The Changing Nature of Women's Volunteer Organizations: The Case of the Daisy Ducks

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Volunteer organizations serve as social glue binding together diverse elements in a fragmented American culture. These organizations have been viewed as vital, normative components of a healthy democratic society (Gallup, 1980), appealing to "moral" concerns of a wide range of citizens (Etzioni, 1961). As such, the typical volunteer might be described as highly motivated to work in a particular organization for a variety of personal, altruistic, and social reasons (Schindler-Rainman, 1982). The stereotypic volunteer in the post-World War II era was a middle-aged, middle-class married woman with time on her hands and a desire to maximize her own skills and prestige (see Life Magazine, 1956), while satisfying altruistic impulses (Vroom, 1964). Today, however, volunteerism has expanded as a form of work and involvement (Jenner, 1982), in direct and indirect response to various forms of structured social isolation (Zurcher, 1977; 1978).

In addition, as increasing numbers of women have entered the American labor force in the last two decades it would appear likely that fewer volunteers might be available to work for better schools, crusade for social equality, or raise money for needy children overseas. In ten years, from 1965 through 1974, however, volunteerism actually increased to include 13 million more people (Mueller, 1975), from all age ranges (Schindler-Rainman, 1982), in various stages of marital stability and instability (McPherson and Lockwood, 1980), and who are both in and out of the workforce (Jenner, 1982). By the mid-1970's nearly a quarter of the population, age 14 and over were volunteering an average of eight to nine hours per week (Mueller, 1975; Jenner, 1982).

This paper[1] will explore the changing nature of women's volunteer organizations. As more of their members and potential members enter the public sphere, such organizations will have to provide them with new types of personal gains and offer the wider community different types of services. Members will gain recognition and develop networks in the public sphere through organizational participation and these volunteer groups will link working women with full-time homemakers, bridging the gap between the two groups in the community. Further, professional women will utilize volunteer organizations to gain access to previously male-dominated leisure and work environments. We will use the case of a unique organization, the Daisy Ducks, to develop some hy-

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potheses about the new social functions of volunteer organizations.[2]

WHAT IS A DAISY DUCK?

At the end of their membership drive in fall of 1979, there were about 185 dues-paying Daisy Ducks[3] in the Eugene, Oregon area. The Daisys are a female booster group for intercollegiate sports (the teams are known as the Fighting "Ducks") at the University of Oregon but, with the exception of a handful of staff, coaches, and coaches' wives, the adult women who comprise the organization are not affiliated with the university as either students or employees. Former Duck Football Coach Dick Enright organized the group in 1971 to generate community enthusiasm for his ailing football team and response was so positive that the organization continued to meet and support basketball and spring sports.

Coach Enright brought the Daisy Ducks together by public advertising and by sending letters to about 350 wives of members of the Oregon Club, the intrepid male boosters who raise thousands of dollars each year for Oregon athletics. The original group met weekly to attend lectures and discussions organized by coaches from the football squad, and while those educational functions are still important to the Daisys, they have been supplemented by other volunteer activities as membership has expanded to include a majority of women with no connection to Oregon Club men.

Nowhere is this gradual transformation in the group and its functions more apparent than in its emblems. The original symbol was the curvacious quacker spouse of Donald Duck, mascot for the University of Oregon's Fighting Ducks. The lady duck is still part of the Daisy Duck tradition, but at social occasions and on bumper stickers, name tags, and other paraphernalia, dainty flowers provide another meaning for "daisy" and proclaim the organization's message that its members perform uniquely feminine functions.

Part of this feminine function is to provide a positive, nurturing environment for coaches and athletes. The current president believes that coaches, who speak to the Daisys at weekly meetings, are able to "open-up" and provide insights into Oregon athletics. There are two dimensions to the accepting/personal atmosphere. First, the women respond as nurturers. Second, they respond as sports fans by asking pointed questions about absent passing attacks or basketball centers who cannot shoot. These questions might sound far more hostile coming from the all-male Oregon Club. Daisys may also ask coaches about their families, inquire about the recent birth of a baby, or gently tease them about their clothes and hair. At the Oregon Club, according of the Daisy president, the emphasis on winning and success may cause coaches to be more defensive and less willing to discuss the inner life of the athletic program.

