michel 2007).

In addition to religious affiliation, social networks encourage volunteerism by easing the initial anxiety related to entering a new volunteer setting (Haski-Leventhal and Cnaan 2009). Furthermore, social networks make the group more efficient in a short period of time (Haski-Leventhal and Cnaan 2009). Networks facilitate initial volunteerism, and increase the likelihood that an individual will continue to volunteer. Volunteer retention rates increase as volunteers develop social bonds both with other volunteers and with those in need. In a practical sense, networks offer volunteers logistical benefits including reliable communication, stability, and organization. In a moral sense, networks provide individuals with an outlet to express their values and beliefs (Clary et al. 1998).

What kinds of volunteers do we see in disasters?

After a major disaster, communities typically experience a phenomenon known as convergence, or the influx of people into the affected area (Fritz and Mathewson 1957; Barsky, Trainor, Torres and Aguirre 2007). This influx varies in size and contains a wide variety of volunteers ranging from professional, technically trained formal emergency responders, to the partially trained, to untrained but well-meaning individuals (Barsky, Trainor, Torres and Aguirre 2007). Unaffiliated volunteers are not part of a recognized voluntary agency and often have no formal training in emergency response (Points of Light Foundation 2004). Affiliated volunteers are individuals attached to a recognized voluntary or nonprofit organization and trained for specific disaster response duties (Points of Light Foundation 2004). Many affiliated volunteers are attached to faith-based

organizations. An FBO is an entity connected to a faith tradition that provides support, resources, and volunteers in disaster situations (Phillips 2009). Volunteers affiliated with FBOs are typically required to attend training sessions and workshops to develop skills that will benefit victims during the response and recovery stages of a disaster. Of these disaster volunteers, FBOs like the Mennonite Disaster Service or MDS have assisted with recovery efforts since 1950 and have developed a reputation of hard work, reliable service and dedication.

Who volunteers?

Over the years, researchers have distinguished several demographics indicative of volunteering and volunteer work. Previous studies commonly examine characteristics including gender, age, employment status, education, race and ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and marital status. First, we will examine these demographics for volunteers as a whole to gain a sense of what influences individuals to commit their time for the benefit of others. A brief description of each demographic as it pertains to volunteers as a whole is provided in Figure 1. Second, we further explore each of these demographics as they relate to women, specifically, thus obtaining a more in-depth understanding of the impact of gender on volunteering. Figure 2 offers a summary of the demographics mentioned above and how they influence women volunteers.

Gender

Research completed in the last several decades has revealed gender differences within volunteerism. Women are more likely than are men to participate in volunteer work, especially informal helping (Wilson and Musick 1997a, Gallagher 1994). Women are more likely to attach value to helping others and are rated higher than are men on

measures of altruism and empathy (Wilson and Musick 1997a). Culturally, “it is a woman’s job to hold families together,” (Argyle 1991:212) and many women “view volunteering as an extension of their roles as wives and mothers” (Negrey 1993: 93). Gender also influences the type of work individuals take part in (Wilson 2000). Women volunteers are more likely to participate in “women’s work,” involving more caring, person-to-person tasks and fewer public or political activities (Wilson 2000: 228). They are also less likely to be found in leadership positions such as project managers (Cable 1992, Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen 1991, Perkins 1990, Thompson 1993, 1995).

Figure 1. Volunteer Demographics

Demographic	Description	Increases (+) or Decreases (-) Volunteering
Gender	Women are more likely to volunteer than are men. Women attach more value to helping others and believe the "good life demands assisting others."	Gender (+) *Sources: Wilson and Musick 1997, Gallagher 1994*
Age	Older adults are less likely than are younger adults to have occupational and familial obligations such as child rearing and caring for one's parents.	Older Volunteers (+) *Sources: Wilson and Musick 1997, Willigen 2000*
Employment Status	Employed people are more likely than non-employed People to volunteer, despite the time demands of work. There is not a tradeoff in time spent working versus volunteering.	Employed (+) *Sources: Einolf and Chambré 2011, Sundeen et. al 2007*
Education	Volunteering is more appealing to the resource rich. If volunteering requires knowledge and 'civic skills,' the well-educated will be less challenged by it and thus, more likely to volunteer.	Higher education (+) *Sources: Chambré 1987, Musick and Wilson 2008*
Race and Ethnicity	Minorities typically have fewer expendable resources making it more difficult to volunteer. There is no direct effect of race on helping behavior.	White (+) Non-White (-) *Sources: Hewitt 2001, O'Neil 2001, Wilson and Musick 1997*
Socioeconomic Status	Evidence indicates volunteered time and donated money is not interchangeable. However, if volunteer work demands money, the wealthy will find it easier to do.	Lower SES (-) Mid to Higher SES (+) *Sources: Gerard 1985, Hettman and Jenkins 1990, Hewitt 2001, Unger 1991, Freeman 1997, Musick and Wilson 2008*
Marital Status	Married persons are more likely to participate in voluntary organizations and to do volunteer work. Couples tend to have a larger social network and, if they have children, participate in volunteer service related to their children.	Married (+) *Sources: Wilson and Musick 1997, Rotolo 2000*

Figure 2. Women and Volunteering

Demographic	Description	Increases (+) or Decreases (-) Volunteering
Age	Women over age 60 are no more likely than are men to volunteer. Women under age 60 are more likely to volunteer than are men.	Older (+/?) *Source: Willigen 2000, Wuthnow 1995:152*
Employment Status	Part-time employment encourages women to volunteer, but not men. Employment as a whole; however, can decrease women's volunteering as they "bear disproportionate responsibility for raising children, caring for the ill, disabled, and elderly, and meeting the family's daily needs."	Employed (+/-) *Source: Taniguchi 2006, Caputo 1997 Phillips and Morrow 2008:29.*
Education	Education does not determine women's volunteer efforts; however, women who volunteer have higher levels of education than non-volunteers.	Higher Education (+) *Source: Bowen et al. 2000, Gerard 1985, Hettman and Jenkins 1990*
Race and Ethnicity	Minorities typically have fewer expendable resources making it more difficult to volunteer. There is no direct effect of race on helping behavior.	White (+) Non-White (-) *Sources: Hewitt 2001, O'Neil 2001, Wilson and Musick 1997*
Socioeconomic Status	Women are more likely than are men to be in families with low incomes and women's volunteer work are more affected by family income. Women would volunteer more if they had the same amount of human capital as men.	Lower SES (-) *Sources: Wilson and Musick 1997, Gallagher 1994b:74, Rosenthal et al 1998: 485*
Marital Status	Married persons are more likely to participate in voluntary organizations and to do volunteer work. Having children at home fosters group participation and volunteer service, especially for women. If only one spouse volunteers, it is most likely to be the wife.	Married (+) *Sources: Wilson and Musick 1997, Rotolo 2000, Smith 1994, Wuthnow 1995:272.*

Age

As people age, they accumulate obligations, in part because "the pattern of familial help is from parents to children throughout the life cycle" (Wilson and Musick 1997a:701). Obligations tend to peak in the middle years when both one's children and one's parents are likely to make demands (Wilson and Musick 1997a). With increasing age, people are less likely to have elderly relatives to care for (Wilson and Musick 1997a). Elderly are "less likely to have other social roles to keep them active and are more likely to receive greater benefits" (Willigen 2000:316). Older volunteers experience greater psychological benefits than do younger volunteers for each hour that they volunteer (Willigen 2000). The majority of volunteer work in which seniors engage occurs because of their association with a religious organization (Ellison 1991). In reference to women specifically, age influences volunteer work to a certain degree. Women over age 60 are no more likely than are men to volunteer (Wuthnow 1995). Women under age 60 are more likely to volunteer than are men (1995).

Employment Status

Employed people are more likely than non-employed people to volunteer despite the time demands of work (Einolf and Chambré 2011, Smith 1994). Although non-volunteers attribute lack of time as the reason for not being involved in volunteer work, there is not a tradeoff in time spent working versus volunteering (Sundeen et al. 2007). Those with managerial and professional level jobs are more likely to be asked to volunteer (Wilson 2000) and are more likely to create an attachment to work and work-like activities that easily translates into volunteerism (Herzog and Morgan 1993). Individuals that have self-directed jobs, those that score high on autonomy, decision-

making, complexity and variety, volunteer for a wider range of activities than other workers (Wilson and Musick 1997b). In reference to women, part-time employment encourages women to volunteer, but not men (Taniguchi 2006). Employment as a whole, however, can decrease women's volunteering as they "bear disproportionate responsibility for raising children, caring for the ill, disabled, and elderly, and meeting the family's daily needs" (Phillips and Morrow 2008:29).

Education

"Level of education is the most consistent predictor of volunteering" (Wilson 2000: 219). Volunteering is more appealing to the resource rich (Wilson and Musick 2008). If volunteering requires knowledge and 'civic skills,' the well-educated will be less challenged by it and thus, more likely to volunteer (Wilson and Musick 2008). Educated individuals are more likely to be asked to volunteer because they belong to more organizations (Brady et al. 1999). The benefits of education are two-fold. Education acts as a resource, but also "teaches pro-social values and promotes social roles and integration" (Einolf and Chambré 2011:301). In reference to women, education does not determine women's volunteer efforts; however, women who volunteer have higher levels of education than do non-volunteers (Bowen et al. 2000, Gerard 1985, Hettman and Jenkins 1990). Women aged 50-80 years that have volunteered in the past or currently volunteer reported more education than did non-volunteers, and were more likely to be married and in better health (Bowen et al. 2000).

Race and Ethnicity

There is no direct effect of race on helping behavior (Wilson and Musick 1997). A number of studies have explored the relationship between race and volunteering,

initially finding differences across races. However, race and ethnicity differences dissipate when education, income, occupation and neighborhood conditions are controlled (Wilson 2000, O'Neill 2001). Studies also show that "much volunteer recruitment is intraracial" (Musick, Wilson and Bynum 2000: 1560). Similar to age and gender, race and ethnicity influences what type of volunteer work people participate in (Wilson 2000). For example, "blacks are more influenced by their church than are whites" (Wilson 2000, Musick, Wilson and Bynum 2000). Currently, there is no evidence suggesting a correlation between race and ethnicity and gender in volunteering.

Socioeconomic Status

People with high socioeconomic status volunteer more because they have more verbal, writing, and social skills, which give them more confidence to reach out to others and make them more desirable as volunteers (Verba et al. 1995). Evidence indicates volunteered time and donated money is not interchangeable (Freeman 1997). However, if volunteer work requires money, "wealthier individuals will find it easier to do so" (Musick and Wilson 2008:113). Income is positively associated only with health-related and education related volunteering and has no impact on religious or informal volunteering (Sundeen and Raskoff 1995). Women are more likely than are men to be in families with low incomes, and women's volunteer work is more affected by family income (Wilson and Musick 1997). Women would volunteer more if they had the same amount of human capital as men (Gallagher 1994b, Rosenthal et al. 1998).

Marital Status

Married individuals are more likely to participate in voluntary organizations and to do volunteer work (Wilson and Musick 1997). Couples tend to have a larger social

networks and, if they have children, participate in volunteer service related to their children (Wilson and Musick 1997). “Social connections provide the resources i.e. information, labor, and trust that increase the likelihood of volunteerism” (Smith 1994: 253). Evidence points to an interesting relationship between a husband's and a wife’s volunteer hours. “A wife’s volunteering complements her husbands’—as his volunteer hours increase, hers also increases; but a husbands volunteering is a substitute for his wife’s—as her hours increase, his decrease” (Segal 1993:100). If only one spouse volunteers, it is most likely the wife (Wuthnow 1995). Having children at home fosters group participation and volunteer service, especially for women (Rotolo 2000).

Section 3: History of Anabaptism

An in-depth understanding of volunteerism and demographic characteristics of volunteers answers the questions “*Who volunteers*?” and “*What are the motivations behind volunteering*?” In order to better understand this study’s sample; however, I take a further look into the Anabaptist faith—the faith that serves as the theological and structural foundation of MDS. This section sheds light on the evolution of women’s roles within the MDS by presenting a historical and theological background of Anabaptism.