Daisys primarily work as volunteers serving the Athletic Department and the athletes. One officer of the group stated, for example, "The men [Oregon Club] just raise money, but we put our bodies on the line." As such, fundraising efforts such as raffles and banquets sustain the organization and provide teams with small extras such as stationery and dividers for swim lanes.[4]

One of the group's central manifest purposes is to humanize the Athletic Department and offer maternal support to young athletes. Daisys bake cookies for teams, send birthday cards and homemade cakes to players, invite homesick newcomers to their houses, and visit injured athletes while they are recuperating. They also decorate for sports banquets, participate in homecoming events, greet teams returning from road trips, and organize special bus tours to attend Oregon football games at Pac-10 schools. Some of their unusual services have included wrapping Christmas presents for a coach to give to his assistants and sitting in a special cheering section

to recruit (unsuccessfully) a local star high school basketball player.

One of the most prestigious volunteer assignments involves working as a receptionist at the Athletic Department where, said one Daisy, "You get in on all the inside stuff." In an experiment in 1979 a skilled secretary contributed her services one-third time and the university donated what would have been her salary to the athletic fund.

This variety of Daisy activities might be perceived as a form of useful work provided for a specific organization--the University of Oregon's Athletic Department. In addition to the obvious altruistic components of these services, which are often perceived as a minor predictor of volunteer participation (Smith, 1981), the Daisys' involvement also appears to constitute a formal exchange of duties between a volunteer group and a specific organization. In many ways this volunteering parallels the worker/employer relationship (see Kemper, 1980; Sharp, 1978), where a job needs to be completed, a person utilizes one's knowledge and abilities to achieve a specific goal, and achievements are recognized (Gidron, 1983).

Of particular benefit to the Oregon Athletic Department is the cost-free nature of the work. In addition to specific psychic benefits derived from volunteering (Smith, 1981), some women of the Daisy Ducks appear to be volunteering as a form of work and, as we shall see later, as a way of pursuing other career interests, maintaining work skills, and developing work contacts (see Gidron, 1978; Loeser, 1974; Mueller, 1975 for analyses of volunteerism as work).

No Daisy is required to perform volunteer tasks and many women simply belong to the organization without joining in any activities. The lowest common denominator of participation is attendance at luncheons held weekly during the school year. Every Tuesday at 12:00 Daisys meet at an inexpensive local restaurant where a buffet is served in a private room with a head table and long tables seating about 20 diners. Football season draws the most women to luncheons and during the fall of 1979 attendance fluctuated from about 65 to 90, with the most enthusiastic, largest crowd lunching the week after an upset victory over Washington State University.[5]

A typical luncheon features one of two speakers who talk briefly about women's athletics or a less visible men's sport such as wrestling. A keynote speaker from the football squad may offer Daisys some technical information about the sport and the upcoming game of the week, while encouraging them to get out and support University of Oregon athletics. Student athletes are also invited to luncheons to get to know the Daisys and occasionally to speak-- the event preceding basketball season featured a raffle to determine which women would sit next to team members.

A rich and diverse literature documents a variety of factors which motivate individuals to volunteer. Altruism (service to the community or organization) and association with one's peers are two of the most commonly cited reasons for volunteering (Rushton, 1980; Schindler-Rainman, 1977; Vrom, 1964), especially among those individuals who have not completed high school (Anderson and Moore, 1978). Volunteers, regardless of educational background, tend to be more empathetic, when compared to non-volunteers, consistently possessing a more positive outlook, and are happier, more self-accepting (Allen and Rushton, 1983), more compassionate (Knapp and Holzberg, 1964), and more emotionally stable (Smith and Nelson, 1975).

When the college educated are considered, particularly those who are employed outside the home, self-fulfillment and personal development take precedence over more altruistic motivations (Anderson and Moore,

1978), although many volunteer to be part of a wider, ongoing activity and to regularly interact with others (Gidron, 1978; Ginzberg, 1966). So while altruism may constitute an initial motivator for volunteerism, self-interest (Phillips, 1982; Naylor, 1967), personal gain (Jenner, 1982) and career preparation (Gidron, 1978) appear to be subsequent motivating factors, especially for college-educated women who are part of the workforce (Anderson and Moore, 1978). Volunteer activities, then, are often used as a method to increase status and as a vehicle for the enhancement of employment opportunities. In this sense, volunteering is "career instrumental," as well as a "primary" and "supplemental" activity (Jenner, 1982).