In 1525, Anabaptism emerged in Europe as a branch of the Radical Reformation after the 1517 Protestant Reformation (Kraybill 2001). In opposition to the Protestant and Roman Catholic Church, the movement attempted to reinterpret and restore beliefs and practices found in the New Testament (Kraybill 2010). The first Anabaptists, deemed radicals by the Catholic church, agreed that reforms needed to vividly contrast with established Catholic traditions. In 1525, impatient students of the Protestant pastor Ulrich Zwingli baptized one another as adults rather than adhering to the established Catholic

tradition of infant baptism. This rebellious act of adult baptism established the foundation for an independent church that was free of state control. Adherents became known as Anabaptists or rebaptizers in an act that served to challenge both religious and civil authorities.

In 16th century Europe, such new adherence was considered by the Catholic Church to be a criminal act because it threatened "the marriage of civil and religious authority that had developed over centuries" (Kraybill 2001:2). Anabaptists disliked the label because they did not consider their own infant baptism to be scriptural or valid and therefore did not consider themselves rebaptizers (Kraybill 2010). Still, rebaptizing adults inherently questioned the authority of church and state relations, which was considered an act of heresy.

When Anabaptists refused this authority, based on their interpretation of the New Testament and the life of Christ, they faced harsh persecution. "Thousands were tortured and killed by religious and civil authorities—burned at the stake, drowned in lakes and rivers, starved in prisons and beheaded by the sword" (Kraybill 2001:2). Not surprisingly, this ingroup versus outgroup behavior (Tajifel 1974) promoted the spread of the Anabaptist Movement rather than confining it. Persecution facilitated martyrdom and the "missionary zeal" that led to the rapid expansion of Anabaptism throughout central Europe (Kraybill 2010: 13). In this time of expansion, the activities of women became especially important as the movement spread. Women's roles as teachers, evangelists, elders, and prophets were more prominent than in Catholic or other Protestant groups, and about one third of the 930 identified martyrs are women (Kraybill 2010). Throughout

the next century, the Anabaptist community began to branch off into three primary groups: the Mennonites, the Amish, and the Hutterites (Figure 3).

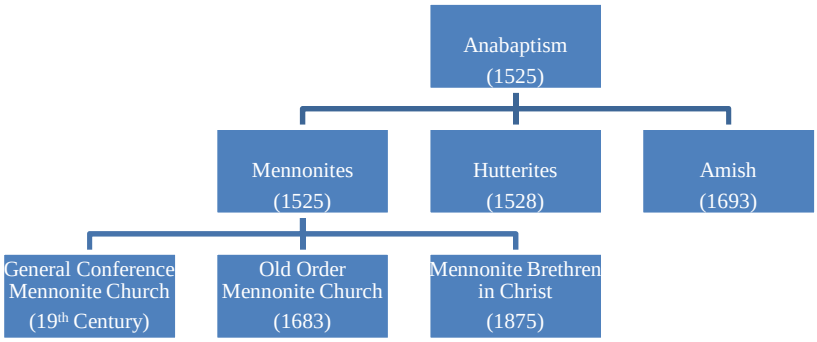

Figure 3. Diagram of Anabaptist branches.

Anabaptist Theology

Bender (1944) identifies three key convictions of Anabaptism: discipleship, church, and non-resistance. Discipleship involves shaping one's entire life to follow the teachings and examples of Jesus Christ. Church supports the notion that membership is voluntary and based on true conversion. Love and non-resistance are principles that should be applied to all human relationships. Most Anabaptist groups also emphasize the authority of the Bible, especially the teachings of Jesus in the New Testament, and affirm the guidance of the Holy Spirit for the individual believer and the church (Kraybill 2010). The Mennonites, Amish, and Hutterites are the closest historical descendants of 16th century Anabaptists and share a common theological history. Despite this common theological history, the Hutterites, Amish and Mennonites have each evolved into distinct groups and emphasize particular beliefs. The roles of women within the three primary

Anabaptist communities have evolved somewhat differently over time. The Mennonites are more inclined to practice modern beliefs, while the Amish and the Hutterites have maintained more traditional roles for women.

Anabaptism and Gender

Gender roles within Anabaptism have shifted since the beginning of the Anabaptist Movement in the 1500s. Near the beginning of the movement, women held various roles in the community including teachers, evangelists, elders, and prophets (Kraybill 2010). In this regard, the Anabaptists were fairly liberal compared to the Catholic and Protestant churches. As the level of persecution against Anabaptists increased, they were forced to migrate into the more rural, agricultural outskirts of larger society and most Anabaptist churches began to restrict the role of women to motherhood and homemaking. This deprivation of leadership amongst women continued throughout the 16th and 17th centuries. In the 1800s, the ordination of women was still prohibited, but more assimilated groups allowed women to participate actively in leadership roles. In the 1900s, "sewing circles and other women's organizations emerged and women began entering secular and church-related professions outside of the home" (Kraybill 2010: 94). Despite this breakthrough, the concept of headship, or the understanding of the husband's dominant leadership role in the religious affairs of the family, prevailed in more traditional groups. Official roles in church leadership continue to be restricted for women, but they do exert considerable influence through their husbands and other informal means (Kraybill 2010). A brief but informative description of each of the three communities will provide insight into the culture of MDS and how women's roles have changed, or remained the same, over time.

The Mennonites

After the Reformation in the 1500s, Mennonites (who followed Menno Simons) migrated to Poland/Prussia, Russia and North America. Worldwide members of the Mennonite-related churches are now found in about 80 countries and number over 1.6 million (Kraybill 2010). Historical, religious and cultural factors have produced more than 150 different Mennonite groups in North America. Mennonite groups roughly fall into two categories: traditional groups, with a tendency towards orthodox beliefs, and assimilated groups, with a tendency towards liberal beliefs. Over half of the Mennonites in North America are members of assimilated groups. They are more likely to accept new technology, higher education, and contemporary values. They are also more likely to embrace mainstream cultural practices related to diversity, dress, gender roles, theological education and political involvement.

Yet, the Mennonite community's theological foundation of discipleship, church, and non-resistance remains steady and permeates into organizations like MDS (Bender 1944). Centuries of persecution and migration led Mennonites to become the "quiet in the land" (Wieler 2005). The idea of "quiet in the land" highlights the Mennonites passivism, commitment to non-resistance and humility (Weiler 2005). Mennonites avoid larger society and keep their beliefs and customs to themselves to survive and prosper despite prosecution for centuries. Their beliefs, faith and devotion permeate their culture in every way in contemporary society particularly in the development of MDS.

The Amish

The Amish separated from the Anabaptist Movement in 1693 due to a variety of religious and cultural differences. Key issues included the degree of separation from the

world and the practice of shunning or *Meidung*. The *Meidung* remains a key concept and is at the heart of the Amish system of social control along with other values including humility, brotherly love, group discussion and consensus. The Amish can be classified into two groups: Old Order and New Order. Old Order Amish are more conservative and held to the old *ordnung* or regulations, while the New Order (formed in the 1960s) emphasize fewer restrictions on technology, a more personal religious experience and stricter guidelines for youth activities. Most Amish communities have several common practices. They hold religious services in their homes every other Sunday, complete formal education at the end of the eighth grade, use horse and buggy for local travel and forbid the ownership of electronic media.

The Amish lifestyle revolves around the idea of functionalism and humility along with a resistance to change and the temptations of larger society. Such resistance to change is reflected in the role of women within the Amish home and community. The Amish share a general understanding that the woman's place is in the home (Kephart and Zellner 1991). There is a strict adherence to Corinthians 11:7 "Man is the image and glory of God; but woman is the glory of man." In accordance with God's wishes, women are treated with kindness and respect "so long as they maintain their subordinate status" (Kephart and Zellner 1991:30). Women perform typical household duties including washing dishes, preparing food, and cleaning, and also mow the lawn, milk cows, and paint. It is not appropriate for women to be members of the clergy; however, women may vote in church matters. Amish women acknowledge the gender inequalities they face, but there is little indication they desire a change from the traditional, patriarchal way of life (Kephart and Zellner 1991).

The Hutterites

The Hutterites branched off from the Anabaptist Movement in 1528 and take their name from Jacob Hutter, an early Anabaptist leader (Kraybill 2001). They faced vicious propaganda and torture in the form of burning, branding, amputation and starvation in the 16th and 17th centuries because of their belief in adult baptism. Once they migrated to the United States (Dakotas region) they expanded to 480 colonies with an average of 100 individuals in each. Hutterites remain distinct from the Amish and the Mennonites in their focus on communal property as described in the New Testament book of Acts. Hutterites live in large agricultural colonies separated from larger society. The colony lives as an extended family and they meet together daily for meals and church services. While each family has their own individual apartment, the colony shares everything else. Individuals do not own individual property aside from a few items of clothing and furniture. Communal property and communal living involves "sharing material goods, surrendering self-will for communal harmony, and separating from a world perceived as corrupt" (Kraybill 2001:111).

The role of women within the Hutterite community has experienced a gradual change from unintended oppression to growing independence. Within this communal structure, women are traditionally viewed to be morally weaker and in need of men's guidance (Peter 1987). This guidance is not intended to take an oppressive stance, but rather to offer Christian love and understanding (Peter 1987). Consequently, women were given a second class status to men. Men could claim religious, political, and economic authority over women (Peter 1987). In contemporary Hutterite society, women continue to perform traditional duties including cooking, baking, laundry, and painting; however,

they organize their work independently, and their opinions are valued more by men (Peter 1987). Despite these progressive additions to women's independence in the Hutterite community have not been reflected in the formal authority and leadership of Hutterite communities.

As a whole, Mennonites, Amish and Hutterites with similar perspectives have a faith-based understanding of their duty as a follower of Jesus Christ. This understanding is one that embraces the idea of community, mutual aid, and caring for each other and for neighbors. For generations, volunteers from these communities have assisted family and neighbors in need as a way to live as Christ would. In contemporary society, and in MDS in particular, they still adhere to the saying "We may be strangers to you, but you are our neighbors. We cannot fully understand your loss, but we want to share your burden" (Wiebe 1976: 164). MDS offers a unique opportunity to observe how gender roles have evolved from the beginning of MSO in 1950 to present day MDS. It gives us the chance to assess the variables that typically predict the relationship between gender and volunteerism i.e. religion, meaning of work, type of work, and time restraints. This study will examine if these variables and corresponding relationships hold true for this particular FBO, MDS, which includes beliefs ranging from orthodox to modern views.

Mennonite Disaster Service

The foundation of MDS traces back to its Anabaptist roots and to World War II when Mennonite, Amish and other young men (plus women volunteers) chose Civilian Public Service (CPS) rather than active duty to abide by their pacifist beliefs (Detweiler 2000). As a part of their CPS duties, volunteers performed agricultural tasks and assisted in response efforts for nearby disasters. Post WWII, at a church picnic in Kansas,

volunteers discussed a collective desire to continue response services and in 1951, they established Men's Service Organization (MSO) which became the foundation of MDS. During this beginning stage of MDS, women were present during church picnics and gatherings, although excerpts from archival records including first MSO coordinator, John Diller, show that MSO was primarily male-based and women did not hold leadership positions within the organization. Rather, initial evidence suggests the traditional nature of women's roles revolved around food, cooking, farm work, cleaning dishes and correspondence (e.g. writing thank you letters).

Today, MDS is a bi-national (Canada-United States) organization that responds to disasters in these two countries on behalf of many Mennonite and related groups (Detweiler 2000). MDS, along with Salvation Army (SA) and the American Red Cross (ARC), is one of three agencies recognized by the U.S. government to work in the area of disaster relief (Brenneman 1980). MDS works closely with ARC, SA, the Federal Emergency Management Administration (FEMA) and the Emergency Measures Organization (EMO) in Canada. They were founding members of the National Voluntary Organizations Active in Disaster (NVOAD) (Detweiler 2000) which now has over fifty national members (NVOAD.org).

MDS offers a unique opportunity to observe how gender roles have evolved from the beginning of MSO in 1950 to present day MDS. It gives us the chance to assess the variables that typically predict the relationship between gender and volunteerism i.e. religion, meaning of work, type of work, and time restraints. This study will examine if these variables and corresponding relationships hold true for this particular FBO, MDS, which includes beliefs ranging from orthodox to modern views. In particular, this study

examines gender historically, using archival resources and then utilizes a more current survey.

Research Questions

The central research questions behind this study are: (1) *Have the roles of women in MDS changed within the organization since its establishment in 1950*? and (2) *How are the roles of women different from the roles of men within MDS in 2010*? The following statement represents the underlying logic for conducting this study. If women (a) are impacted to a greater extent than are men by resources such as education and employment, and (b) are influenced by degree of orthodoxy, then we can expect women to be less likely to (c) serve more time than men and (d) work in leadership positions than men on MDS project sites and within the organization.

.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This is a secondary analysis of data collected and processed by MDS and project consultants in order to learn more about their constituency. I received permission to access and analyze this survey data for this study which consists of conducting bivariate and multivariate analyses using STATA. In addition to analyzing the survey data, I also examine historical MDS documents to answer the two research questions: (1) *Have the roles of women in MDS changed within the organization since its establishment in 1950?* and (2) *How are the roles of women different from the roles of men within MDS in 2010?* The following hypotheses examine the nature of the relationship between the dependent variable, volunteerism, and four socio-demographic variables: gender, age, education, geographic location, employment, and two substantive variables: degree of orthodoxy and importance of faith. The first two hypotheses are intended to measure the relationship between gender and the aspect of time and availability. The second set of hypotheses address the leadership component of this study. They are intended to measure the association between gender and leadership positions on a MDS project site, and within the MDS organizational structure as a whole.

H1: Women serve less time than men on MDS project sites.

H2: Women serve fewer times on MDS project sites than do men.

H3: Women are less likely to work in leadership positions than men on MDS project sites.

H4: Women are less likely to work in leadership positions than men in the MDS organizational structure.

By addressing these research questions and hypotheses, I examine the relationships between gender, religiosity, volunteerism, and leadership in MDS. First, I describe the archival documents used to qualitatively assess the research questions. Next, I provide a description of the survey data, dependent variable, and independent variables utilized in this study.

Archival Documents

The historical documents used in this study cover a span of approximately 100 years, dating as early as 1888 to 1989. The documents broadly cover two areas: life in the Anabaptist ministry and the development of MDS. Within detailed descriptions of life in the Anabaptist ministry, I searched for any roles taken on or performed by women within the ministry. Notable findings included women receiving ordination, ministering congregations, and administering medical and spiritual aid (e.g. volunteerism). In addition, I made note of women's decline in the ministry. My research found that after women's rise within the ministry, they experienced a subsequent demise. For example, women were dissuaded from pursuing a career in the ministry, were not ordained, and their roles were limited to domestic duties. Many of the documents regarding the ministry are specific to the Mennonite Brethren in Christ, but the documents address the Anabaptist faith as a whole as well.

The second collection of documents revolved around the development of MDS. Documents included the MSO constitution and guidelines, minutes from several MSO and MDS meetings, letters of correspondence between various MDS members and leaders, speeches given by MDS leaders, and personal accounts of MDS activities throughout its establishment. One of the most notable documents is a questionnaire distributed to Mennonite women in 1960. This questionnaire directly addressed what women did to participate with MDS, how they viewed their roles, and how they thought they could improve. I examined 27 documents for any women's roles, including gender-traditional roles such as cooking and doing laundry, and traditional male roles such as construction work. As with the Anabaptist ministry documents, I again searched for any indication that women were limited in their roles or if parting from gender-traditional roles was frowned upon. After examining all documents, I constructed a timeline (Appendix A) summarizing women's roles in the Anabaptist ministry and within MDS from 1888 to 1989.

Survey Data Description

MDS distributed a survey in 2010 at the five-year anniversary of Hurricane Katrina and the sixty year anniversary of MDS. The survey included data from volunteers who worked on Hurricane Katrina, Hurricane Rita, Hurricane Ike and other disasters. The survey was distributed online using Survey Monkey as well as through traditional mail in order to access respondents who do not use modern technology (i.e. the Amish). There were 651 online respondents and 201 paper respondents, totaling 852 respondents. The survey consisted of 52 questions, including both open-ended (respondents provided their own answers) and closed-ended questions (respondents select from a list of provided

answers). The dependent variable, volunteerism, was measured four ways: days volunteered on a project site, number of times volunteered at project site, leadership positions on a MDS project site and leadership positions within the MDS organization. Independent variables included five socio-demographic variables: gender, age (in years), education, geographic location, and employment, and two substantive variables: religion and meaning of work.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable in the analysis is volunteerism. It is measured in four ways: number of days volunteered, number of occasions volunteered, leadership positions on a MDS project site, and leadership positions within the MDS organization. Number of days volunteered and number of occasions volunteered are intended to measure commitment as well as availability. Leadership positions on a project site and within the MDS organization are intended to measure leadership. It is important to note the distinction between project site leadership positions and MDS organizational positions. Leadership positions that exist on project sites (project director, crew leader) do not exist within the MDS organization. Leadership positions within the MDS organization (Binational Board Member, Unit Board Member) exist only in the MDS organization. Their authority does not overlap and they are mutually exclusive.

Days Volunteered

Respondents were asked to estimate the total number of days they had volunteered on an MDS project either in their home community or elsewhere in Canada or the United States within the past five years. Response categories included (1) 1-2 weeks, (2) 1 month, (3) up to 2 months, (4) up to 3 months, and (5) 4 months or more.

Times Volunteered

Respondents were asked how many occasions they had volunteered on an MDS project locally or bi-nationally within the past five years. Categories included (1) one time, (2) two to three times, (3) four to five times, and (4) more than five times.

MDS Project Site Leadership Positions

Leadership positions were determined by asking "In what capacity do you know MDS? Please select all that apply." Response categories included Long-term volunteer, Short-term volunteer, Financial donor, Congregational contact person, Unit leader, Unit board member, Regional leader, Bi-national board member, Staff member, Cook, Project director, Office manager, and Crew/construction leader. Categories 'Short-term volunteer, Long-term volunteer, Staff member, and Financial donor' were eliminated because they do not measure leadership. The categories (Project director and Crew/construction leader) constitute project site leadership. Respondents that checked more than one category were eliminated. The selected categories were recoded into a dummy variable 1=leadership position on a project site, 0= not leadership position on project site.

MDS Organization Leadership Positions

Leadership positions within the organization were also determined by asking "In what capacity do you know MDS? Select all that apply." Response categories are the same as listed above. Again, categories 'short-term volunteer, long-term volunteer, staff member, and financial donor were eliminated because they do not measure leadership. Categories including Congregational contact person, Unit leader, Unit board member, Regional leader, and Bi-national board member were recoded in a scale from 1 to 5. Five

indicates the greatest amount of authority, while one indicates the least amount of authority. 5= Bi-national board member, 4= Regional leader, 3= Unit board member, 2= Unit leader, 1=Congregational contact person.

Independent Variables

In this study, gender is the key variable measuring the influence of being a female member of MDS. Gender was recoded 1=female, 0=male. Two substantive variables assess participant religiosity: degree of religious orthodoxy and importance of faith.

Orthodoxy

To assess how variation occurs within and across Anabaptist denominations, respondents were asked, "What is your denomination?" Respondents identified with nineteen different denominations including (1) Mennonite Church USA, (2) Mennonite Church Canada, (3) Brethren in Christ, (4) Mennonite Brethren, (5) Conservative conference (6) Amish (includes Beachy, New Order, Old Order), (7) Old Order Mennonite (includes Groffdale), (8) EMC, (9) EMMC, (10) Sommerfelder, (11) Other Mennonite, (12) Other Anabaptist, (13) Methodist, (14) Catholic, (15) Presbyterian, (16) Other Protestant, (17) Other Christian, (18) Other faith, (19) none. Response categories 13-19 (approximately 100 responses) are considered non-Anabaptist and were eliminated. The remaining categories were recoded into an orthodoxy scale ranging from 1-10, 10 being most orthodox and 1 being most liberal. Level of orthodoxy for each denomination was determined by two scholars: one an Anabaptist instructor of disaster studies with extensive experience with MDS and the other an Anabaptist theologian. The Anabaptist denominations were classified as follows 10=Amish, 9=Old Order Mennonite; 8=Sommerfelder, 7= Conservative Mennonite Conference, 6= Evangelical Mennonite

Conference (EMC), 5= Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference (EMMC); 4= Mennonite Brethren, 3=Brethren in Christ, 2= MC USA, 1= MC Canada.

Importance of Faith

The relationship between gender and the meaning of the volunteer experience was determined by asking "How important is MDS to you in living out your faith?" Response categories included (1) very important, (2) important, (3) neutral, (4) somewhat important, and (5) not important. Values for the categories were reverse coded to reflect a better representation of the scale. In other words, higher numbers reflect high importance. 5=very important, 4= important, 3= neutral, 2=somewhat important, and 1= not important.

Socio-demographic Variables

Several demographic variables were controlled for including education, age, geographic location, and employment status. Educational level was measured by the number of years of school completed. Response categories included (1) less than 9 years, (2) 10-12 years non-graduate, (3) 12 year graduate, (4) some college/university, (5) college/university graduate, (6) graduate studies, and (7) graduate or professional degree. Respondent's age in years was categorized into (1) under 20, (2) 20-39, (3) 40-59, (4) 60-75, and (5) 75+. Employment status categories included (1) student, (2) home manager, (3) employed full-time, (4) employed part-time, (5) retired and (6) semi-retired. Categories 3 and 4 were recoded into 'employed,' and then further recoded into a dummy variable, 1= employed, 0=else. Categories 2, 5, 6 were recoded into 'student/unemployed,' and further recoded into a dummy variable, 1= unemployed, 0= else. Geographic location was determined by asking "What is the state/province of your

residence?" Responses were recoded into the five MDS response regions depicted in Figure 2 below. Region 1 includes the eastern coast of the U.S. and contains MDS headquarters located in Pennsylvania. Regions 2 and 3 cover the U.S. mid-west. Region 4 includes the western coast and Region 5 includes Canada. These variables were further recoded into dummy variables, Region 2=1, Else=0; Region 3=1, Else=0; Region 4=1, Else=0; and Region 5=1, Else=0. Region 1 was used as the comparison group as it typically produces the majority of volunteers, and contains MDS Headquarters.

Figure 4. Mennonite Disaster Service Regional Map. Map retrieved from http://mds.mennonite.net/regions-units/

Methods

The analysis begins with a presentation of descriptive statistics (data description, frequency distributions and means) of the variables separated by gender. Data is then tested for bivariate statistically significant relationships between all variables and gender, using chi-square and *t*-tests. To account for the effects of other variables and test

Hypotheses 1 and 2, Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression is used to predict the association between gender and days volunteered and times volunteered holding all else constant. Next, Hypothesis 3 is tested using binary logistic regression. Binary logistic regression is used to estimate the relationship between leadership positions on a MDS project site and gender. Data is first presented with a comparison of only gender and leadership on MDS project sites and then presented taking all variables into consideration. Lastly, OLS regression is used once more to analyze Hypothesis 4, the relationship between gender and leadership positions within the MDS organizational structure. Again, data is presented with a comparison of only gender and leadership within the MDS organizational structure and then taking all variables into account.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

This chapter organizes findings in the following manner. The first section provides a presentation of historical MDS documents and evidence that women have been integrating into MDS since its establishment in 1950. Next, this chapter presents descriptive statistics and bivariate analysis, and offers some preliminary findings concerning Hypotheses 1 and 2. Next, this chapter addresses each of the hypotheses with a multivariate analysis including Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression and binary logistic regression. The analysis estimates two models for each of the four dependent variables: days volunteered, times volunteered, leadership positions on MDS project sites, and leadership positions within the MDS organization. The first examines the influence of only gender, and the second, full model includes all variables. Lastly, this chapter integrates and compares the survey results with historical MDS documents—evidence that women have been integrating into MDS since its establishment in 1950—to gain a better understanding of how, and how much women's roles have evolved from 1950 to 2010.