Not surprisingly, the Daisys exhibit many of the above motivating factors of volunteerism. Getting to know coaches and athletes (organizational involvement) is the part of being a Daisy Duck that most respondents (67) mention they liked best. Many women list more than one aspect of membership and some of those most frequently mentioned are: companionship and friendship with similar women (47); obtaining information about various sports (29); participating in activities and making a contribution to athletes and athletics (18); supporting the University of Oregon through its Athletic Department (9); and boosting new, developing women's sports (4).

Most respondents wrote brief answers to the question, "What do you like best about being a Daisy Duck?" Some, however, articulated their reasons for joining the organization in answer to that question. The themes of service and participation frequently appear in these longer replies:

> *I do think it's good to support young people in all healthy beneficial endeavors. Sports provide that for athletes and a good outlet for spectators also. The dedication and training that go into an athlete benefit him or her all life long. Participation in volunteer work is a fine way to make friends and share common concerns. My favorite thing about Daisys is their great treatment of athletes.*

or

> *. . . the involvement, no matter how small in helping shape young people's lives just being there with a smile or encouragement. After all, being an active spectator we get lots of enjoyment watching these athletes and it seems like the least we can do in return.*

One woman writing about serving athletes acknowledges that service provides her with a sense of personal worth and recognition: "I enjoy the opportunity to be involved with athletes and the feeling of being needed and appreciated." Others voiced satisfaction with other personal gains they received from being Daisy Ducks:

> *It is a marvelous opportunity for a single divorced woman to remain in contact with the athletic events, coaches and athletes at the University. A chance to make new friends, have fun and help back the Athletic Department.*

Some women use the organization for various types of self-improvement. One respondent viewed it as "solution to my depression." Several others saw involvement in the Daisys as a means to add to their family relationships. Said one, "I can enjoy sports more and also communicate on a higher level with my son and husband." A commonly-voiced theme among women who particularly appreciate the sociability within the organization is that "it gets me out of the house occasionally" and provides "a chance to be away from my little ones." Finally, for those women who are employed full- or part-time, participation in the Daisy Ducks may also be linked to personal gain and career enhancement. This

possible relationship is discussed later in the paper.

WHO ARE THE DAISY DUCKS?

Comments such as those mentioned above may support the expectation that some Daisy Ducks are homemakers, yet the majority of women in the organization are actually part of the labor force. These findings reflect the well-documented tendency for volunteers to be employed, either full- or part-time (Jenner, 1982). Sixty-five of the 103 respondents are currently employed, five are retired, and only 33 list no occupation other than homemaker. Moreover, most of the women who are employed (51) work full-time. But with the exception of seven bank officers and six middle-managers, the Daisys are involved in traditionally female occupations and nine of them work in businesses owned by their husbands.

Previous research has consistently identified marriage as a key predictor of volunteer participation (Berelson and Steiner, 1964; Jenner, 1982). It is not surprising, therefore, to find that most Daisys are currently married. Only five are single, four separated, eight divorced, and seven widowed. Of those women who are not currently married, four identify themselves as full-time homemakers and four others are retired from the labor force. Like other volunteer women who often combine employment and full-time family responsibilities (Jenner, 1982), many Daisys (50) both work outside the home and also maintain marriages, contradicting the stereotype of a volunteer as someone with large reserves of leisure time.

Most Daisys, however, do not have children living at home. Fifteen are childless and an additional 46 have no children under 19 years of age. These "empty nests" allow married women additional time for volunteer work, even if they are actively involved in the labor force as well. The average number of children for all Daisys is 2.07, with 17 women having one child, 37 with two, 20 with three, eight with four and six with five.