Archival MDS Documents

The survey results provide a snapshot of women's roles in MDS in 2010. In order to gain a better understanding of how women's roles have evolved within the organization since its establishment in 1950, it is important to interpret and compare these survey results within the context of historical MDS and Anabaptist documents. Appendix A offers a timeline of the historical evolution of women's roles in the Mennonite community from 1873 through 1989. This timeline describes a combination of women's roles within the Anabaptist ministry as well as women's roles in MDS. Within the Anabaptist ministry, women took an active role in the church beginning in the 1870s. In 1884, Jane Douglas became the first woman credentialed for ministry by the Mennonite Brethren in Christ (Norris 2011). In 1888, women were received by the Mennonite church, except in ordination (The Doctrines and Discipline of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ 1888). Women persisted, and between 1895 and 1920, more than 200 women helped start more than 800 congregations (Engbrecht 1996). These women touched hundreds of people with their messages (Norris 2011). One female preacher instructed her sister preachers to "Preach and tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth… [and] in your true womanly way… give out heart truth, and it will reach hearts" (Gospel Banner 1900). Between 1905 and 1975, more than 500 ministering sisters held revival services, preached in camp meetings, served as traveling evangelists, and did pioneer work overseas as missionaries (Erdel 2002).

After World War I and World War II, Mennonite Brethren in Christ views began to change (Norris 2011). In 1947, MBC changed its name to 'United Missionary Society.' As the church's identity changed, the UMC began to reduce opportunities for female

preachers (Norris 2011). By 1969, many seminaries refused women entrance, or if they accepted women, they were dissuaded from becoming pastors (Hassey 1986). Only signs of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ's history of women in ministry existed in "death notices stating that the woman was a retired ministering sister" (Erdel 2002). Lastly, in 1989, the Missionary Church "voted to discontinue its acceptance of women ministers, 16 years after the first woman minister in the Mennonite Church" (Norris 2011:7).

The gradual rise and subsequent demise of women's roles within the ministry from 1873 to 1989 was not mirrored with MDS. On the contrary, women's roles have continued to expand within the organization albeit at a slower pace than that of men (See Appendix A for a more in-depth timeline of women's roles). In 1951, women are mentioned for the first time in the Men's Service Organization Constitution. At this time women's roles included "direct the provision and distribution of food, clothing, etc., as needed" (MSO Constitution April 1951). Women assisted with the MSO North Topeka Reconstruction Project by "hanging paper and painting," and "scrubb[ing] and clean[ing] homes" (Report of the North Topeka Reconstruction Project as Related to MSO 1952). The auxiliary committee "brought sandwiches and coffee for weary men—helping in clean-up work—taking muddy laundry home to be returned to flooded families fresh and clean" (MSO Talk at Goshen College 1952). Throughout the 1950s, women held office staff positions performing secretarial work, wrote letters of correspondence, and kept records of MDS meetings (Mennonite Disaster Service Register of Attendance 1956). In 1958, women's roles were two-fold. Women themselves described their duties:

> "Materially, women distribute linens and clothing, washing bedding and clothing, assist Red Cross in serving meals, spend time helping find valuables and calming torn nerves, man child care centers, and staff recreation centers. R.N.'s serve in various places as hospitals, and First Aid Stations. Spiritually, women spend time in prayer, organize a

prayer group in the area and at home, listen to the woes of the affected, be prepared to hand our gospel tracts and literature, be friendly to those affected, and invited them to church. Follow up work is very important. Give card listing name and phone of local minister who can give help for some time to come" (Report of Mennonite Disaster Service at El Dorado, Kansas 1958:3).

Mrs. Ron Stutzman of Kansas City, Missouri reported women "provided food for workers, listened to the woes of the homeless, helped look for valuables lost, replaced men in their businesses so they could help in clean-up, shared in cooking with Red Cross and helped sort and give out clothing given by people of the greater Kansas City area" (Report of Mennonite Disaster Service at El Dorado, Kansas 1958:5).

In 1960, a questionnaire entitled "Mennonite Women in MDS," revealed women participated primarily in clean-up work, cooking meals, supplying food and clothing, and secretarial work (1960). Women were not yet officially included in MDS; however, MDS units reported "women will be welcome to help in any local situation where they can be used effectively," and "we have no plans at this moment, but no doubt when the occasion arises we will use women in this work" (1960). At this time, a few women's organizations worked with MDS, but this was not the norm. Records show women began to attend MDS meetings, but did not participate in planning (1960). Several MDS units believed they were not adequately organized, and suggested this as the reason for lack of women involvement. "Women were not asked to help in clean-up work; they came voluntarily and did the work just as good as the men" (1960). Ladies sewing circles and auxiliaries of Missionary Societies could be called upon if necessary (1960).

At this point in history, it is clear women serve important roles in MDS. These roles are primarily gender-traditional, i.e. cooking, washing clothes, and cleaning; and extremely valued by disaster victims and the MDS organization. Women's roles expanded to a much larger scale in 1969 after Hurricane Camille. MDS recorded:

"The disastrous Hurricane Camille inspired dozens of other ladies to volunteer their help through MDS. MDS's role has expanded to include women in its activity, but never

before on such a large scale. They [women] helped staff Red Cross kitchens, and assisted hurricane victims to file for aid, often taking care of the children of the family during the process" (Diller 1990:1).

Women's transition into taking a more prominent role within MDS continued into the 1970s. For the most part, women's duties remained unchanging during this time, and they often helped with clothing distribution, cooking, and cleaning. There is some evidence; however, indicating women's roles evolved into male-traditional roles. For instance, in 1972, it was reported that there had been cases where MDS wife-and-husband teams worked together in carpentry construction in response to Hurricane Celia (Ziegler 1972). In sum, historical evidence reveals that a woman's role within MDS, from its establishment in 1950 as MSO until 1972, revolved primarily around clean-up work, cooking meals, supplying food and clothing, and secretarial work. The following sections provide a snapshot of women's roles in MDS in 2010 with a detailed presentation of the 2010 MDS survey results.

Descriptive Statistics and Bivariate Analysis

Table 1 lists all variable and descriptive statistics including measures of central tendency (mean, median, mode, standard deviation, minimum, and maximum) as well as a brief definition of the variable. Table 2 lists all variables and descriptive statistics broken down by gender. When the data is divided by gender, there is a larger sample size for males (n=482) than for females (n=293). Leadership positions in MDS organizational structure and leadership positions on a MDS project site have significantly smaller sample sizes than do the other variables.

First, several socio-demographic variables were examined. Males are significantly older than female participants are (p<0.01). For both males and females, a majority of

participants identified with Region 1 and Region 5. This is not surprising as each of these regions contains a large majority of MDS volunteers. In addition, Region1 holds MDS headquarters and Region 5 covers all of Canada. There are significantly more female volunteers in Region 5 and significantly more male volunteers in Region1 ($p<0.01$). For both males and females, a majority of respondents identified as full-time employees or retirees. This is consistent with past findings as older adults are less likely to have other social roles to keep them active and generally have more time to participate in volunteer work (Willigen 2000). Past studies have also contended that full-time employees maintain social networks through volunteering and are more likely than non-employed individuals to volunteer despite the demands of work (Einolf and Chambré 2011, Haski-Leventhal and Cnaan 2009, Smith 1994). While approximately the same percentage of men and women identified as retired, there are significantly more male full-time employees, and significantly more female part-time employees ($p<0.001$). Past studies indicate that part-time employment encourages women to volunteer, but not men (Taniguchi 2006). Level of orthodoxy was not significant, but it is important to note that a majority of respondents identified as Mennonite Church Canada and Mennonite Church USA. Education and importance of faith did not show significant gender differences.

Next, the four dependent variables were examined. An examination of days volunteered on a MDS project site and leadership positions in the MDS organizational structure showed no significant gender differences. Within leadership positions in the MDS organizational structure a majority of respondents identified as a congregational contact person or a unit board member. In addition, there was a greater amount of women in the two respective categories. No women were identified as regional leaders or bi-

national board members. There were significantly more men than women that serve on MDS project sites ($p<0.001$). This is consistent with the literature as women often have greater domestic responsibilities including raising children and meeting the family's daily needs in addition to professional obligations that do men (Phillips and Morrow 2008). Moreover, men hold significantly more leadership positions than women on MDS project sites ($p<0.001$). Leadership roles such as project managers of volunteer organizations are, in fact, typically male-dominated (Cable 1992, Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen 1991, Perkins 1990, Thompson 1993, 1995).

Preliminary findings support the second hypothesis, suggesting women are more likely to serve fewer times than men. Moreover, it appears that our first hypothesis is not supported and gender has no influence on number of days volunteered. These findings, however, do not account for the effects of other variables, mentioned above, that might influence the association between gender and volunteerism. To address this issue, Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression, is used to predict days volunteered and times volunteered.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics for variables in MDS

	Mean	Median	Mode	SD	Min	Max	N	Description
Dependent Variables								
Days Volunteered on MDS Project Site	2.04	1	1	1.43	1	5	768	Scale from 1-5 (1= 1 to 2 weeks, 2= 1 month, 3= Up to 2 months, 4= Up to 3 months, 5=4 or more months)
Occasions served on a MDS Project Site	2.07	2	1	1.04	1	4	772	Scale from 1-4 (1=1 time 2= 2-3 times, 3= 4-5 times, 4= More than 5 times)
Leadership Positions on a MDS Project Site	-	-	1	-	0	1	169	1=Leadership position 0= Not leadership position
Leadership Positions in MDS Organizational Structure	1.65	1	1	1.15	1	5	123	Scale from 1-5 (1= Congregational contact, 2 =Unit leader, 3= Unit Board member, 4= Regional leader, 5= Binational board member)
Demographic Variables								
Female	-	-	0	-	0	1	775	Female=1, Male=0
Education	3.96	4	5	1.81	1	7	773	Scale from 1-7 (1=Less than 9 years, 7 Graduate or Professional Degree)
Age	3.19	3	4	.93	1	5	778	Scale from 1-5 (1= Under 20 Years, 5=Over 75 Years)
Geographic Location	-	-	5	-		1	5	770 1=Region1, 2= Region2, 3=Region3, 4=Region 4, 5=Region 5
Employment Status	-	-	3	-	1	6	769	1= Student, 2=Home

								Manager, 3= Full-time employee, 4=Part-time employee, 5= Retired, 6= Semi-retired
Substantive Variables								
Orthodoxy	-	-	2	-	1	10	745	1= MC Canada, 2= MC USA, 3= Brethren in Christ, 4= Mennonite Brethren, 5= EMMC, 6= EMC, 7=CMC, 8= Sommerfelder, 9= Old Order Mennonite, 10= Old Order Amish
Importance of Faith	3.76	4	4	.95	1	5	773	How important faith is to the respondent.

Note: Data comes from 2010 MDS survey.

Table 2. Frequency distribution and means of variables in MDS by gender.

	Males	N	Females	N	Chi-Square/t-test
Days Volunteered on MDS Project Site	2.06	467	2.04	290	0.133
Occasions served on a MDS Project Site	2.18	473	1.88	288	3.89***
Leadership Positions on a MDS Project Site					
Leadership position	90.43%	94	22.97%	74	78.98***
Non-leadership position	9.57%		77.03%		
Leadership Positions in MDS Organizational Structure					
Congregational contact	71.84%	103	73.68%	19	2.74
Unit leader	2.91%		5.26%		
Unit board member	14.56%		21.05%		
Regional leader	5.83%		0.00%		
Binational board member	4.85%		0.00%		
Education	3.95	479	3.99	291	-0.27
Age	3.27	482	3.05	293	3.24**
Geographic Location					
Region 1	43.91%	476	38.75%	289	17.07**
Region2	8.61%		2.42%		
Region3	4.41%		5.19%		
Region4	2.94%		2.77%		
Region5	40.13%		50.87%		
Employment Status					
Student	3.35%	477	8.30%	289	79.96***
Home manager	1.26%		10.73%		
Full-time employee	50.73%		31.14%		
Part-time employee	6.29%		16.26%		
Retired	23.48%		24.22%		
Semi-retired	14.88%		9.34%		
Orthodoxy					
MC Canada	21.43%	463	29.38%	279	11.03
MC USA	39.71%		29.38%		
Brethren in Christ	5.71%		5.21%		
Mennonite Brethren	10.29%		11.37%		
EMMC	1.14%		2.37%		
EMC	4.57%		5.69%		
CMC	2.86%		2.37%		
Sommerfelder	8.00%		9.48%		
Old Order Mennonite	2.57%		2.84%		
Old Order Amish	3.71%		1.90%		
Importance of Faith	3.75	474	3.78	289	-0.34

Notes: Data come from 2010 MDS Survey. *p<.05, ** p<.01, ***p<.001.

Multivariate Analysis

Four models were estimated with days volunteered (Models 1 and 2) and times volunteered (Models 3 and 4), respectively, as dependent variables. Models 1 and 3 estimate the association between only gender and the corresponding dependent variable to gain a better sense of gender's influence. Models 2 and 4 take all variables into consideration when estimating the relationship with the dependent variable. Table 3 shows the multivariate results and addresses hypotheses 1 and 2. Similar to the bivariate analysis, this analysis highlights that the relationship between being female and days volunteered is not statistically significant. Moreover, the multivariate analysis results confirm the bivariate results that gender has a significant impact on times volunteered. Taking only gender into account, being female is negatively associated with higher levels of volunteering. Taking all variables into account, being female is negatively associated with higher levels of volunteering.

Days Volunteered

Days volunteered is exhibited in Models 1 and 2. Model 1, which only contains the effect of gender on days volunteered, being female does not significantly influence days volunteered. Model 2 takes all variables into account and shows living in Region 5, employment status, and importance of faith each influence days volunteered. Living in Region 5 relative to Region 1 increases the predicted level of days volunteered by .591 days on a scale from 1-5, holding all else constant ($p<.001$). Identifying as a student or retiree decreases the predicted level of days volunteered by 1.383 days on a scale from 1-5, holding all else constant ($p<0.001$). Being a full-time or part-time employee decreases the predicted level of days volunteered by .687 days compared to unemployed individuals

Table 3. Unstandardized OLS Coefficients (β) and Standard Errors (se) for Prediction of Days Volunteered and Times Volunteered

	Days Volunteered		*Times Volunteered*	
Variable	*Model 1*	*Model 2*	*Model 3*	*Model 4*
Female	-.014	-.047	-.300***	-.228*
	(.108)	(.121)	(.077)	(.088)
Education		-.060		-.068**
		(.035)		(.025)
Age		.061		.137*
		(.088)		(.064)
Geographic Region[1]				
Region2		-.414		-.373*
		(.253)		(.182)
Region3		.370		.032
		(.275)		(.202)
Region4		.485		-.119
		(.325)		(.238)
Region 5		.591***		-.141
		(.127)		(.092)
Employment Status				
Student		-1.383***		-.590*
		(.335)		(.246)
Employed		-.687***		-.164
		(.151)		(.111)
Orthodoxy		.023		.045*
		(.026)		(.019)
Importance of Faith		.478***		.363***
		(.069)		(.050)
N	757	528	761	534
F	.02	14.33***	15.15***	11.57***
R^2	.000	0.234	.020	0.196
Adj R^2	-.001	0.218	.018	0.179

Notes: Data come from 2010 MDS Survey. β= un-standardized. Standard Error denoted by parentheses. *p<.05, ** p<.01, ***p<.001. [1]Reference group= Region 1

on a scale from 1-5, holding all else constant (p<0.001). Importance of faith increases predicted level of days volunteered by .478 days on a scale from 1-5, holding all else constant (p<0.001). This finding is similar in nature to the findings indicating religious participation is an indicator of volunteerism (Michel 2007). Researchers suggest that rather than strict attendance, it is social interaction experienced because of attendance that increases time spent volunteering (Cnaan, Kasternakis, and Wineburg 1993). No other variables in the analysis, including religious orthodoxy, are significant predictors of days volunteered. It appears that when controlling for socio-demographic variables, being female does not significantly influence the number of days volunteered. R^2 in Model 1 indicates being female does not explain days volunteered. R^2 in Model 2 indicates the combination of all independent variables explains 23.4% of the variation in days volunteered.

Times Volunteered

The number of times volunteered is shown in Models 3 and 4 of Table 3. In Model 3, which only contains the effect of gender on times volunteered, being female does significantly influence times volunteered. Model 4 takes all variables into account and shows level of education, age, living in Region 2, employment status, level of orthodoxy, and importance of faith each influence times volunteered. For every 1 unit increase in education, the predicted level of times volunteered decreases .068 times on a scale from 1-4, holding all else constant (p<0.01). For every 1 unit increase in age, predicted level of times volunteered increased .137 times on a scale from 1-4, holding all else constant (p<0.05). Relative to Region 1, living in Region 2 decreases the predicted level of times volunteered by .373 times on a scale from 1-5, holding all else constant

($p<0.05$). Similar to days volunteered, identifying as a student or retiree decreases the predicted level of times volunteered by .590 times compared to unemployed individuals on a scale from 1-4, holding all else constant ($p<0.05$). For every one unit increase in level of orthodoxy, the predicted level of times volunteered increases .045 times on a scale from 1-4, holding all else constant. Similar to days volunteered, importance of faith increases the predicted level of times volunteered .363 times on a scale from 1-5, holding all else constant ($p<0.001$). No other variables including living in regions 3, 4, or 5, are significant predictors of times volunteered. Thus, consistent with hypothesis 2, it appears that when controlling for socio-demographic variables along with level of orthodoxy and importance of faith, being female does significantly influence times volunteered. In terms of model fit, Model 3 indicates being female explains 2% of the variation in times volunteered ($R^2 =0.020$). Model 4 suggests the combination of all independent variables explains 19.6% of the variation in times volunteered ($R^2=0.196$).

Leadership Positions on MDS Project Sites

Bivariate analyses provided a glimpse of the variables that are associated with leadership positions, however, multivariate analysis allows us to control for extraneous factors. The third hypothesis, women are less likely to hold leadership positions on MDS project sites than are men, is examined with binary logistic regression. Table 4 provides the results of binary logistic regression equations modeling leadership positions on MDS project sites in association first, with gender and second, with all other variables. In Model 5, taking only gender into account, females are significantly less likely to hold leadership roles on MDS project sites ($p<0.001$). Interestingly, Model 6 indicates being female is the only significant predictor of holding a leadership position on an MDS

project site. Being female decreases the predicted level of holding a leadership position on a MDS project site by 4.248 units on the leadership position scale from 1-5, holding all else constant (p<0.001). It appears that when controlling for socio-demographic variables, orthodoxy and importance of faith, being female does negatively and significantly influence holding a leadership position on a MDS project site. Thus, the third hypothesis is supported and is consistent with the literature. Women rarely hold positions of authority within these volunteer organizations (Cable 1992, Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen 1991, Perkins 1990, Thompson 1993, 1995). Leadership roles such as project managers of volunteer organizations are, in fact, typically male-dominated (Cable 1992, Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen 1991, Perkins 1990, Thompson 1993, 1995). In terms of model fit, for both Model 5 and Model 6, the model is significant based on the likelihood ratio chi square statistic at the 0.001 level. The likelihood ratio chi square decreases only slightly from Model 5 to Model 6, and being female is the only variable that is statistically significant in both models (p<0.001). When all controls are included, they are not significant indicating that almost all of the predictive power comes from being female. Based on Nagelkerke R^2 and BIC, Model 5 containing only gender has good model fit. Model fit gets marginally better when controls are added in Model 6.

Table 4. Binary Logistic Regression Coefficients (β), Odds Ratios (OR) and Standard Errors (se) for Leadership on MDS Project Sites

	Model 5		*Model 6*	
Variable	*β*	*OR*	*β*	*OR*
Female	-3.455***	.032	-4.248***	.014
	(.446)		(.710)	
Education			-.214	.807
			(.201)	
Age			-.777	.460
			(.464)	
Geographic Region[1]				
Region2			--	--
Region3			3.274	26.411
			(1.760)	
Region4			.359	1.431
			(1.838)	
Region5			.375	1.454
			(.609)	
Employment Status				
Student			--	--
Employed			1.325	3.761
			(.831)	
Orthodoxy			-.107	.898
			(.133)	
Importance of Faith			.038	1.040
			(.349)	
N	168		120	
Likelihood Ratio Chi[2]	86.02***		81.94***	
Nagelkerke R^2	.543		.665	
BIC	149.351		129.577	

Notes: Data come from 2010 MDS Survey. β= un-standardized. Standard Error denoted by parentheses. *p<.05, ** p<.01, ***p<.001. [1]Reference group= Region 1

Table 5. Unstandardized OLS Coefficients (β) and Standard Errors (se) for Prediction of Leadership Positions within the MDS Organization

Variable	*Model 7*	*Model 8*
Female	-.216	-.353
	(.289)	(.317)
Education		.041
		(.073)
Age		.138
		(.201)
Geographic Region[1]		
Region2		.131
		(.474)
Region3		.457
		(.608)
Region4		1.108*
		(.481)
Region 5		.213
		(.271)
Employment Status		
Student		-
Employed		-.363
		(.322)
Orthodoxy		-.017
		(.054)
Importance of Faith		.038
		(.144)
N	122	99
F	.56	1.57
R^2	.005	0.152
Adj R^2	-.004	0.055

Notes: Data come from 2010 MDS Survey. β= un-standardized. Standard Error denoted by parentheses. *p<.05, ** p<.01, ***p<.001. [1]Reference group= Region 1

Leadership Positions within MDS Organizational Structure

Two models were estimated with leadership positions within MDS organizational structure as the dependent variable. Model 7 estimates the association between only gender and leadership positions within MDS organizational structure. Model 8 takes all variables into consideration to determine associations with the dependent variable. Table 5 shows the multivariate results and addresses the fourth hypothesis, women are less

likely to hold leadership positions within MDS organizational structure than are men, using OLS regression. In Model 7, being female is not significantly, associated with leadership positions within MDS organizational structure. Interestingly, living in Region 4 is the only significant predictor of leadership positions within MDS organizational structure. Living in Region 4 compared to living in Region 1 increases the predicted level of leadership positions within MDS organizational structure by 1.108 units, holding all else constant ($p<0.05$). No other variables including being female, degree of orthodoxy, education, employment status, or importance of faith are significant indicators of leadership positions within MDS organizational structure. It appears that when controlling for socio-demographic variables along with orthodoxy and importance of faith, being female does not significantly influence leadership positions within MDS organizational structure. Thus, the fourth hypothesis is not supported. It is interesting to note that the actions taking place on MDS project sites are not reflected in the greater MDS organizational structure. In terms of model fit, Model 7 suggests that being female explains 0.5% of the variation in leadership positions within the MDS organization (R^2= 0.005). Model 8 shows the combination of independent variables explains 15.2% of the variation in leadership positions within the MDS organization (R^2=0.152).