Although most members have older children, eight Daisys have children under four years of age and another seven have children under nine. The mix in the family life cycles of organization members partially reflects the heterogeneous ages within the group. Most volunteers range in age from 20 to 50 (Jenner, 1982; McPherson and Lockwood, 1980), and a majority of the Daisys fall in this typical age range. A sizeable proportion, however, are 50 and over, perhaps reflecting a diverse community support for University of Oregon activities. Only six women are under 25 years of age, twenty-nine are from 25 to 34, twenty-two are from 35 to 44, twenty-six are from 50 to 54, seventeen are from 55 to 64, and six are more than 65 years old.[6]

A number of Daisys note the wide range of age and experience in the organization as one of the most pleasant aspects of membership. Observations at luncheons indicate that most officers are between 35 and 50, but a number of other women active in special projects and on sports committees are older. Daisys who are long-time members often sit with friends with whom they appear to be fairly intimate, but there is little age-grading by table and some of those friendship groups spanned two or three generations. An 81-year-old organizational activist liked:

> *. . . keeping young with young people. Helping to promote women's athletics . . . I was honored by being made an honorary Oregon Women's Letterwoman. I was given an Oregon athletic letter and also a lemon and green blanket lap robe. All this to an Oregon Stater?*

The wide range of ages in the Daisy Ducks contrasts with the organization's relatively narrow class

composition. Social class has been identified as one of the strongest predictors of participation in certain types of volunteer activity (Smith 1972; Smith and Freedman, 1972; Hyman and Wright, 1971). Volunteers consistently have high rates of educational attainment (McPherson and Lockwood, 1980), with a majority often having at least a bachelors degree or more (Jenner, 1982). Higher occupational status and family income are also strongly associated with volunteer participation (Axelrod, 1956; Wright and Hyman, 1958). On all of these indicators of social class background the Daisys are solidly upper-middle and middle class.

We have already seen that many of the Daisys work in the professional, managerial, or sales realms, as well as contributing to the family income in a clerical capacity. About a quarter of the Daisys husbands are mid-level professionals, such as city planners, accountants, or teachers. Others own their small businesses or are middle managers, and another sizeable number of members' husbands are employed in sales. Only five spouses are unskilled blue collar laborers. Family incomes reflect middle-class status and generally range from 15 to 30 thousand dollars (43) or 30 to 50 thousand dollars (33). Sixteen women have family incomes under 15 thousand dollars a year and only ten have family incomes over 50 thousand dollars a year. While only twenty-one of the fifty married Daisys who work outside the home contribute more than 30 percent of their total family income, even smaller contributions undoubtedly make a difference to family lifestyle. The Daisys are also a well-educated group. Forty-five have some college, eleven hold bachelors degrees, and 20 have done graduate work.

Surprisingly few Daisys attended the University of Oregon (14). Other members who have not attended the University themselves have ties to the University through their parents, brothers or sisters, husbands or children (36). The majority of Daisy Ducks, however, have no close connections to the University of Oregon as either alumnae or students themselves or as the relatives of alumnae or students. Given the wide range of female volunteer organizations in Eugene, choices ranging from the Junior League to battered women's shelters, why then would articulate, independent, middle-aged, middle-class women chose to invest their time and effort in a group as unusual as the Daisy Ducks?

WHY BECOME A DAISY DUCK?

Imagine a room full of attractive middle-aged women with carefully done hair. They are seated at banquet tables, chatting pleasantly over their after-lunch coffee, watching a fashion show of outfits for women's sports at the University of Oregon and listening to narration by women's coaches who are appealing for more moral and financial support from the community. The Daisys respond with more politeness than warmth, but their energy and attentiveness visibly increase when an assistant football coach begins to speak.

Complementing the Daisys on their beauty, he warms up his audience by holding up an enormous Athletic Department T-shirt and offering it to the first woman who guesses his birthday. After that he discusses what went wrong with the Fighting Ducks in the last three games out of four and why they are certain to improve. He finishes his speech by leading cheers. The walls almost shake as the coach calls out "Daisy" and the women respond with "Duck." But when the coach requests a traditional football warmup "Blood"--"Guts"--"Guts"--"Blood," there is near silence interrupted by embarrassed giggles. About half the women in the group gather up their things and leave to get back to work or to their children, and the rest remain to watch a ten-minute game film of the Ducks' recent loss to Purdue. Those who stay shout

players' names when the coach asks and discuss the individuals plays. About 20 women remain to chat briefly in small groups after the film ends.