Overall, the combination of archival MDS documents and the 2010 survey reveals that women's roles have evolved within MDS from 1950 to 2010. The survey yielded two significant results regarding the relationship between women and volunteerism. First, being female significantly impacts the number of times volunteered. Being female decreases the predicted level of times volunteered by .228 times on a scale from 1-4, holding all else constant ($p<0.05$). Second, being female decreases the predicted level of

holding a leadership position on a MDS project site by 4.248 units on the leadership position scale from 1-5, holding all else constant ($p<0.001$). Integrating these findings with archival evidence reveals that women's roles have changed marginally. Historically, women were not able to volunteer as much as men because of domestic duties and today women still volunteer significantly fewer times than do men. Furthermore, while women historically have permeated some leadership roles such as committee members; today, they are still significantly less likely than are men to hold a leadership position on a MDS project site. Archival evidence and survey results both attribute degree of orthodoxy and importance of faith with greater involvement within the organization.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study adds understanding to how gender, religiosity, and volunteerism interact to affect women's roles within Mennonite Disaster Service. Not surprisingly, the survey findings and historical evidence suggest that being female is a major contributing factor in volunteerism trends. In other words, being female does have a significant influence on volunteer commitment, i.e., number of times volunteered holding other factors constant. Additionally, being female has a significant influence on holding a leadership position on MDS project sites, holding all else held constant. Researchers agree that gender and volunteerism share a strong relationship. Women are more likely to attach value to helping others and are rated higher than are men on measures of altruism and empathy (Wilson and Musick 1997a). Culturally, it is a "woman's job to hold families together" (Argyle 1991:212) and many women "view volunteering as an extension of their roles as wives and mothers" (Negrey 1993: 93). Gender also influences the type of work individuals take part in (Wilson 2000). Women volunteers are more

likely to participate in “women’s work,” involving more caring, person-to-person tasks and fewer public or political activities (Wilson 2000: 228). They are also less likely to be found in leadership positions such as project managers (Cable 1992, Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen 1991, Perkins 1990, Thompson 1993, 1995). Subsequent sections incorporate these results into this study’s overarching paradigm, liberal feminism, and place an emphasis on the religiosity dimension of the results. I then discuss the positive and negative attributes associated with the data set. The following section provides a discussion of the broader implications related to the findings. Lastly, I end with recommendations for future research in the area.

Liberal Feminism

The findings are consistent with the ideas set forth by liberal feminist theory. Gender did prove to be an agent of change in determining how often individuals volunteered on MDS project sites as well as holding a leadership position on MDS project sites. Liberal feminist theory contends “women’s location in most situations is not only different from but also less privileged than or unequal to that of men” (Lengermann and Niebrugger 2010: 461). Women are unequal to men because they receive less of the material resources, social status, power, and opportunities for self-actualization than men due to a multitude of factors. In this study we identified several factors that influence women’s ability to volunteer more often, and holding a leadership position on MDS project sites. Factors that decreased the likelihood of volunteering more often included the principle independent variable, gender, and education, living in Region 2 and being employed. The two key substantive variables, degree of religious orthodoxy and importance of faith, increased the likelihood of volunteering more often on MDS project

sites. This is consistent with liberal feminist theory as liberal feminists typically identify class, race, occupation, ethnicity, religion, education, nationality, or any intersection of these as factors contributing to women's inequality.

Feminist theory's theoretical questions, (1) "*And what about the women?*" (2) "*Why is all this as it is?*" and (3) "*How can we change and improve the social world so as to make it a more just place for all people?*" have altered our understanding of the world. In contemporary society, what we previously thought of as universal knowledge of the world, is knowledge largely derived from the elite, white males of society. This study provides a glimpse into the perspectives of women as disaster volunteers within the MDS organization. Liberal feminists assert that this new view forces society to acknowledge the other side of society, "women, who in subordinated but indispensable 'serving' roles have worked to sustain and re-create the society we live in" (Lengermann and Niebrugger 2010: 456). In terms of this study, MDS members and leadership in particular, now have a resource they can reference to gain a better understanding of the female volunteers within their organization. Feminist theory criticizes recognized societal perspectives by showing a masculine bias and acknowledging gender as a social construct, and this study has supported this idea by showing gender is an agent of change. While the masculine bias may not be intentional, the data show it does, indeed, exist.

Religiosity

In addition to gender, the influence of religiosity on volunteerism was an important component. The data revealed higher religious orthodoxy and higher reported importance of faith each contributed to a greater number of times volunteered as well. Researchers have agreed that religious participation repeatedly predicts volunteerism

(Michel 2007). Understanding why this is so involves examining several dimensions of religiosity such as religious attendance as a predictor of volunteerism. Belonging to a service organization increases one's exposure to acquaintances and facilitates the flow of information, thereby providing additional opportunities for volunteer work (Janoski, Musick, and Wilson 1998). The social ties developed at church establish and maintain networks of volunteers. It is the social interaction experienced because of church attendance that develops these social ties. In addition, these social ties are strengthened by the volunteer work carried out by individuals who reflect similar moral and spiritual beliefs.

Many denominations have faith-based organizations focused on disaster volunteers. Based on social resources theory, belonging to a voluntary organization increases the opportunity to learn about volunteer activities (McAdam and Paulsen 1993). Individuals who feel that donating their time will have a greater impact are more likely to feel personally responsible to help that those who feel their time will have less of an impact (Michel 2007). Furthermore, religious affiliations are supplemented by social networks, which in turn encourage volunteerism by easing the initial anxiety related to entering a new volunteer setting (Haski-Leventhal and Cnaan 2009). Social networks make the group more efficient in a short period of time (Haski-Leventhal and Cnaan 2009). Networks facilitate initial volunteerism, and increase the likelihood that an individual will continue to volunteer. Volunteer retention rates increase as volunteers develop social bonds both with other volunteers and with those in need. In a practical sense, networks offer volunteers logistical benefits including reliable communication, stability, and organization.

Data

There were several benefits to utilizing the MDS data set. First, the dataset is extremely unique as it included a previously unreachable population, the Amish, along with other Anabaptist religious denominations. It included volunteers that had worked recovery efforts for at least two major disasters including Hurricane Katrina and Hurricane Rita, and was completed at the 60 year anniversary of MDS. MDS in itself is a unique organization established and carried out by the faith of its members. Statistically, the sample size was adequate (n=852) for quantitative analysis, and as it was a secondary data source it did not require additional financial funds.

There are two primary limitations in working with this secondary data source. First, the response rate is unclear because MDS disseminated the survey to their constituency through their e-mail list-serve and the total number of potential respondents is unknown. A second limitation involves the question and answer format used on some survey questions. For example, it was recommended that MDS ask for exact age rather than age ranges. By asking for exact age, you retain the option to create age categories, but you retain the exact age if more specificity is required. MDS kept the age ranges as they were and grouped them as follows: under 20, 20-39, 40-59, 60-75, and 75+. Fortunately, a preliminary analysis indicated that the age groups are consistent with literature on volunteer trends. In a more general sense, this deals with the question of validity. Generally, I believe the questions in the survey accurately measure the variables in question: gender, volunteer time, work type, religion, and meaning of work. It would have been better to ask specific questions based on research hypotheses, the literature,

and the theoretical rationale surrounding the pertinent issues. Nonetheless, the secondary data provided sufficient resources to carry out this research.

Broader Implications

The broader implications of this study have an impact in a wide range of areas from the organizational structure of the Mennonite Disaster Service to filling a gap in disaster literature concerning faith-based volunteer organizations. Historically, Anabaptists have intertwined their religious beliefs into their everyday lives and actions. While this has an overwhelmingly positive outcome in terms of volunteer efforts in disaster recovery, it has not kept pace with contemporary gender roles. Traditionally, the Anabaptists have structured the various parts of their lives around I Corinthians 11:3-12, where Apostle Paul spells out a divine order of headship authority: God, Christ, man, woman (Kraybill 2010: 95). This study found that gender is an agent of change, and in a sense, challenges MDS's organizational theology. The historical foundations of Anabaptism restricts the roles of women especially in the church and while more assimilated groups allow women to actively take on leadership roles, the overall progression of women as equal members falls short.

Examining the historical and theological foundations of this organization brings ethics into question. Is the study of the new idea too controversial and will it have a negative impact on the organization? There is the possibility that this is the case as this organization is deeply committed to its theological foundations. Anabaptism is inherently patriarchal; thus suggesting women take more powerful roles within MDS could potentially be viewed as threatening to their faith. Based on the framework of liberal feminism, however, the positive impacts of this research outreach the negative

possibilities by far. Liberal feminist theory strives to achieve conditions guaranteeing all women equal opportunities in life. Liberal feminists contend the inequality that does exist between men and women is understood to be socially produced rather than innate biological differences. The core commitment of liberal feminism is to develop gender equality by increasing women's opportunities in the social, political, and economic aspects of life. Utilizing this perspective and framework, I recommend MDS leadership keep the following items in mind when determining how to further involve women in the organization:

(1) Identify specific practical needs of women before, during, and after volunteering on MDS project sites.
(2) Analyze gender stratification within all aspects of the organization and work affirmatively toward equal opportunities for women
(3) Establish and maintain positive relationships with women in the organization.
(4) Recruit and retain women in leadership roles (e.g. decision-making roles) to plan recovery efforts.
(5) Monitor project sites and other recovery efforts for gender bias in decision-making roles
(6) Integrate a gender analysis across MDS training workshops, programs, and project sites.

Women and volunteerism literature has given empirical evidence supporting the importance of women in recovery efforts and emphasize that their influence is irreplaceable. Women within the organization have expressed their desire to serve others. Mrs. Clarence Burkholder of Crystal Springs, Kansas states:

"We are employed by Jesus Christ. We serve Him by serving our fellowmen. Women are taking a greater active part and are now represented on the MDS committee by three women. Maybe there are places for women to serve where men cannot tread. Who can better understand the heartfelt need of someone affected by disaster than women? Women want to and can serve. The invitation to serve should come from men" (1958:3).

Male members of MDS also spoke respectfully of women's efforts to assist in disaster recovery work. One man states, "women were not asked to help in clean-up work; they came voluntarily and did the work just as good as the men" (MDS 1960). Women have shown throughout history that they can successfully fulfill tasks as well as men including jobs such as carpentry. Furthermore, women offer a compassionate sensibility that allows them to empathize and emotionally support disaster victims. Mrs. Ben Wedel stated, "many times we found we were doing more good just by listening to them and gaining their trust. We were known as 'angels of mercy' to the storm victims" (Yoder 1970). It is clear that women have made every effort to serve others in the name of their faith, but domestic duties often interfere. A panel of four Mennonite women discussing "how women [can] exercise their faith through MDS," noted

"Ladies who stayed home and cared for other women's families should be given much credit for their contribution to MDS. Without their willingness and cooperation, many of the women who served would not have been able to"-Mrs. Ernest Yoder (1970).

Historical evidence has illustrated women's tireless efforts to serve disaster victims through MDS and women's ability to create a sustainable support network. This support network has enabled women's roles to evolve albeit marginally, within the MDS organization. As in the past, women continue to seek the support of their husbands, fathers, brothers, and sons in contributing to gender equality efforts.

Empowering Women

Although new ideas are often controversial, the long-term impacts can be positive and impact a large population. From the standpoint of liberal feminism, in a broad sense, it contributes to gender equality efforts but, more specifically, it can provide forward mobility for women as leaders and volunteers within MDS. As leaders, women will be better able to convey their perspective on disaster recovery and empathize with female disaster survivors. Overall, introducing the female perspective in an authority role or as a volunteer can enhance and speed the recovery process for disaster survivors. Women's caregiving roles within the home have been and will continue to expand into the field of disaster recovery.

Past studies have shown the tremendous impact women have during response and recovery phases of disasters. "Women's communication skills make them critical integrators of family, extended household, and neighborhood in disaster context" (Enarson and Morrow 1997: 7). Studies have further noted women's "emotion work" is vital to children and dependent elders, spouses and life partners as they cope with the aftermath of the disaster (Morrow and Enarson 1996). MDS leadership is interested in understanding women volunteers and encouraging women to take on leadership roles such as project leaders. They strive to better understand how women think, act, and behave in terms of volunteer service and want to encourage women to continue their volunteer service. Most importantly, this study will help MDS better utilize women as assets to their organization and to fulfill their overall mission.

Future Research

This study fills a niche in disaster literature concerning faith-based volunteer organizations; it examines Amish volunteers for the first time, and will help MDS gain a

better understanding of their female volunteers. There are, however, several more opportunities for future research in examining women's roles as disaster volunteers. It would be fruitful to examine how gender divisions of labor put women and men influence leadership positions; to evaluate organizational initiatives against gender bias within MDS or other disaster recovery organizations, and incorporating women's personal perspectives into research on the future recovery efforts. In particular, it would be interesting to carry out a qualitative study, interviewing women volunteers within MDS to determine if they desire a change from the traditional, patriarchal way of life or if they are content with the current state of affairs.

REFERENCES

Appelrouth, Scott and Laura Desfor Edles. 2011. *Sociological Theory in the Contemporary Era*. 2nd Editon. Sage Publications, Inc.

Argyle, Michael. 1991. *Cooperation: The Basis of Sociality*. London, England: Routledge.

Barsky, Lauren, Trainor, Joseph, Torres, Manuel, and Aguirre, Benigo. 2007. "Managing Volunteers: FEMS's Urban Search and Rescue Programme and Interactions with Unaffiliated Responders in Disaster Response." *Disasters*. 31(4): 495-507.

Bem, Sandra Lipsitz. 1993. The Lenses of Gender: Transforming Debates on Sexual Inequality. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Bowen, Deborah J., Anderson, Robyn M., and Urban, Nicole. 2000. "Volunteerism in a Community-Based Sample of Women Aged 50-80 Years." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*. 30:9. 1829-1842.

Brabeck, M. and Brown, L. 1997. "Feminist theory and psychological practice," in J. Worell and N. Johnson (eds.) *Shaping the future of feminist psychology: Education, research, and practice*. Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association. 15-35.

Brady, H. Verba, S. Schlozman, KL. 1995. "Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political

Participation." *American Political Science Review*. 89:269-95.

Brenneman, Lawrence. 1964. "The Story of Mennonite Service Organization." A study paper.

Bryson, Valerie. 1992. *Feminist Political Theory: An Introduction*. New York: Paragon House.

Cable, Sherry. 1992. "Women's Social Movement Involvement: The Role of Structural Availability in Recruitment and Participation Processes." *Sociological Quarterly*. 33:35-51.

Caputo, RK. 1997. "Women as Volunteers." *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 26:156-174.

Chambré SM. 1987. *Good Deeds in Old Age: Volunteering by the New Leisure Class*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Clary, E., Snyder, M., Ridge, R. D., Copeland, J., Stukas, A. A., Haugen, J., & Miene, P. 1998. "Understanding and assessing the motivations of volunteers: A functional approach." *Journal Of Personality And Social Psychology*, *74*(6), 1516-1530.

Cnaan, R, Goldberg-Glen R. 1991. Measuring Motivation to Volunteer in Human Services. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*. 27:269-285.

Cnaan, Ram A., Kasternakis, Amy, and Wineburg, Robert J. 1993. "Religious People, Religious Congregations, and Volunteerism in Human Service: Is There A Link?" *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 50: 247-256.

Constitution of Mennonite Service Organization. 1951. p1-2.

Collins, P.H. 1990. *Black Feminist Though: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.

Coser, RL. 1989. "Reflections on Feminist theory." In Wallace, R. *Feminism and Sociological Theory*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Detweiler, Lowell. 2000. *The Hammer Rings Hope*. Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press.

DeVault, M.L.1999. *Liberating Method: Feminism and Social Research*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Diller, John. 1954. Report of the Activities of the Mennonite Service Organizations Kansas Area.

Diller, John A. 1952. Report of the North Topeka Reconstruction Project as Related to MSO. p2.

Diller, John. 1962. Mennonite Disaster Service. A Report Presented to the Mennonite World Conference. Kitchener, Ontario. P4.

Diller, John. 1990. Memorandum to Kansas Representative Raymond E. King.

Dyck, Peter and Dyck, Elfrieda. 1991. *Up from the Rubble*. Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press.

Einolf, Christopher and Chambré, Susan M. 2011. "Who Volunteers? Constructing a Hybrid Theory." *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*. 16: 298-310.

Einstein, Zillah R. 1993. *The Radical Future of Liberal Feminism*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Ellison, C. 1991. Religious Involvement and Subjective Well-Being. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*. 32:80-99.

Enarson, Elaine. 2007. "Keynote Address: Toward a Feminist Perspective on Women and Disaster." *Women's Rights Law Reporter*. Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey.

Enarson, Elaine and Morrow, Betty. 1997. *The Gendered Terrain of Disaster: Through Women's Eyes*. Praeger.

Enarson, Elaine, Fothergill, Alice, and Peek, Lori. 2006. *Gender and Disaster: Foundations and Directions*. New York: Springer.

Engbrecht, Dennis D. 1996. "The Changing Role of Women in the Ministry of the Missionary Church: A Brief Overview." *Missionary Church Collection, Missionary Church Archives*, Bethel College, Mishawaka, IN, MC II-HI-I File 29, p2.

Erdel, Timothy Paul. 2002. "Pedagogy, Propaganda, Prophetic Protest, and Projection: Dangers and Dilemmas in Writing an Authorized Denominational History." (Paper presented at the Conference on Faith and History, Huntington College, Huntington, IN.) *Missionary Church Collection, Missionary Church Archives*. Bethel College, Mishawaka, IN, MC XI-PP-I File 8, p5-6.

Freeman RB. 1997. "Working for Nothing: The Supply of Volunteer Labor." *Journal of Labor Economics*. 15 pt. 2:S140-S166.

Friedan, Betty. 1963. *The Feminine Mystique*. New York: Dell.

Fritz, C.E. and Mathewson, J.H. 1957. *Convergence Behavior in Disasters: A Problem in Social Control, Committee on Disaster Studies,* Washington, D.C. National Academy of Sciences, National Research Council.

Gallagher, Sally. 1994a. "Doing their Share: Comparing Patterns of Help Given by Older and Younger Adults." *Journal of Marriage and the Family*. 56: 567-78.

Gallagher, Sally. 1994b. *Older People Giving Care: Helping People and Community*. Westport, CT: Auburn House.

Hassey, Janette. 1986. *No Time for Silence: Evangelical Women in Public Ministry around the Turn of the Century*. Grand Rapides: Academie Books, 140.

Herzog, A and Morgan, J. 1993. Formal Volunteer Work Among Older Americans. In *Achieving a Productive Aging Society*, ed. S. Bass, D. Caro, Y. Chen. Pp. 119-142. Westport CT: Auburn House. Huffman, J.A. 1920. *History the Mennonite Brethren in Christ Church*. New Carlisle, OH: Bethel Publishing Co., 48.

Jaggar, Alison M. 1977. "Political Philosophies of Women's Liberation." In *Feminism and Philosophy*, eds. Mary Vettering-Braggin, Frederick A. Elliston, and Jane English. Totowa, NJ: Littlefield, Adams.

Janoski, Thomas, Musick, Marc, and Wilson, John. 1998. "Being Volunteered? The Impact of Social Participation and Pro-Social Attitudes on Volunteering." *Sociological Forum.* 13: 495-519.

Kensinger, Loretta. 1997. "(In) Quest of Liberal Feminism." *Hypatia*. 14:4, 178-197.

Kephart, William and Zellner, William. 1991. *Extraordinary Groups: An Examination of Unconventional Lifestyles.* New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, Inc.

Kraybill, Donald B. 2001. *The Riddle of Amish Culture*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kraybill, Donald B. and Bowman, Carl Desportes. 2001. *On the Backroad to Heaven*. Baltimore & London. The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kraybill, Donald B. 2010. *Concise Encyclopedia of Amish, Brethren, Hutterites, and Mennonites*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Lengermann, Patricia M. and Niebrugge, Gillian. 2010. "Contemporary Feminist Theory." In George Ritzer (8th ed.) *Sociological Theory*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill: 454-498.

Lorber, Judith. 1994. *Paradoxes of Gender*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

McAdam, Doug and Paulsen, Ronnelle. 1993. "Specifying the Relationship Between Social Ties and Activism." *American Journal of Sociology.* 99: 640-667.

Mennonite Disaster Service Register of Attendance.1956. Chicago, Illinois.

Mennonite Disaster Service. 1958. Minutes of the Fourth Annual Training School. Hesston Mennonite Church, Hesston, Kansas. p3.

Mennonite Disaster Service. 1960. Minutes of the Kansas Area Committee Meeting. Hesston, Kansas. p2.

Mennonite Disaster Service.1960. Mennonite Women in MDS Questionnaire Results. P1-4.

Michel, Lacie M. 2007. “Personal Responsibility and Volunteering after a Natural Disaster: The Case of Hurricane Katrina.” *Sociological Spectrum*. 27:6, 633-652.

Musick, MA and Wilson, J. 2008. *Volunteers: A Social Profile*. Indiana University Press. Indianapolis, IN.

Musick, Marc A., Wilson, John, and Bynum Jr., William B. 2000. “Race and Formal Volunteering: The Differential Effects of Class and Religion.” *Social Forces.* 78: 1539:1571.

Negrey, C. 1993. *Gender, Time and Reduced Work*. Albany: State University. NY Press.

Norris, Mallori. 2011. “Preach in Your True Womanly Way.” *Mennonite Historical Bulletin*. 122:4, 7-13.

Oswald, Evan. 1958. Report of Mennonite Disaster Service at El Dorado, Kansas. p 2, 5.

Pateman, Carole. 1999. “Beyond the Sexual Contract?” In Geoff Dench (ed.) *Rewriting the Sexual Contract*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers: 1-9.

Perkins K. 1990. Volunteer Fire and Rescue Departments: Structure, Process and Survival. *Nonprofit Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 19:359-70.

Peter, Karl Andreas. 1987. *The Dynamics of Hutterite Society: An Analytical Approach*. Alberta, Canada: The University of Alberta Press.

Petrzelka, Peggy and Mannon, Susan. 2006. “Keepin’ This Little Town Going: Gender and Volunteerism in Rural America.” *Gender and Society*. 20:2, 236-258.

Phillips, Brenda. 2009. *Disaster Recovery*. CRC Press.

Phillips, Brenda and Morrow, Betty. 2008. *Women and Disasters: From Theory to Practice*. Philadelphia, PA: Xlibris.

Points of Light Foundation and Volunteer Center National Network. 2004. “Managing Spontaneous Volunteers in Times of Disaster: The Synergy of Structure and Good Intentions.” The UPS Foundation. http://www.citizencorps.gov/downloads/pdf/ManagingSpontaneousVolunteers.pdf.

Rosenthal, S, Feiring, C, Lewis, M. 1998. “Political Volunteering from Late Adolescence to Young Adulthood: Patterns and Predictions.” *Journal of Social Issues*. 54:471-493.

Schlabach, Theron. 1988. *Peace, Faith, Nation*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press: 227. 43.

Shupe, Mae. 1933. “The Need of Progressive Women Ministers in our Church: How to Challenge and Enlist such in the Service of the Church.” *Mennonite Brethren in Christ Collection, Missionary Church Archives*. Bethel College, Mishawaka, IN, MBC V-8 File 3, p. 7-8.

Segal, L. 1993. *Four essays on the supply of volunteer labor and econometrics*. Unpublished do. Diss. Northwestern University. Evanston, Ill.

Smith, D. 1994. “Determinants of Voluntary Association Participation and Volunteering.” *Non-Profit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 23:243-63.

Storms. 1958. *History of the United Missionary Church*. p253.

“Suggestions to Sister Preachers.” 1900. *Gospel Banner 23*, no 50: 2.

Sundeen RA, Raskoff SA, Garcia MC. 2007. “Differences in Perceived Barriers to Volunteering to Formal Organizations: Lack of Time versus Lack of Interest.” *Nonprofit Management & Leadership*. 17:279-300.

Taniguchi, Hiromi. 2006. “Men’s and Women’s Volunteering: Gender Differences in the Effects of Employment and Family Characteristics.” *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 35:1, 83-101.

The Constitution and Manual of the United Missionary Church. 1956. Elkhart, IN: Bethel Publishing Company, 48.

The Doctrines and Discipline of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ. 1888. Berlin, Ontario: Mennonite Brethren in Christ Publishing Society. 69.

“The Mennonite Service Organization—we witness through service.” 1952. Talk presented at the Conference on Lay Evangelism at Goshen College Union Auditorium. Goshen, Indiana.

Themudo, Nuno S. 2009. “Gender and the Nonprofit Sector.” *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 38:4, 663-683.