This was a typical Daisy Duck luncheon in the fall of 1979. At others, women hear different coaches and some players, laugh at new jokes, and respond with continued pride an enthusiasm although Oregon athletics became tainted by scandals which eventually caused the Pac-10 to bar them from participating in bowl games. Almost every one of the nearly 50 different women talked with at luncheons obviously enjoyed herself and contributed to the friendly atmosphere. The officers and other leaders in the organization are extraordinarily bright, verbal, and ambitious. They could sit at the head table in any volunteer group, or under different circumstances, in the boardroom of a corporation. They and others, however, choose to devote hours each week to Oregon athletics, and one reason for their devotion is the plain fun Daisys have at luncheons and in other activities.

Not all Daisy Ducks are committed members, and many (42) respondents had just joined the group during 1979. Thirty-seven women, however, had been active members for four years or more, and they made up most of the organization's officers (12) and active committee members (18). Like most volunteer groups, the Daisys have a small core of activists and a larger periphery of interested but comparatively inactive members, with friendship networks linking the two segments. A few women object to the core group's cliqueishness, but most assert that meeting new people and developing friendships are important benefits of being a Daisy Duck. The Daisys, therefore, provide an important social function and, as most other volunteer organizations, allow individuals to interact on a regular and informal basis, while providing service to a community organization (Cohen and Ely, 1981).

A second obvious function which the group serves for its members is legitimating women's right to be as boisterously involved sports fans as men. Seventy Daisys follow some professional team as well as University of Oregon sports. A number of them (23) follow both professional football and basketball teams, but most are single-sport women, preferring basketball (19) or football (16). Others like professional baseball (12) or some combination of basketball, football, baseball and another sport such as ice hockey or soccer. The only "professional sport" played in Eugene is baseball during three summer months when the Emeralds, the class-A farm team of the Kansas City Royals, suit up. College sports are really the only game in town, if not in the state, where the Portland Trailblazers is the only noteworthy professional franchise. People in Eugene who wish to attend games and organize part of their social lives around sports must follow college athletics, and many adult women who choose to do so find necessary social support among the Daisy Ducks.

Football is the University of Oregon sport which the most Daisys (101) follow, and it is an obvious choice, for it marks the beginning of a new school year and is the college sport in most of America. Men's basketball is nearly equal in generating interest (98), and it is the college sport which the largest number of Daisys like most (51) with football clearly behind in second place (33). The interest in basketball probably reflects both the Trailblazers' prominence in the state and also the strong basketball reputation the University of Oregon enjoyed in the mid-1970's when thousands of spectators jammed Mac Court to arduously cheer the "Kamikaze Kids" on former Coach Dick Harter's teams. A number of Daisys also follow women's basketball (66) and women's track (54), but only one member listed a women's sport as her favorite.

Some Daisys offer laundry lists of college sports they follow, and most are interested in three or more sports (67). They are obviously fans, rather than sportswomen themselves. While 47 Daisys had been active in high school sports, only eight participated during their college years and only 12 continue to mention sports among the organizations and groups to which they now belong. The Daisys' general lack of active sports participation undoubted reflected the fact that sports' ability was usually considered "unfeminine" during their adolescent years. One respondent remarked " sports were not allowed or encouraged in Texas ." Being a fan and cheering men, however, was among the most feminine of all pastimes.

An emergent third function of the Daisys, then, relates to the affirmation of a past dominant role (cheerleading) which members are reenacting within a specific organizational setting. Eighteen Daisys have been both high school cheerleaders and members of their drill teams or rally squads in high school, an additional 14 women had been cheerleaders, and 20 had been rally squad or drill team members. Moreover, 20 of the 76 women who attended college had been cheerleaders during those years. There was great prestige in being an active, very attractive spectator--a cheerleader, in contrast to being a girl-jock. The Daisy Ducks can remain cheerleaders as adults, reliving important and previous roles through their organization and the legitimation and group support it provides. The organization and the service Daisys offer the University also transform spectatorship from passive consumption to active production of useful work.

In the United States, in particular, sports hold much of their fascination for spectators and athletes because apparently trivial activity is invested with great meaning and seriousness (Lasch, 1978). The Daisy Ducks also invest ostensibly frivolous activities with value. Their seriousness and dedication allow them to remain actively involved in pastimes usually reserved for women who are many years younger. Most importantly, the Daisys can relive and extend certain aspects of their youth, reinforce their current feminine role, while at the same time being active participants in a typically male dominated sports world. Zurcher (1978) has identified this type of volunteer activity as an "affirming ephemeral role" which enacts and reinforces the legitimacy of a past dominant role. For the Daisys, however, this reaffirmation is combined with other important roles: wife/mother (nurturer); worker (full- and part-time); active sports spectator; and colleague.

A fourth and final function may be linked to the Daisys efforts and desires to play a larger role in the male-dominated leisure and work worlds. We have previously observed how some members hoped that their involvement would increase their knowledge of sports activities, thus enabling them to have more in common with their sons and husbands. For the majority of Daisys, who work in professional and semi-professional occupations, this type of voluntary action may also be linked to specific economic benefits (Jenner, 1982). As "quasi-volunteers" (Smith, Reddy, and Baldwin, 1972), Daisys can fulfill their community altruism, while simultaneously developing career inroads. If males informally accept women as nonthreatening, fellow sports enthusiasts, women may be able to easily function in a formal context within the professional world. The key elements which may make this career development possible are multiple roles which the Daisys can play. As nurturers, cheerleaders, and knowledgeable sports fans, professional women may move into the male work environment, but from nonthreatening, supportive positions. They evince interest in the male world of sports, and at the same time remain separate, allowing men to retain their traditional solidarity.

The Daisy Ducks probably give far more to the University of Oregon and to the community than they receive in return. However, their organization provides members with several obvious intrinsic rewards. Members enjoy Daisy activities, they establish and cement friendships, and they have formal and informal support for changing the deviant role of a middle-aged women sports fan into the positive image of an adult altruist who happens to be interested in college athletics. Through an organization with close informal ties to the University of Oregon Athletic Department, women who might otherwise appear as overage cheerleaders can also perform useful volunteer work, while some may simultaneously pursue career interests. The traditional sexuality usually associated with avid female spectators is thus subtly changed into nurturance through organizational membership.

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

The Daisys are an intrinsically interesting group, but they also represent a new type of volunteer organization. The majority of the Daisy Ducks are part of the labor force, functioning in both professional and semi-professional capacities. Leaders in the group are obviously attuned to this dimension and luncheons usually last only an hour and are held at a restaurant convenient to downtown. Many events and committee meetings are scheduled at night and the organization is structured to allow women to participate at different levels. The backbone of organized altruism, then, may increasingly be composed of middle-class women working in middle-status professions, sales, middle management, and clerical jobs. In this sense, the Daisy Ducks may represent a typical volunteer organization of the future.

Many Daisys attend luncheons with colleagues from work and join in other activities with them as well. Working women with families, however, are still responsible for most household tasks and they do not have the same extra time or social approval that men have to spend leisure houres with co-workers (Vanek, 1978). Engaging in volunteer activities also allows women to relax and socialize while performing traditional wives' tasks of enhancing their families' prestige within the community. As more married women join the labor force it would be expected that the volunteer groups with the most growth will resemble the Daisys in providing intrinsically rewarding, relaxing experiences and also offering members opportunities to perform the altruistic social services traditionally associated with feminine volunteer work.

The Daisy Ducks also allow members to develop and sustain three types of interpersonal networks. First, the organization puts professional women in touch with one another and with prospective clients. At one luncheon, for example, a bank officer and a real estate agent made an appointment to discuss financing the sale of a large commercial property. Second, Daisy professionals can develop and nurture formal and informal contacts with professional men who also support the University of Oregon athletic program. Common interests in and enthusiasm for college sports lays the foundation for greater male/female interaction in a male-dominated work world. This increased involvement, however, may continue to be linked to traditional female roles.