Thompson A. 1993. “Volunteers and their Communities: A Comparative Analysis of Firefighters.” *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 22:155-66.

Thompson A. 1995. “The Sexual Division of Leadership in Volunteer Emergency Medical Service Squads.” *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*. 6:55-66.

Tong, Rosemarie. 1989. *Feminist Thought: A Comprehensive Introduction*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Verba, Sidney, Kay Scholzman, and Henry Brady. 1995. *Voice and Equity: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Von Drehle, David and Salmon, Jacqueline. 2005. “The Refugees: Displacement of Historic Proportions.” *The Washington Post*. Accessed October 17, 2012atwww.washingtonpost.com/wpyn/content/article/2005/09/01/AR200509102406.html.

Wiebe, Katie Funk. 1976. *Day of Disaster*. Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press.

Wilson, John and Janoski, Thomas. 1995. “The Contribution of Religion to Volunteer Work.” *Sociology of Religion*. 56: 137-152.

Wilson, John and Musick, M. 1997a. Who Cares? Toward an Integrated Theory of Volunteer Work. *American Sociological Review*. 62:694-713.

Wilson, John and Musick, M. 1997b. Work and Volunteering: The Long Arm of the Job. *Social Forces*. 76:251-72.

Woolcock, Michael and Narayan, Deepa. 2000. “Social Capital: Implications for Development Theory, Research, and Policy.” *The World Bank Research Observer*. Vol 15, No. 2. 225-49.

Wuthnow, R. 1995. *Learning to Care. New York*: Oxford University Press.

Yoder, Luella. 1970. Women Grace MDS Operations. MDS Annual Meeting. P 1-3.

Zellner, W.W and Kephart, William M.1998. *Extraordinary Groups: An Examination of Unconventional Lifestyles*. St. Martin’s Press Inc.

Ziegler, Don. 1972. “MDS Provides Service Opportunities for All.” *Gospel Herald*.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Timeline: The Historical Evolution of Women's Roles in the Mennonite Community 1873-1989.

Date	*Event*
1873	Minister John Krupp of Burr Oak, Michigan is excommunicated because, among other charges, he "allowed even women to testify" (Huffman, 1920). He along with fellow minister Daniel Brenneman granted a higher profile to women, which was a far cry from Mennonite conservatism (Norris, 2011:7).
1884	Janet Douglas became the first woman credentialed for ministry by the Mennonite Brethren in Christ (Norris, 2011).
1888	The Mennonite Brethren in Christ's constitution stated "They [women] shall be received…except ordination" (The Doctrines and Discipline of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ, 1888). Most opposition came from those with traditional Mennonite backgrounds (Norris, 2011). At this time, women were not allowed to speak during worship services and many Mennonite leaders refused to permit Sunday schools partly to prevent women from teaching classes (Schlabach, 1988).
1895-1920	More than 200 women helped start more than 800 congregations (Engbrecht, 1996). These women touched hundreds of people with their messages (Norris, 2011). One female preacher instructed her sister preachers to "Preach and tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth… [and] in your true womanly way… give out heart truth, and it will reach hearts" (*Gospel Banner*, 1900).
1905	Mennonite Brethren in Christ began giving women the title "approved ministering sister" (*Gospel Banner*, 1900). Women were allowed to participate in the same process as male candidates for ordination, but did not receive the same recognition (Shupe, 1993).
1905-1975	More than 500 ministering sisters held revival services, preached in camp meeting served as traveling evangelists and did pioneer work overseas as missionaries (Erdel, 2002).
1940s-1960s	Post World War I and World War II, Mennonite Brethren in Christ views began to change (Norris, 2011). In 1947, MBC changed its name to 'United Missionary Society.' As the church's identity changed, the UMC began to reduce opportunities for female preachers (Norris, 2011).
1951	Women are mentioned for the first time in the Men's Service Organization Constitution. The Constitution states that the service auxiliary is to be made up of five women, elected each

year. Service auxiliary duties include "direct the provision and distribution of food, clothing, etc., as needed" (MSO Constitution April 1951).

"The Service Auxiliary, our ladies, took coffee and sandwiches to our men at midnight" (Diller, 1954). From July 16-23, MSO sent out more than 40 men *and* women to Florence, Kansas to help clean up after a large part of that town was flooded (Diller, 1954).

1952 UMC amended its constitution to state that women would not be allowed to "administer the ordinances, officiate at marriage ceremonies, nor be eligible to appointment or election to the General Board of the denomination or the administrative board of the church nor to the District Superintendency" (*The Constitution and Manual of the United Missionary Church*, 1956).

Women assisted with the MSO North Topeka Reconstruction Project by "hanging paper and painting," and "scrubb[ing] and clean[ing] homes" (Diller, 1952). The auxiliary committee "brought sandwiches and coffee for weary men—helping in clean-up work—taking muddy laundry home to be returned to flooded families fresh and clean" (MSO Talk at Goshen College 1952)

1956 Record of women in MDS staff positions (Mennonite Disaster Service Register of Attendance, 1956).

1958 Approximately one out of every eight churches in the Mennonite Brethren in Christ was founded by a female preacher (Storms, p253).

180 MDS members, 35 of which were women, volunteered to assist with recovery efforts of the June 10-16 tornado in El Dorado, Kansas (Oswald, 1958). Suggestions for future performance included "Women should be encouraged to come the first day to help salvage. They also do a good job on clean up. We could have used lots of them. They should bring boxes the first day" (Oswald, 1958).

Mrs. Clarence Burkholder of Crystal Springs, Kansas addresses what women have done and could do in disaster service. She states:
"She hath done what she could"-Jesus
"We are employed by Jesus Christ. We serve Him by serving our fellowmen. Women are taking a greater active part and are now represented on the MDS committee by three women. Maybe there are places for women to serve where men cannot tread. Who can better understand the heartfelt need of someone affected by disaster than women? Women want to and can serve. The invitation to serve should come from men" (MDS, 1958, p3). Burkholder then references three main points:
1. Inspiring to serve. [Women] must understand and know MDS and the need. Men can help inspire women to their place of service. Men should encourage women to attend All-Mennonite-Women's meeting each year…The sister who stays at home also should see her place of service" (MDS, 1958, p3).
2. Planning for service. "Local organizations become stagnate unless kept active by good planning and being ready to serve at all times…Educate for mass feedings [and] take home nursing courses" (MDS, 1958, p3).
3. Answering the call in service. "Materially, women distribute linens and clothing, washing bedding and clothing, assist Red Cross in serving meals, spend time helping find valuables and calming torn nerves, man child care centers, and staff recreation centers. R.N.'s serve in various places as hospitals, and First Aid Stations" (MDS, 1958, p3). "Spiritually, women spend time in prayer, organize a prayer group in the area and at home, listen to the woes of the affected, be prepared to hand our gospel tracts and literature, be friendly to those affected, and invited them to church. Follow up work is very important .Give card listing name and phone of local minister who can give help for some time to come" (MDS, 1958, p3).
Mrs. Ron Stutzman of Kansas City, Missouri reported women "provided food for workers, listened to the woes of the homeless, helped look for valuables lost, replaced men in their

businesses so they could help in clean-up, shared in cooking with Red Cross and helped sort and give out clothing given by people of the greater Kansas City area" (MDS, 1958, p5)

1960 At an MDS meeting, committee members point out "we need women volunteers with color books in a suitcase who can walk right in and take charge of a nursery" (MDS Committee Meeting, 1960).

A questionnaire on the use of women in MDS revealed women participated primarily in clean-up work, cooking meals, supplying food and clothing, and secretarial work (Mennonite Women in MDS, 1960). Women were not yet officially included in MDS; however, MDS units reported "women will be welcome to help in any local situation where they can be used effectively," and "we have no plans at this moment, but no doubt when the occasion arises we will use women in this work" (1960). At this time, a few women's organizations worked with MDS, but this was not the norm. Records show women began to attend MDS meetings, but did not participate in planning (1960). Several MDS units believed they were not adequately organized and suggested this as the reason for lack of women involvement. "Women were not asked to help in clean-up work; they came voluntarily and did the work just as good as the men" (1960). Ladies sewing circles and auxiliaries of Missionary Societies could be called upon if necessary (1960).

1962 In a presentation to the Mennonite World Conference in Kitchener, Ontario, John Diller makes note that "every member of every congregation can be a volunteer, and the power of MDS lies within the individual volunteer" (1962). "MDS volunteers do not stop at state lines. Men and women from Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania…served in Texas last year following Hurricane Carla" (Diller, 1962). In addition, Diller references the collaboration between the Kansas All Mennonite Women's Organization and MDS (Diller, 1962). "Clothing and linens were a project of the ladies in MDS in Pennsylvania, Kansas, and Oklahoma" (Diller, 1962). " Many units have men and women trained in First Aid and there are more ways in which men and women …are prepared to give of themselves to their neighbors" (Diller, 1962).

1969 Many seminaries refused women entrance, or if they accepted women, they were dissuaded from becoming pastors (Hassey, 1986). Only signs of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ's history of women in ministry existed in "death notices stating that the woman was a retired ministering sister" (Erdel, 2002).

"The disastrous Hurricane Camille inspired dozens of other ladies to volunteer their help through MDS. MDS's role has frequently been expanded to include women in its activity, but never before on such a large scale. They [women] helped staff Red Cross kitchens, and assisted hurricane victims to file for aid, often taking care of the children of the family during the process" (1990).

1970 A panel of four Mennonite women discussed "How can Mennonite women exercise their faith through MDS?" Women's roles were described as follows: "They worked mainly with the Red Cross, preparing food, helping the people in the long lines waiting for assistance, and just listening to the people as they told of their experiences during the time of the storm." Mrs. Ben Wedel stated "Many times we found we were doing more good just by listening to them and gaining their trust. We were known as 'angels of mercy' to the storm victims" (Yoder, 1970). In response to Hurricane Betsy, Mrs. Charles Miller reported "I told them I couldn't do much, but I could wash dishes, and that's what I did" (Yoder, 1970). The panel noted "Ladies who stayed home and cared for other women's families should be given much credit for their contribution to MDS. Without their willingness and cooperation, many of the women who served would not have been able to"-Mrs. Ernest Yoder (Yoder, 1970). Advice for women thinking of serving in any capacity with MDS was as follows: "(1) go with an open mind to work where you are needed the most; (2) go with the intention of working long and hard

hours; and (3) go with an understanding spirit—willing to listen to the people as they tell of their problems" -Mrs. Ben Wedel (Yoder, 1970).

1972 There have been cases where MDS wife-and-husband teams worked together in carpentry construction in response to Hurricane Celia. "Women have been very effective in washing down and mopping out flood-damaged houses after the heavier preliminary cleanup is done. Often women serve as longer-term cooks and matrons for MDS crews. MDS women serve with Red Cross food canteens and in clothing distribution" (Ziegler, 1972). MDS women have moved about in disaster areas, searching out stranded and isolated victims, and bring them food, or helping them to come into the disaster shelters (Ziegler, 1972).

1989 The Missionary Church votes to discontinue its acceptance of women ministers, 16 years after the first woman minister in the Mennonite Church (Norris, 2011:7).

VITA

Jessica Lee Fernandes-Flack

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

Thesis: THE INFLUENCE OF GENDER ON DISASTER VOLUNTEERS: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF MENNONITE DISASTER SERVICE

Major Field: Sociology

Biographical:

Education:

Completed the requirements for the Master of Science in Sociology at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma in December 2012.

Completed the requirements for the Bachelor of Arts in Sociology and Political Science at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, USA in December 2010.

Experience:

Graduate Teaching Assistant for Social Research Methods. August 2012-December 2012.

Graduate Research Assistant. Center for the Study of Disasters and Extreme Events. January 2011-May 2012.

U.S. Department of Homeland Security Science, Technology, Engineering and Math Fellow. January 2011-May 2012.

Research Experience for Undergraduates. University of Delaware Disaster Research Center. May 2009-August 2009.

Professional Memberships:
Midwest Sociological Society
Phi Kappa Phi