Third, and probably more important, the Daisys and organizations with similarly small size and cohesiveness provide homemakers and working women with a chance to maintain common grounds of interest and discourse. Thus, the Daisys serve a useful community function by socially integrating working women and homemakers, groups which may become increasingly separate over time. A common interest in volunteerism allows housewives to have an

area of self-definition outside the home and permits working women to have leisure interests within the public sphere. It would be expected that volunteer groups which integrate both professional women's networks and also homemakers and working women will be increasingly attractive to married middle-class women with jobs.

The concept of nurturance is most important for understanding the Daisys and the broad future of women's volunteer organizations. Nurturing behavior and the maternal qualities associated with it have been fundamental in reconciling women's participation in the disparate public and private spheres. In the 19th century, when less than fifteen percent of all women worked outside the home (and only five percent of all married women worked), middle-class women brought their maternal traits into the public world through secular and religious volunteer work. By providing their communities with visible, often necessary services they enhanced their own social status and received public recognition (Goldman, 1972). At the same time, volunteer organizations reconciled the spheres of the home and the wider community by drawing housewives out toward the larger world.

An important latent function of volunteer organizations like the Daisy Ducks is to do almost the reverse and draw working women in from the public sphere to the private one. The Daisys allow working women to demonstrate that they have not lost their traditional feminine skills and nurturing qualities. They are public "mothers" to the young athletes attending the University of Oregon. Like her sheltered Victorian counterpart, the modern volunteer receives social esteem for performing traditional women's work, and it is the traditional femininity associated with volunteerism that makes it so attractive to women combining families and careers.

FOOTNOTES

[1]An earlier version of this paper was delivered at the 1981 meetings of the American Sociological Association, Toronto, Canada. We would like to thank the Center for the Study of Women in Society at the University of Oregon for supplying funds to print and mail questionnaires. We are grateful to colleagues who took the time to discuss this project and are most indebted to the Daisys for their cooperation at every stage of this study.

[2]The Daisy Ducks are the only women's booster group of its kind in the United States. Their unique status reflects both the size and isolation of the community, Eugene, Oregon, and also the spirit of the women involved in the organization. We had originally decided to try to preserve their anonymity by calling them the Dandy Lions of a Northwest town. But the group is so easily recognizable, they could not be disguised and some features of the group are best described by using their actual name. In the Fall of 1979 Daisy luncheons and other functions were attended. A number of respondents were interviewed, including the organization's officers, new members and college athletes who had contact with the Daisys. In January of 1980, 175 questionnaires were mailed and 103 of them were returned. They are the source of quantitative information in this study.

[3]As of December 1983 there were approximately 150 dues-paying members. This slight drop in the Eugene area membership, however, is compensated by the prospect of establishing a Daisy chapter in Portland, Oregon. The current president of the Daisy Ducks indicates that, despite the popularity of the Oregon State University Beavers (Corvallis, Oregon) in Portland, approximately 35 to 40 women have expressed an interest

in expanding Daisy operations to the northern part of the state. These women were one-time Eugene residents and have held an initial organizing meeting with current club officers.

[4]*Most recently (1981-83) the Daisys have initiated Bingo Night and Duck Bingo to supplement fundraising activities. This appears to represent a substantial increase in money-making efforts, perhaps reflecting recurrent Athletic Department budget crises of recent years.*

[5]*The current Daisy president, a long-time member herself, feels that the organization has always revolved around a core membership of 50 to 75 women who are consistently involved, regardless of athletic season. Additional involvement varies, with football season generating the greatest activity.*

[6]*During the last year (1983) the current Daisy president feels that a few more women in their mid- to late twenties have joined, thus lowering the average age of the membership.*

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In the last issue of THE JOURNAL (Summer 1985, Vol.III,No.4) the closing sentences of Jerry Greer's article, " Volunteers in Resource Management : A Forest Service Perspective," were inadvertently not printed on page 9. Our apologies to our readers and the author! Here is the missing material:

volunteer areas together will help to dispel the public image of volunteers working only in the social services. And that will help to broaden support for all volunteers.

The author's personal views do not necessarily represent USDA positions The manuscript was reviewed prior to submission and was approved for publication with revisions by the USDA Forest Service Office of Information.